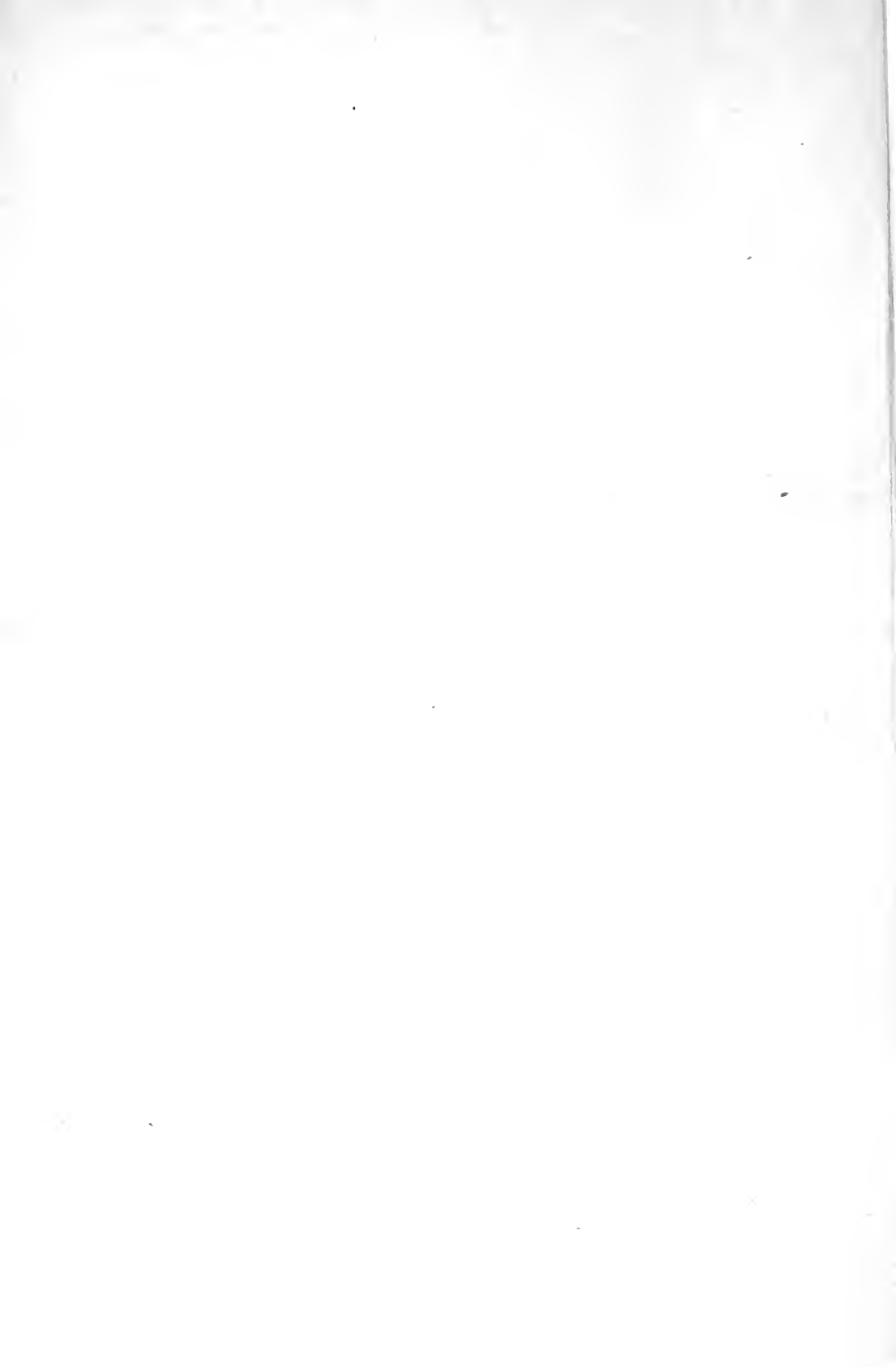


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NUMBER 1

## THE SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS

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CLARENCE H. NORTHCOTT  
Columbia University

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In attempting to give an outline of Professor Giddings' sociological theories one is beset by the difficulty of finding them in any complete and final form. His writings are scattered over a period of more than twenty years. Each is to a certain extent complementary to the other, so that a study of them in chronological order gives a realistic impression of the open mind and analytic power of the author without affording anything that even he would claim to be a completed system of sociological theory. The absence of revision and co-ordination also bewilders the student as to what part, if any, Professor Giddings still accepts or has rejected, and what he would modify. Personal contact with him in the lecture-room does not help one greatly. He is no German philosopher grinding out year after year the same completed circle of systematic theory. His custom of applying his analytical mind to any pressing question of immediate import, whether suggested by the publication of a new book, the exposition of a new theory, or the application of some political policy, and of injecting the results of his analysis as new wine into old bottles, shatters the outline and symmetry of any tentative system. In short, Professor Giddings'

theories are the vital products of a growing mind and, even if the time has almost arrived for their systematization, are not yet systematized.

Yet with this difficulty present to a degree open to common recognition, it is still possible to make some attempt to put his theories in systematic order. The fundamental bases of the theories are fully and clearly stated right throughout all his works. He accepts the superorganic view of society as a set of interacting organisms, but discards the mechanical view of Spencer and approaches society from the psychological and genetic aspect rather than the functional. Society is a process of collective behavior, the interactivity of individual minds. Its development is to be explained by the general laws of cosmic evolution. It has been built up by a process in which the successive steps have been those of integration, differentiation, segregation, and an increase of definiteness and of coherence.<sup>1</sup> Though Giddings has added "certain quantitative laws of evolution which Spencer seems not to have apprehended,"<sup>2</sup> there is nothing distinctively new in the two foundation stones of his theory, namely, cosmic evolution and the superorganic concept of society. His own distinctive contribution comes when he finds the elementary form of social relation to be a consciousness of kind. Society to him, then, is a group of interacting individuals whose collective behavior, dominated and stimulated by the consciousness of kind, follows the laws of cosmic evolution.

To Professor Giddings there are four general problems for the sociologist to study. They are: (1) the problem of the origin and evolution of society; (2) the problem of social constraint and of the conformation of behavior and character to type as the immediate and general function of society; (3) the problem of the effect of social constraint upon selection; (4) the problem of the final consequences of social constraint conceived of as an amount or rate of progress. The greater bulk of his own work has been done upon the first problem, though he has given many significant side lights in his written works upon all the others.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Elements of Sociology*, pp. 336-39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 100-103.

In keeping with his evolutionary standpoint is his accounting for the process of association in terms of the struggle for existence. He takes the material environment of which biology and economics makes such fruitful use, and resolves its pressure into "an infinitely differentiated group of stimuli."<sup>1</sup> The struggle for existence tends to create groupings of similars. The multiplication of offspring creates the grouping of beings biologically similar. Organisms structurally alike are, in general, functionally alike and have like physical needs, which are satisfied in certain spots. A given habitat is likely to have a number of these groups. Further, certain individuals can endure the dangers of a certain habitat; hence the structural resemblance of individuals grouped in that habitat are greater in number. Their similarity is measured by the sum of their points of resemblance.

The most important similarities in life-organisms are similarities of behavior. The primary activity of the living organism is to adapt the environment to itself, to satisfy thereby its primary needs of safety and of food. These adaptations are the basis of appreciation; that is, a change in consciousness describable as the attaching of more interest or value to one thing than to another. Appreciation arises out of those reactions which are first instinctive phenomena, then become habitual, and later on are rationalized. When at length man finds the limits which restrict the adaptation of the environment to himself, he begins the reverse process of the adjustment of himself to the environment. His interest is attached to the behavior of his fellows, who are tending to like behavior at the same time. His reactions and those of his fellows tend to be alike, and there arises a perception of the likeness of external stimuli to self-stimuli. This is co-ordinated with the adjustment of one organism to the like behavior of similar organisms, a process furthered by imitation and reflective sympathy. Out of this collective behavior arises a consciousness of kind, compounded of "organic sympathy, the perception of resemblance, conscious or reflective sympathy, affection, and the desire for recognition." Thus similarities of behavior become important because they lead to the recognition of kind. There is a distinct stimulus in "kind" and a direct

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sociology* (Columbia University Press, 1911), p. 32.

reaction to "kind." Upon this, natural selection works; and competition and the struggle for survival leading to like adaptation of similars, there is produced that collective behavior with which social organization begins.

Among the most elementary similarities of behavior are habits of toleration. Individuals living in a group necessarily come to tolerate one another. Conflict is natural in a group since the imitation involved in the consciousness of kind is never perfect, and because of the presence of instincts of conquest and original differences of nature and habit. "Antagonism, however, is self-limiting; it necessarily terminates in the equilibrium of toleration."<sup>1</sup> Individual members of the group prove to be too evenly matched to make fighting worth while. Thus primal natural rights, in the sense of the immunities and liberties of toleration, come to be enjoyed long before they get conscious recognition. Soon, under the pressure of a common danger or a common opportunity, these similarities of behavior develop unconsciously into spontaneous collective action. This effect is produced under the stimulus of communication, imitation, suggestion, and, later, of leadership and subordination. The group which acts collectively represents an assembling and economizing of effort. The assembled effort of the group becomes co-operation, that is, conscious practical agreement for the better realization of common purposes.

The organizing force or influence whereby this type of social organization is set going is to be found in an analysis of the degrees of reaction. Some individuals react more promptly, some more energetically, some more persistently. The first type of reaction is mainly one of sensation and emotion, which practically all share. Some, fewer in number, will proceed to a reaction of thought and ideas, while the remainder, forming the minority, will go on to do something about the situation. This action creates a new situation, requiring adjustment. The *protocracy* or beginners of rule seek the co-operation of the group which has given them power and authority. The reaction must now be to the new action and the new group of actors. The protocracy is in a position to see the opportunities of wealth and power before others and to dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, p. 114.



pense patronage on a definite understanding of loyalty and allegiance. Here enters in the factor so prominent in early social organization and later feudalism, the custom of *commendatio*. One man or a small group extends opportunity; the individual accepts it and becomes his lord's man. Thus, "in terms of like or of unlike, of prompt or of slow, of persistent or of intermittent response, all the phenomena of natural grouping and of collective behavior can be stated and interpreted."<sup>1</sup>

Social organization having been begun, the next step is to explain the factors which affect the extent of concerted volition. This Professor Giddings does in the proposition: "The concerted volition of a constant number of individuals varies in extent as the struggle for existence varies in severity," and in a related proposition: "Social solidarity varies with the advantageousness of the collective struggle." Every social situation is described as a function of these two variables, the severity of the collective struggle and the extent of the social solidarity. With increasing necessity for collective action social organization tends to develop internal complexity and to assume a hierarchical form. Psychologically considered, these ranks are those characterized by instinctive, sympathetic, dogmatic, and deliberate like-mindedness, respectively. From another standpoint they are the divisions which the collective struggle and the reactions of the majority and minority upon one another have created. Through conquest, the assertion of privilege and authority, and the use of the *commendatio* there are produced within the social organization groups that may be privileged and closed, or selectively open, or discriminately open. "Eligibility to membership in a privileged and closed group is governed by considerations of source. Descent from members of the group in a former generation is one of the oldest and best-known requirements. Another requirement is membership in an antecedent group or category. Eligibility to membership in a selectively open group is determined by the functioning value of members individually for the functioning of the group collectively. In the indiscriminately open group there are no eligibility tests."<sup>2</sup> "In the historical evolution of social organization, intra-group conflict develops between

<sup>1</sup> *Sociology*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from unpublished lectures.

closed and open groups."<sup>1</sup> The group based on ethnic unity or kinship is replaced by one based on civil unity, from which point civilization begins. Civilization may, therefore, be defined as "modally and characteristically a substitution of the open for the closed group in politics, religion, trade, and education."<sup>1</sup>

In his analysis of the origin of society Professor Giddings now arrives at the phenomena of sovereignty, which is another method of considering the co-operation of an entire social population. Sovereignty is not an indivisible unit; it is rather a composition of forces. This is seen by a description of the four distinct modes of sovereignty presented by different stages of social evolution. First comes personal sovereignty, the power of the strong personality to command obedience; secondly, class sovereignty, the power of the mentally and morally superior to inspire obedience or through the control of wealth to exact it; thirdly, mass sovereignty, the power of the majority to compel obedience; and, lastly, general sovereignty, the power of an enlightened, deliberative community to evoke obedience through a rational appeal to intelligence and conscience.<sup>2</sup>

When the supreme will of society is organized for requiring and directing obedience, government comes into existence, and, like sovereignty, is determined by prevailing conditions of the social mind. In times of chaos and insecurity the forceful personality sets up an absolute government. Where there is much spontaneous co-operation and more like-mindedness than difference and antagonism, with a fair resistance to arbitrary power, government takes the power of limited minority rule. Where revolutionary conditions, political or industrial, exist, absolute majority rule tends to be found present as a product of the revolt. Finally in a community that is on the whole homogeneous, and is composed of individuals approximately equal in ability and in condition, limited majority rule is the form of government.<sup>3</sup> In the latter form constitutional limitations are stated to insure the rightful balance between the coercion through which government as a form of social control

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from unpublished lectures.

<sup>2</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 372-73.

operates and the liberty associated with that full development of personality which is the function of social organization.<sup>1</sup>

But liberty, says Professor Giddings, is not guaranteed by a written constitution; it is determined by the composition of sovereignty, which is the real constitution. Here enters in his more recently stated doctrine of *procedure*.<sup>2</sup> By this term is meant the bond by which the most democratic form of sovereignty is held together, that is, the agreement to abide by the decision of the majority. The conditions implied in this form of organization of majority rule are twofold. (1) The majority may not and does not override certain rights agreed on by the majority and most of the minority, and thereby guaranteed to all the minority. These rights must be set forth in a constitution, which is necessary for minorities and for democracies generally. The defense and the safeguard of liberty, however, does not lie in this constitution but in the maintenance of the condition, and more especially of a second. (2) Minorities must have freedom of speech, of the press, of meeting, and of orderly and peaceful agitation, to the end that they may be able to turn their minority into a majority. The repression of minorities throws society back on to lower planes of organization, where patriotism and various forms of lordship are the chief characteristics.

Leaving this as a totally inadequate presentation of the account Professor Giddings has given of the laws of the genesis and evolution of human society, let us now attempt to summarize his analysis of the social organization. In a community there are two forms of organization; one called the social composition, combining those who dwell together in one specified place, the other combining those who are desirous of carrying on special forms of activity or of maintaining particular interests. Each of the latter groupings may be called a constituent society. Each group in the social composition may be called a component society. The earlier tribal forms of component societies were brought together by genetic aggregation, while the later civil component societies are the product, in addition, of congregation. Tribal societies insist on kinship as the bond

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Principles of Sociology*, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Carroll D. Wright, Memorial Lecture.

of association; civil societies have broken that bond of ethnic unity. The path of development toward a civil organization of society, where kinship is of less value, has lain in the transition from the loosely knit, even segregative, metronymic group to the more compact and more powerful patronymic group, in the establishment of a barbaric and pastoral feudalism, and in the effect of migration and settlement in producing a varied demotic composition in which the bond of kinship is no longer adequate. In the change from the metronymic to the patronymic organization, wife purchase was an important factor, also the domestication of animals, the value of sons as herdsmen and heirs to property, and the position the patriarch acquired through his lordship and the custom of ancestor worship. With the establishment of male descent and ancestor worship, clan headships and tribal chieftainships tended to become hereditary in certain families. Barbaric feudalism arose as the chief became wealthy in cattle and land, which he received as rewards from his tribe. It became his duty to protect the borders of his land, and for this purpose he used the broken and ruined men, the landless and the clanless from other clans, and bound them to him as feudal dependents in a bond of uncritical and unquestioning obedience. The development of this form of organization and a synchronous development of agriculture led to civil society based on neighborhood and common interests.

In civil society, constituent societies wherein membership is not an incident of birth became possible. Constituent societies grow out of, and are differentiated from, component societies through a specialization of function; they are voluntarily formed purposive associations. Their chief characteristics are co-ordination, mutual aid, and division of labor. The chief of these purposive organizations in civil society is the state, through which the social mind operates to the co-ordination and domination of the whole community and its minor purposive associations. Its functions are coextensive with human interests, for its primary purpose is to perfect social integration. In so doing it is carried into economic activities and cultural functions. Yet equally vital to social organization are the various private and voluntary associations which arise, duplicating in many cases the functions of the state. "The

state, so far from being the only political organization, could not exist in a free or republican form, were there not voluntary and private political associations."<sup>1</sup> It follows, therefore, since the compulsory state and the voluntary association are both vital and essential, that "whatever belittles the state or destroys belief in its power to perform any kind of social service, whatever impairs the popular habit of achieving ends by private initiative and voluntary organization, endangers society and prevents the full realization of its ends."<sup>2</sup>

Turning now to the second problem which Professor Giddings enunciates as facing the sociologist, that of social constraint, we find him defining his point of view thus:

We make the initial assumption that the institutions of human society and all the events of history, including the migrations of men from place to place, the great enthusiasms, the intellectual awakenings, the wars and the revolutions, may be regarded as responses to varying stimuli, and that they are governed by certain laws of combination or by certain facts of resemblance or of difference among the minds responding.<sup>3</sup>

That is, social constraint and the conformity of behavior and character to type are functions of the operation of the social mind. This social mind is no abstraction, nor, on the other hand, a mere summation of individual minds. It is an integration of them, born of their interaction. "The social mind is the phenomenon of many individual minds in interaction, so playing upon one another that they simultaneously feel the same sensation or emotion, arrive at one judgment and perhaps act in concert."<sup>4</sup> It is to be explained in terms of response to stimulation, of consciousness of kind, and of concerted volition.<sup>5</sup> From like response spring the phenomena of agreement and co-operation; from differences of response in kind, degree, and completeness come the innumerable phenomena of unlike interest, antagonism, conflict, rivalry, and competition.<sup>6</sup> The process of interstimulation is carried on by suggestion, impression, example, and imitation, with conflict as a coefficient, and as

<sup>1</sup> *Inductive Sociology*, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 515.

<sup>3</sup> "Theory of Social Causation," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, 1903, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Inductive Sociology*, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 128.

a further determinant, forms of expansive association, such as travel, commerce, diplomacy, and war. With the accumulation through the advance of socialization of innumerable conditions, events, relations, acts, ideas, beliefs, plans, and ideals, there are created large classes of secondary stimuli which play a larger part in modern social life in the formation of the social mind than the primary stimuli. "The very arrangements under which we live, the groupings of human beings, their ideas and purposes, their aims, their ideals, their laws and institutions are ever-present, ever-potent causes of continuing collective action."<sup>1</sup> These secondary stimuli are divisible into four classes: the ideo-motor, which directly incite the motor system; the ideo-emotional, which awaken chiefly emotional reactions; the dogmatic-emotional, appealing to emotion and belief; and the critically intellectual, appealing to the higher intellectual processes. Corresponding to these stimuli are classifications of like-mindedness into instinctive, sympathetic, dogmatic, and deliberate like-mindedness, according as the individuals are swayed by feeling, belief, or reason, respectively. A correlation can be established between these psychic traits and the extent of the forms of like-mindedness. This correlation is expressed in the law: "More individuals agree in feeling than agree in belief. More agree in belief than concur in reasoned opinion. Sympathetic like-mindedness is more extensive than dogmatic like-mindedness, and dogmatic like-mindedness more extensive than deliberate like-mindedness."

This movement of the social mind may also be viewed from the standpoint of the modes of activity of the individual, the types of character that shape it, and the motives and ideals that are indorsed. The modes of activity of the individual are fourfold. There is first, *appreciation*, the seizing of the facts of experience and their organization into knowledge, preference, and values. Next comes *utilization*, the turning to use of the objects of the external world. Then the conscious individual adapts himself to his situation, to the opportunities and activities possible to him, the process of *characterization*. Finally conscious individuals adapt themselves to one another in the process of *socialization*.<sup>2</sup> Parallel with the complex

<sup>1</sup> T. S. C., quoted in *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 127.

of psychic states involved in appreciation are the motor, emotional, and intellectual types spoken of above. Parallel in the same way with the four degrees in which utilization is carried out are four types of disposition—the aggressive, the instigative, the domineering, and the creative. Thus four types of character come into existence in the process of characterization—the forceful, the convivial, the austere, and the rationally conscientious. The former emphasizes the qualities of courage and power; the convivial is of the pleasure-loving type; the austere is the product of reaction against the excesses of convivial indulgence; while the last is a product of the reaction against and progress beyond the austere type.<sup>1</sup>

Correlated with the phenomena of the social mind and the form and degree of social constraint is the type of human rational society. Of this there are eight subdivisions: (1) A homogeneous community of blood relatives, among whom the chief social bond is sympathy—the *sympathetic* type. (2) The *congenial* type, made up of like spirits drawn together by similarity of nature and agreement in ideas. Illustrations of this type are found in the Mayflower band, Latter-day Saints, partisan political colonies, and communistic brotherhood. (3) The *approbational* type, a community of miscellaneous and sometime lawless elements drawn together by economic opportunity, where a general approbation of qualities and conduct is practically the only social bond. (4) The *despotic* type, where the social bonds are despotic power and a fear-inspired obedience. (5) The *authoritative* type, where arbitrary power has identified itself with tradition and religion, and reverence for authority is the social bond. (6) The *conspiratorial* type, where intrigue and conspiracy are the social bonds. (7) The *contractual* type, such as the league of the Iroquois and the confederation of American commonwealths in 1778, where the social bond is a covenant or contract. (8) The *idealistic* social type, where a population collectively responds to certain great ideals, where the social bonds are comprehension of mind by mind, confidence, fidelity, and an altruistic spirit of social service.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Democracy and Empire*, pp. 317-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 11-13.

Into any systematic treatment of the modes and forms of social control Professor Giddings nowhere enters. His genetic rather than functional and analytical standpoint is the reason for such an omission. He recognizes that "a community collectively does things for itself—that is, for its members—and it collectively does things to or upon itself, scrutinizing and determining its membership, scrutinizing and censoring conduct."<sup>1</sup> He recounts the instruments of social control in the state, the municipality, and, in primitive society, the tribe. The influence of custom, of law, of parental authority, of the church, and of various voluntary associations is briefly sketched. The mode of social control is explained in terms of natural selection as one of control of variations from society. In the organic struggle for existence "there is an environmental constraint compelling conformity of organic structure and of life to certain adapted or adaptable types, from which variation is possible only within somewhat definite limits." In group life "human beings instinctively and rationally manifest a dominant antipathy to those variations from type that attract attention." Thus savage and barbarian communities secure a dead uniformity in conduct. By the enforcement and inculcation of customs and traditions, by organized initiation ceremonies, by clan and tribal councils, an undeviating allegiance is secured to the beliefs, habits, and loyalties held essential to the group welfare. "The *mores* and *themistes* gather and distribute a social pressure." In civilized society, where obedience-compelling devices are greatly interlaced, they have nevertheless the same end, to "determine, limit, and control variation from type, now extending its range, now narrowing it, and compelling a closer conformity." The method of constraint may be summed up in the one word *discipline*. In greater detail the methods are described in the following sentence: "By praise and blame, by avoidance and rebuke, by indulgence and license, by penance and fine, by suspension and expulsion, by corporal punishment and maiming, by imprisonment and execution, men are forced to desist, to obey, to help. Their conduct is educated into habits; their efforts are stimulated or goaded to acceptable degrees of intensity and persistence; their characters are

<sup>1</sup> "Social Self-Control," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXIV, 571. All the quotations in this paragraph are from this article.



moulded to approved types." These particular methods are employed in the "conviction that much conformity to kind or type or standard is essential to security and to co-operative efficiency."

The environmental constraint of nature is not absent in human society. In *A Theory of Social Causation* Giddings studies the influence of the environment (1) upon the composition of a population as more or less heterogeneous, more or less compound, and (2) through the composition of the population, upon its mental characteristics, its potentialities of co-operation, its capacity for progress, its ideals and its organization as more or less democratic. Nowhere does he trace fully the effect of environmental constraint, but in the *Elements of Sociology* he establishes a correlation between the degrees of social coercion and the heterogeneity or otherwise of the population. In an extremely heterogeneous community like-mindedness may be very slight, and the social organization, under these circumstances, will be coercive (p. 219). Again, in such communities, the nucleus of social organization is some form of personal leadership. Co-operation is based on fear, and the leader's rule is coercive. "In the heterogeneous population," he sums up, "not only does the unlike-mindedness there existing necessitate coercive forms of organization in the manner that has been explained, but also such like-mindedness as there is, taking the sympathetic and conventional form, creates coercive rather than liberal types of organization."<sup>1</sup> While these correlations between degrees of social coercion and the heterogeneity of the population (the latter fact again being correlated with certain types of environment) cannot be accepted as an adequate statement of either the nature or degree of environmental constraint, they do show in what direction Professor Giddings' mind is trending. Probably the most correct statement of his views would be that environmental constraint compels conformity to type. Hence in those communities where the environment itself has been largely responsible for diversity of type the environmental and social constraint will both be greater, the former manifesting itself in a selective death-rate.

On the third problem of the effect of social constraint upon selection, Professor Giddings has given less attention than the subject merits. Nevertheless, scattered throughout his lectures are

<sup>1</sup> *Elements of Sociology*, p. 221.

propositions and views that show the fact that, and, in part, the extent to which, his mind is working on the matter. He recognizes that association, though scarcely anything but involuntary social control, gives advantage in survival. It assists in perpetuating the race, in diminishing the expenditure and waste of energy, and in favoring the growth of intelligence. He holds a view contradictory to that of Fiske in regard to the relation of prolonged infancy to social development. Professor Giddings contends that association stimulated speech and conceptual thought, and these in turn reacted upon mental activity until it became man's dominant interest. A slower development of the individual and a longer infancy resulted.<sup>1</sup> Association favors survival by affording greater power of defense to the group, by affording a longer and more certain food supply, and by making maturity and reproduction of the race more certain. It makes variation more fruitful, and gives survival-value to such social characteristics as toleration, sympathy, and compassion.

By emphasis upon the value of toleration, social constraint modifies selection. In the conflict which precedes the establishment of toleration "the very strong kill off the weak. Then the very strong in turn are overborne by the numerical superiority of the individuals of average power. The majority then left is composed of those that are too nearly equal in strength for one to hope to vanquish another, and they are obliged to live on terms of toleration that make possible the reassertion and renewed activity of the socializing motives."<sup>2</sup> Along with these objective conditions go subjective consequences, the chief of which is an idea of toleration, finding expression in rules of custom, formulating "those enjoyments and immunities that are habitually allowed."<sup>3</sup>

On its economic side the consciousness of kind standardizes consumption. This in turn widens the market, producing a "consumption economy."<sup>4</sup> By diversifying wants and satisfactions, speculation becomes possible and production is increased. In other

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 386.

words, a standard of living is created, and this, under the production economy of the modern world, determines the extent of wealth production. The chief characteristic of this later economy is a social surplus, which affects selection by making possible the survival of many variants from the type that in the ordinary course of nature would perish.

Society is a selective agent, for social selection converts survival of the fit into the survival of the better. This is both an individual and a social matter. "Social conditions determine for each individual what elements of his personality shall be played upon by the influences that strengthen or weaken; what suggestions shall consciously or unconsciously give direction to his thoughts, quality to his feeling and so, at length, determination to his will."<sup>1</sup> The aim of society is to carry on the process of individuation without endangering race survival. The function of social control is "to increase the practical effectiveness of society as an instrumentality for the protection and improvement of life."<sup>2</sup> The social discipline in which it consists secures the extermination or restraint of the antisocial, and the selection for survival and encouragement of the sympathetic, the intelligent, and the self-controlled. But social pressure, being mainly repressive and destructive, has distinct limits of utility. It curtails variation, limits differentiation, checks spontaneity, restricts individuality, and tends toward rigidity of social organization. There must therefore be a balance between the restraint it imposes upon the antisocial and the freedom it gives to the elements adapted to a social life. If it offers opportunity for the development of individuation without endangering race survival, it has turned the selective struggle of evolution into progress. For "race maintenance and evolution with diminishing cost of individual life, with increasing freedom, power and happiness of the individual person—is progress."<sup>3</sup>

The fourth problem of the final consequences of social constraint conceived of as an amount or rate of progress has much more attention given to it. Social constraint, which is to Giddings a form of concerted volition, co-operation, and discipline, is a chief factor in

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> *Sociology*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

the organization of society. Organized society, in contrast to any of those imaginary states where every man's hand was against his neighbor, has become a mutually beneficial association for attaining security, opportunity, enjoyments, or improvements." The development of community life meant more than the establishment of social order; it meant greater security, a social and economic surplus, more definite rights for the individuals, and the definition of those rights in codes of law interpreted and applied by specialized talents and institutions. Administrative agencies came to shape activities of society, and were in turn reacted upon by the collective organization. Civil society gave opportunities and problems to intelligence, and, in application and reaction to the economic, cultural, and political environment, produced a civilization that stands for the vast complex wealth of an intelligent humanity.

After this general statement we turn to an analysis of the policies whereby this co-operation was effected. Such policies are formed "through deliberation upon the composition, the character and the circumstances of the community."<sup>1</sup> They are of two types, internal and external. The former have for their object the achievement of certain relations of unity, liberty, and equality within the group; the latter aim to achieve policies of subjugation, exploitation, and assistance between one group and another. Policies of unity aim to perfect the cohesion, the homogeneity, and the solidarity of the group through control of amalgamation and assimilation, of language and religion, of law and conduct. Policies of liberty are reactions against the restraints of excessive unification. They depend for their origin upon diversity of social composition, incomplete assimilation, and freedom of communication. "No scheme of unification ever quite destroys the restless individualism of the rational mind." Hence, when unifying policies have produced administrative order, and in part set the mind free for, and in part instigated it to, public agitation, destructive criticism, and even overt rebellion, an ideal of liberty arises, becoming actualized in the establishment and protection of individual liberty by forms of constitutional law. Policies of equality are reactions against the abuse of liberty and a limitation of it, so as to procure equality of

<sup>1</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 395 ff.

liberty and opportunity. These policies include political and legal equality, the abolition of state-created privileges in economic activities, equality of educational opportunities, and socially remedial measures.

Policies of subjugation result in the integration of small ethnic groups into larger tribal systems and in the consolidation of small civil states into great political systems. Race struggles and class conflicts have also been, to a great extent, expressions of consciously formulated policies of subjugation. In policies of exploitation the economic motive has become ascendant. In most advanced modern civilizations both these policies tend to be superseded in part by policies of assistance, where "the powerful and prosperous classes of the relatively strong people extend educational advantages, relief of acute distress, and, to some extent, economic opportunity to the wage-earning classes, to inferior races and to dependent peoples."<sup>1</sup> It is of interest here to trace the connection Professor Giddings establishes between surplus energy and the policies of assistance.<sup>2</sup> Certain organisms develop surplus energy, which enables them to survive under circumstances that cripple other organisms and to transmit to posterity a rich legacy of ability, or to give their own generation much socially beneficial help. "Of all the modes of socially distributed surplus energy, the most important are sympathy and its allied elements in the consciousness of kind. Given this force, the transformations of the weak by the strong necessarily become to some extent an uplifting instead of an exploitation. Given the equilibration of energy through uplifting, there is a necessary growth of equality and an increasing possibility of successful democracy of the liberal type."

In the development of these policies the internal and external varieties come to be combined in highly complex schemes. Thus internal policies of unification become combined with external policies of subjugation to produce militarism. Prior to attack unity and cohesion are demanded in the attacking state, and to a great extent the organization of society becomes coercive. After the conquest and the establishment of a heterogeneous people,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> T. S. C., quoted in *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 416.

policies of unification again come into play, to secure uniformity in language, religion, and conduct, through criminal law, sumptuary administration, and isolation. Successful militarism prepares the way for exploitation and stimulates it; but in the long run militarism works out its own destruction. With the downfall of militarism much administrative energy hitherto devoted to political integration, much economic activity hitherto diverted, and much intellectual energy hitherto suppressed, breaks free, and the result is a growth of liberalism. Diversity of peoples, laws, manners, and customs in the heterogeneous nation has a stimulating effect. Physical and mental plasticity results. The investigating, critical, and philosophical spirit arises. The nation becomes liberal and progressive and has to face the problem of pursuing policies that shall maintain unity and stability and yet guarantee liberty and equality. To solve this problem it must perfect legal and rational methods of government and procedure.

The political ideas which come to guide this latter form of social development are transformed and converted into highly complex social values. Subjectively considered, these are judgments of the "utility, or goodness, or dignity, or importance, of any object, act or relation."<sup>1</sup> Socially considered, they are "the social estimates of things that are socially important."<sup>2</sup> First among these social values comes the type of conscious life characteristic of the society; next comes the social cohesion; third, the distinctive possessions and properties of the community, such as territory, sacred places, national heroes, ceremonies, laws, worship, and amusements. Last in order of importance and of evolution are the "values attaching to certain abstract conditions that are favorable to social integrity and development, and to certain modes of effort that are intended to extend or to perfect the social type. The conditions are liberty, equality, and fraternity."<sup>3</sup> Social value, in the singular, means "regard or esteem for any social habit, relation, or institution which makes men cherish and defend it."<sup>4</sup>

What is the relation of this form of social valuation to progress? To this Giddings makes two answers, which differ only in their

<sup>1</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 393.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Democracy and Empire*, p. 59.

point of view: (1) "The rational improvement of society proceeds through a criticism of social values."<sup>1</sup> Society must accurately estimate the utility of every institution or custom, and the cost and sacrifice involved not only in defending the old but also in renovating it and making possible developments along new lines. By this criticism the foundations of a rational social choice will be secured. (2) Social conduct is the resultant of a certain combination of social values, determined by rational choice. Group the social values in a certain way and a certain form of social conduct will follow in obedience to the unchanging relations embodied in the laws of social choice. Progress then is dependent on (a) the formulation of the laws of rational social choice and (b) the combination of social values.

The laws of social choice may be formulated under two heads: (1) the laws of preferences among ends to be achieved, (2) the law of the social choice of combinations and of means.<sup>2</sup> These two laws, first sketched in the *Principles*, receive fuller statement in *Descriptive and Historical Sociology* (p. 351). The first one in full runs: "In all social choice, the most influential ideals are those of the forceful man, the powerful community, of virtue in the primitive sense of the word; second in influence are ideals of the convivial man, the prosperous and pleasure-loving community, the utilitarian or hedonistic virtues; third in influence are ideals of the austere man, the righteous or just community, the Stoic or Puritan virtues of self-restraint; fourth in influence are the ideals of the rationally conscientious man, of the liberal and enlightened community, of the virtues of reasonableness, broad-mindedness and charity"; but if mental and moral evolution continues "the higher ideals [must] become increasingly influential." The second law is formulated in terms of interests, that is, of "the elements, modes and means of good." Varied experiences and manifold interests lead any distinct section of society to "choose, select or decide, strictly in accordance with the mental characteristics that these different experiences have developed."<sup>3</sup> The law runs: "A population

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 409-11.

<sup>3</sup> *Inductive Sociology*, p. 181.

that has only a few interests, which, however, are harmoniously combined, is conservative in its choices. A population that has varied interests, which are as yet inharmoniously combined, is radical in its choices. Only the population that has many, varied and harmoniously combined interests is consistently progressive in its choices."<sup>1</sup>

Functionally, therefore, progress is equal to the establishment step by step of the higher ideals named in the first law and in the creation of the many, varied, and harmoniously combined interests named in the second. To that end certain "public utilities" must be realized. First in functional importance, though often last in genetic order, stands security of life, of territory, and of institutions. This security includes both international peace and domestic peace and order. "To secure and to maintain these, as far as possible, is the supreme function of the political system."<sup>2</sup> Next in functional order comes equity, "a certain compromise and reconciliation of the differing interests and claims of the individuals, the racial elements and the classes, making up the social population." To adjust these differing interests and claims requires some restriction of the liberty of the strong to curtail the liberty of the weak. The only practical method for conserving and extending liberty has been by establishing certain objective modes of equality. Only an approximation to such equality will insure progress in liberty, prosperity, and enlightenment. Springing out of this principle of utility comes public control of the economic system, in the interest of a greater equality of economic opportunity, and a tendency toward complete equality of cultural advantages.<sup>3</sup> To these public utilities as the functional content of social progress must be added a formal test of efficiency. The organization must benefit the organized and must be regarded by the members as beneficial.

Considering progress as an end to be attained, these public utilities fall into the place of means to an ultimate end, which is "life in its higher developments, especially its moral and intellectual developments," "a social nature, or personality, adapted to social co-operation and enjoyment. This social personality . . . is the

<sup>1</sup> *Inductive Sociology*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 526.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 526-28.



ultimate end of social organization.”<sup>1</sup> The development of the social personality is measured both positively and negatively. Positively it consists in the increase of vitality, sound mentality, morality, and sociality. Negatively it connotes a decrease in the number of the defective, the abnormal, the immoral, and the degraded. Practically it includes a eugenic program, based along its positive side on a “pure and sane family life, which disciplines the welcome and untainted child in the robust virtue of self-control, and in an unswerving allegiance to duty,”<sup>2</sup> and on the negative side in a ruthless suppression of the feeble-minded and other dysgenetic stocks.

In his treatment of the descriptive and historical material of sociology Professor Giddings has taken a position in which so far as a sociologist he stands almost alone. His evolutionary standpoint enables him to pass naturally and logically to a statistical treatment of the objective subject-matter of sociology. Collective behavior is typical and modal. “To the extent that safety and prosperity depend upon group cohesion and co-operation, they are seen to depend upon such conformity to type as may suffice to insure the cohesion and to fulfil the co-operation.”<sup>3</sup> “Sociology is the science of the origin, the process, the extent and the results of type control of variation from itself, within a group of more or less freely associating individuals.”<sup>4</sup> “Society is a type, controlling variation from itself for its own survival and further evolution.”<sup>5</sup> Therefore it pre-eminently calls for precise or quantitative study by the statistical method. For the phenomena of type can always be expressed in the statistical terms of “frequency” and “mode.” When the full significance of the many statistical reports available today is realized, greater progress will be made in statistical sociology. There may be needed also some development of statistical terminology and methodology; for frequencies of sort which predominate in our large collections of data in census and other reports are not held to be so amenable to the present statistical methods as frequencies of size. Rates of births and deaths, of marriage and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 523.

<sup>2</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> *Political Science Quarterly*, XXIV, 575.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 578.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 580.

divorce, are numerical and measurable, being items of number and size. But numbers of illiterates, of foreign and native born, of adherents of religious denominations, of delinquents and dependents, and so on, are frequencies of sort. From the task of finding a method of handling these frequencies and testing and establishing correlations therein Professor Giddings has not shrunk, and we have reason to expect from him a scientific treatment of statistical sociology.

Some of the feasible points of attack have been suggested by Professor Giddings. From an analysis of the statutory enactments of legislative bodies he has obtained index numbers to measure social pressure.<sup>1</sup> He has drawn attention to the problem of the resistance exerted by the southern states against the federal enactment requiring that full political and civil rights be granted to the enfranchised negroes as one which should be re-analyzed by the methods of the sociological statistician. The financial relations between towns and railroads in the days of the railroad-building boom and the subsequent action taken by the commonwealths to prevent the increase of municipal indebtedness, with the elastic limitation of this latter pressure, would afford an exceptionally valuable lot of numerical data for the statistical measure of a fluctuating social constraint. The work of state and municipal commissions could be tested statistically, as also could the struggle for mastery between integral society and the corporations. Statistical determinations of the degree of social pressure could be obtained from an examination of the public regulation of banking, insurance, and railroad corporations.

When the question is raised whether numerical measures of social constraint would afford any knowledge of social causation or of the trend of social evolution, Professor Giddings answers by showing how valuable to science is a knowledge of what constitutes normality, and what is the meaning and significance of variation from the norm. "The question, how much restraint, how much liberty, how much conformity to type, how much variation from it, are conducive to the general welfare, is the supremely important question in all issues of public policy. The right answer to it turns

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, March, 1908.

upon the determination of the previous question, namely, what is normal social constraint in a given community, at a given stage of its evolution, and what at a given moment is the actual range of fluctuation? . . . . To obtain, then, determinations of normal social constraint for modern communities, including municipalities, commonwealths and nations, and to perfect the methods of measuring fluctuations must, I think, be regarded as the chief object of sociological effort in the immediate future. That that effort will be successful is, I am convinced, a fairly safe prediction.”<sup>2</sup> In these sentences we get the basis, motive, and purpose of statistical sociology.

To sum up briefly, Professor Giddings approaches the problems of society as a psychologist and prefers that as far as possible they shall be submitted to statistical treatment in order to arrive at valid conclusions. He begins his study of society with the concept of cosmic evolution. He regards all transformations that occur within any social group as a phase of the equilibration of energy. Every social group has been in ceaseless struggle with its material environment and with other social groups. Whatever has happened to it or within it is best accounted for as a process of equilibration of energies between the group and its environment, or between group and group, or between unequal and conflicting elements within the group itself. Adopting the principle of natural selection, he traces its operation as transformed into social selection under the law of the consciousness of kind, all the while acting, in his own definition of a sociologist, as a “psychologist specializing in the study of behavior in its collective aspect.” With this outlook he is able to see the conflict of the like and the unlike, the differentiation of reactions, though he gives most attention to the co-operation which results from like reactions. Most criticism of his theories is directed against his failure to stress duly every element in the process of social organization. This, however, is but the defect of his qualities.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

# PROPAEDEUTIC TO MODERN ECONOMICS

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Under this title I offer three papers or three lecture-studies dealing with modern economic history: Part I, Preliminary Sketch or Survey of Economic Nationalism; Part II, The Larger Social Science; Part III, The Divisions of Current Economics.<sup>1</sup>

## PART I

### SURVEY OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

1. *Development of late mediaeval economics.*—The first chapter in my manuscript volume on *Economic History: Rise of Modern Economics*, describes "The Breaking up of Medieval Economy."<sup>2</sup>

The two following sections exhibit the large and usually accepted grouping made in modern economic history. By treating these sections parenthetically and continuing the consecutive numbering of our subparagraphs, the first six successive chapter headings of my study of the *Rise of Modern Economics* will be given. These six chapters we may view as describing the transition from ancient to modern economics and as continuing from 1350 to, say, 1914 or to date.

<sup>1</sup> Discussion for Parts I and II appears in this issue; that for Part III will be printed in the September number of this *Journal*.

<sup>2</sup> The remaining chapter headings of this manuscript study in modern economic history as its chapters stood completed several months before the outbreak of the great war in August, 1914, are as follows: chap. ii, "Rising Modern Economic Nationalism, 1480 to 1560"; chap. iii, "Policy; Colonization and Finance, 1560 to 1660"; chap. iv, "Mercantilism European, 1660 to 1750"; chap. v, "Commercial Imperialism and Industrial Revolution, 1750 to 1830"; chap. vi, "A Tentative World-Economy, 1830 to 1914." The new chapter on world-economy, on which mankind has begun and is now working, is chap. vii, "World-Economy after 1914."

When using the proposed book as a basis of instruction the topics developed in these papers may be presented by lectures or by informal talks by the teacher. But the formal work of the student should begin with chap. i, "The Breaking up of Medieval Economy."

The development of a late mediaeval or dawning modern economics is notable, traceable on a clear and large scale during the period from, say, 1350 to 1500. Mid-fourteenth century is the beginning of a period of about a century and a half which may, with general agreement, be described as the breaking up of mediaeval economy, and to this period the first chapter of *Modern Economics* is devoted. It deals with the late mediaeval, transitional, or dawning modern economics. In this chapter an account is undertaken, in secs. 5-10, of the inauguration of the agrarian revolution which began with the appearance of the Black Death in England in 1348, the beginning of the Hundred Years' War between England and France, and the rise of new social doctrines of that period, accompanied by the steady progress of industrial and commercial evolution throughout Western Europe. The changes in methods of manufacture and commerce as well as the beginnings of changes in mediaeval agriculture persisted unceasingly until the modern age of Europe had been unquestionably well begun.

A. FIRST PERIOD OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM, 1480 TO 1750

This period is described in chaps. ii to iv inclusive.

2. *Economic nationalism, 1480 to 1560.*—The second chapter describes the fiscal policy of Henry VII of England and his extension of the royal power, the rise of new forms of relief, the new canonist economics, and mercantilism. After Henry VII had attained the leadership of European peace and treaty negotiations, as noted in sec. 10 of chap. i of *Modern Economics*, the achievements of economic nationalism were thereafter carried forward under the leadership of great monarchs like Charles V of Spain, later Charles, emperor of Germany, Francis I of France, and Henry VIII of England.

This period, 1480-1560, witnessed the European extension of the area of commerce around the entire globe and the realignment of nations new and old about the Atlantic, which became the mid-sea of the modern world in lieu of the Mediterranean of the ancient world. This same period also witnessed the development of certain economic aspects of the Renaissance and the Reformation

which have permanently marked the economic theory, that is, the economic philosophy, or thought and policy, and economic organization of the modern world, sec. 15. This section is followed by secs. 16-18, which give an account of the finances of Henry VIII and the destruction of the monasteries; the agrarian changes and distress of that epoch; English industry and commercial expansion to the far South and the far Northeast and over wide seas; and the rise of the professions, the recognition of public welfare and new methods and devices for the relief of the poor—methods and devices which were required, that is, became socially necessary as a consequence of the reorganized church or churches of the Reformation period.

3. *First period of modern economic theory.*—The third chapter is given to a consideration of policy, colonization, and finance of Elizabethan England and the Commonwealth of England from 1560 to 1660. During this period the principles of modern economics, so far as these are involved in the modern mechanism of exchange, or money and banking, had attained a quite complete development, and were embodied in almost their present form, in the Elizabethan reform of the currency and the Elizabethan social legislation under the guidance of Elizabeth's great prime minister, Lord Burleigh (Cecil). Altogether the greatest economist of England during the sixteenth century, if judged as a doer, an administrator of economic interests, was Lord Burleigh, just as I should pronounce Pope Gregory the greatest economist of all Europe at the end of the sixth century (590-604 A.D.), if we judge Gregory as a doer, an administrator of economic interests. In ensuing sections of the third chapter the study of applied economics is continued under the twofold title "Policy; Colonization and Finance from 1560-1660."

After the manner of a student of political science who reasons back from the actual practice of statecraft by a Burke or a Jefferson to the political philosophy of a Burke or a Jefferson, so from the economic policy or policies of the ministers of James I, or of Charles I, or of the leaders of the Long Parliament, we may reason back to the economic theory that must have been accepted and tacitly applied by these ministers and leaders as underlying their

actually realized economic policies and their specifically adopted measures of taxation. These two great branches or aspects of economic science, namely, colonial policy and public finances, were likewise cultivated and applied by statesmen of the Continent at the same time with astuteness, energy, and assiduity. About the foregoing subjects and sundry others like agriculture, trade, and population, mercantilist and cameralist economics then mainly centered with increasing energy and animation.

In this volume I aim to write the history of modern economics, but not the history of modern economists, just as Cajorie in that little book of his on the elementary history of mathematics undertook to write the history of mathematics, but not the history of mathematicians. For the history of economists as distinguished from the history of economics, I refer now once and for all to whatever encyclopedic literature may be available for the student desiring to refer to some name or subject in economics on which he wishes further information. Of the encyclopedic literature I name and commend, for example, Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* and Lewis H. Haney's *History of Economic Thought* (a revision by Ingram).

Chapters ii to iv deal together with the period which can be very properly described as the first period of modern economics, although I am certain that I shall find objectors who will affirm that there was no modern period in economics before Adam Smith. But the defense of my position I will leave to the reader of secs. 5 to 33 of my *Rise of Modern Economics* which attempt to state the genetic development of economic theory and economic forms of organization before Adam Smith and before the physiocrats.

Among Englishmen who deserve high rank as economists long before Adam Smith, who will deny a place to Lord Burleigh, or Sir William Petty, or Charles Davenant, or Josiah Child, or Nicholas Barbon, to say nothing of others? In some cases we have to discover the economic theory of the earlier modern epoch from 1480 to 1750 by reasoning back from the practice of economic policies to the economic theory or the economic philosophy by which certain great thinkers and actors like Burleigh must have justified their policies and measures.

4. *Mercantilism European, 1660-1750*.—In this fourth chapter I describe an epoch of especially warlike and warring economic nationalism followed by a short calm in England under Walpole. In sec. 27 of this chapter I undertake to give a retrospective summary of economic nationalism regarded as culminating in a universal European mercantilism during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This era was marked by a passionate and incessantly active trade on the seas and by rival national efforts of colonial extension and territorial acquisitions which resulted in a series of trade wars between England and France, and a lesser and briefer conflict between England and Holland during the reigns of William and Mary, and of Anne. These wars were of great intensity. They were preceded and accompanied by a frenzied extension of, and devotion to, the policies of mercantilism. In sec. 28 I offer a brief interpretation of English economic policy and progress from 1660 to 1688; in sec. 29 I sketch the mercantilism of France (Colbertism) and of Holland. Then in sec. 30 I call attention to the special development of cameralism and its significance. In that connection I concede that cameralism and mercantilism have a common basis in economic nationalism, but I also affirm that the two present many contrasts. The English mercantilists were succeeded by Adam Smith and his followers. The German cameralists were succeeded by the modern historical school of economists. The reconciliation of the two tendencies was not even ostensibly accomplished in political economy until the mergeance later, especially since 1850, of the classical English school of Smith and the two Mills and the historical school of economists led by Roscher, Knies, and Hildebrand. This union of two wings of economic science is recounted in secs. 44-46 of chap. vi of my *Rise of Modern Economics*.

In sec. 31, chap. iv, I continue consideration of European mercantilism by describing English parliamentary Colbertism; and this section I conclude with a subparagraph, sec. 31 (4), which notes the Tory free-trade movement from 1688 to 1714.

During this latter period and the decades thereafter which followed under the Walpole administration, England laid the foundations of her commercial empire and buttressed her national



power upon the economic liberalism of her common law and upon the principles of her seventeenth-century constitutional struggle and a sounder trade policy, namely, the thoughtful Tory policy which heralded a free-trade movement, or more correctly, a freer-trade movement, as over against the narrower Whig Colbertism of that epoch. British internal economy in the period of calm which came to England in the age of Walpole is recounted in sec. 32, which is followed in sec. 33 by a summary presenting a very brief account of the economic development of the American colonies to 1750.

#### B. SECOND PERIOD OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

5. *Commercial imperialism and economic internationalism.*—In chap. v we enter upon the second period in the rise of modern economics, an epoch during which the absolute sway of the older economic nationalism ceased, but we must guard ourselves most carefully and even sedulously against accepting the inference which has frequently been made that modern economic nationalism then ceased. Economic nationalism did not cease even a generation later with the appearance of Adam Smith's great treatise on the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. Nor had it, nor has it, ever altogether ceased, even after the reform epoch which began in 1830.

During the three centuries preceding the period from about 1750 onward, the mercantilist and cameralist economics which began in the days of the new nationalist monarchs and their finance ministers, monarchs like the English Edward IV, Henry VII, and Henry VIII, the French Louis VI, Louis XI, and Charles VII, or the Spanish Ferdinand and Isabella, and the emperor Charles V, were represented by that first school, or those first schools, of modern economics which remained in unquestioned ascendancy until the forerunners of Adam Smith, like Richard Cantillon and David Hume, and great cameralists like Justi and Sonnenfels prepared the way for a more liberal and more cosmopolitan economics. The period beginning about 1750, may be denominated as the second period of economic nationalism.

The great eighty years from 1750 to 1830<sup>1</sup> witnessed a notable breaking up of economic nationalism, a radical change and even a partial collapse of mercantilism by the introduction of a larger viewpoint for the development of economic theory, for the development of a larger, wider, and more liberal system of economic thought, that is, a more liberal system of thought on economic subjects. But the practices of an objective English national economy changed but slightly and but very, very gradually. Nevertheless even the practices of the English national economy were slowly enlarged and widened by the experiences and demands of empire resulting in some changes of structures and policy, i.e., changes of polity and policy. Encouraged by the visions of a cosmopolitan world-economy anticipated and advocated by Adam Smith's treatise on the *Wealth of Nations*, this treatise then began at once its epoch-making influence.

In sec. 34 I interpret the meaning and significance of commercial imperialism as exemplified in the rise of British India and other contemporaneous events in the political and commercial world of that period. In sec. 35 I point to the logical and inevitable connections and relations of the commercial imperialism of that epoch to the rise of the Smithian economics as result or resultant of the economic and political forces then operative in the enlarging British Empire. In secs. 36 and 37 I analyze the industrial revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; in sec. 38 the economic significance of the French revolution; and in sec. 39 English social economy and the changes therein wrought and actively proceeding from 1760 to 1830. In sec. 40, with which I conclude the fifth chapter, I give a brief summary account of the Ricardian political economy, which is itself a triumphant expression of the industrial revolution in its effects on markets and the stock exchange as these forced themselves on the attention of a man who like Ricardo studied and understood markets and the stock exchange. But Ricardo himself took but slight and an altogether inadequate notice of the changes which the industrial

<sup>1</sup> These may be called the second great eighty years in contradistinction from the great eighty years from 1480 to 1560. Cf. chap. ii of *Modern Economics*.

revolution wrought during his own lifetime outside of the stock exchange in English social economy.

6. *Tentative world-economy.*—In the opening section of my sixth chapter, sec. 41, I call attention to the societal reconstruction of Europe and the modern world which was then beginning. A tentative cosmopolitan world-economy was inaugurated during the decades of the birth of English radical liberalism of Richard Cobden and John Bright.

In thought men have of course risen to an actually possible world-economy. But we must reserve indefinitely any declaration that we have today attained any actually existing, harmonious world-economy, except in the cautious and tentative hope we may entertain that a potential economic internationalism is now forming, that is, has been formulating, especially since the Napoleonic era, which will perchance ultimately replace the absorbing present potent basis of economic nationalism.

In sec. 42, under the title "Ricardian Economics and Bourgeois Democracy, That Is, Burgess Democracy," I direct attention to the commanding influence which men of wealth and the leaders of industry and commerce attained and maintained during those same decades. That commanding influence has been maintained since then. But it has often met with notice of check by the sullen notes of dissent that began to arise respecting the inequities of the existing system of the distribution of wealth and some notes of dissent in the presence of the happy-go-lucky optimism of the Ricardian economics which in our time, although retaining its vigor and its logic, has nevertheless been forced to replace its earlier creed of optimism with a more serious and somber creed of meliorism in lieu of an audacious optimism in the face of social distress.

The ultimate triumph of the political economy of the working over the political economy of the bourgeois was foreshadowed—but must we not say unconsciously?—by Karl Marx in his inaugural address delivered September 28, 1864. This fact is noted by Simchovitch.<sup>1</sup> I agree with Simchovitch in his utterance that "Marx's

<sup>1</sup> For comments on Marx's repudiation of his own increasing misery theory, see Simchovitch's *Marxism versus Socialism* (New York, 1913); also found in *Political Science Quarterly*, XXIV, 252-53.

claim to fame rests precisely upon his refusal to traffic in eternal varieties. His economic laws are laws of capitalistic production only."<sup>1</sup>

In sec. 43, chap. vi, I introduce a review or summary of measurable tendencies toward the formation and growth of an economic internationalism which, although at work since the Napoleonic era, has been particularly active since about the middle of the nineteenth century. The second half of the nineteenth century was notable also for the growth and development of a great co-operative movement accompanied by experiments in social legislation on a large scale, followed also by some bold efforts to develop a system of social politics in which social welfare and social insurance have formed central topics of discussion and legislative action. I am aware that contemporary students of these nineteenth-century activities which I have grouped respectively as the co-operative movement of England and as the movement for *Socialpolitik* in Germany, were generally wont to contrast with each other as resting on essentially conflicting principles and as destined to opposing goals. But in a re-reading of these movements and in the intenser light of the most recent decades, especially from the period since about 1885 or 1890 until the outbreak of the European conflict, these dominating aspects of nineteenth-century economic theory and economic organization representing English and German or Continental methods of approach to the same problems are dealt with in more detail in secs. 44 and 45, respectively, of my *Modern Economics*. These two sections exhibit and analyze two tendencies of approach to the same problems. These two lines of approach were clearly showing signs of union and agreement when the great European conflict suddenly arrested a steadily growing co-operation toward the realizing of social justice and economic internationalism. In this period from 1850 to 1914 English and German schools of economic science were likewise in process of being welded together

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Simchovitch in *Political Science Quarterly*, XXIV, 254. If the facts contradict the theory we must deny the facts or repudiate the theory. Marx was accustomed to deny the theory when he found it contradictory to facts. In the cases where he does not do this, we must do it for him. We can and should do it for him in some other phases of Marx's reasoning by pointing it out wherever his own logical conclusions or postulates are contradicted by the facts.

in the adoption of common measures for the promotion of the general welfare as shown in secs. 44 and 45, and in economic science and philosophy as shown in sec. 46 of the sixth chapter.

As noted above, during the first period of modern economics, mercantilism held universal sway in Europe during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. During that period, in sec. 30 of chap. iv, attention was called to the special development of cameralism as itself a phase of mercantilism. But its additional significance was then only barely indicated, without further reference to cameralism except for a mere mention of Justi and Sonnenfels in sec. 35, until in sec. 41 the German historical school was named as the most important of the several schools of dissenters from the English classical political economy of the closing and opening decades respectively of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

The German historical schools of dissent from the English classical political economy were themselves at the same time the logical successors and the lineal descendants of the German orthodox economics—namely, cameralism; while those German economists who accepted the Smithian-Ricardian economics of Richard Cobden and John Bright were known in and out of Germany as the Manchester school, *das Manchestertum*.

If an alignment of the economists of the several European countries were to be attempted with the predominant English and German groups respectively, there would result fairly general agreement in classing the Italian with the German and Austrian on account of their isolation along with Germany and Austria after 1500, as noted in sec. 27 of *Modern Economics*. The French economists and others bordering on the Atlantic would be recognized as English in tendency, as J. B. Say and Frederic Bastiat, for example, notably are. But this contrast between English and Continental economists has largely disappeared since the closing decades of the nineteenth century, a period during which economic internationalism has made great progress, and lines of distinction between nations on economic subjects have been vanishing more and more, while a unitary economic science then began its process of building with contributions from both hemispheres, north and south, east and west.

The inauguration of a larger world-economy thus had made a beginning in the late eighteenth-century movement. It was heralded in England by her commercial imperialism and the industrial revolution; these are described in the fifth chapter. The sixth chapter is now entitled "A Tentative World-Economy, 1814-1914." With the Napoleonic Wars a world-economy of an older sort was then replaced merely by the beginning of a new chapter in world-economy. The addition of another chapter beyond 1914 now lies in the future, and cannot now be written. In the opening sections of a seventh chapter, secs. 47-49, some possible beginnings of that new chapter are definitely intimated.

The discovery of the New World, the Western Hemisphere, and the further mastery by man of East and West, have given increasing indications since the mediaeval period of a new and completer world-economy. World-economy has come into process of development in a new sense by the inauguration of machine production and its increasingly fixed and growing world-market, which for more than a century has been making its conquests from decade to decade and from country to country. The present tendencies are now actively represented in large-scale production and in the formulation of international trade agreements. It is to events such as these, and not to signs of the cessation of wars, that we must turn for forms of a contemporary developing world-economy. A possible league of nations to enforce the peace of the world may have its promise for the future. But nevertheless the establishment of world-economy cannot mean an end of national warfare any more than the establishment of modern national economy meant the total cessation of civil war. The philosopher in our day, as in Plato's, must view phenomena from a lofty eminence.

## PART II

### THE LARGER SOCIAL SCIENCE

#### C. THE LARGER SOCIAL SCIENCE AND OPEN QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC METHODOLOGY

1. *The Aristotelian historico-ethical social-science sociology.*—In our day psychology and sociology are each striving to construct a more general interpretation of human society, in more objective

terms than those employed by the older philosophy. The new methods of modern science have resulted in a more objective, a more concrete, and a historical interpretation of the truths of moral life. These new methods of science have tended at once to restore and further to broaden economic inquiry by prosecuting it on the Aristotelian and historical lines of inquiry which were entered long ago; as, for example, in the politics of Aristotle, in the development of the Roman system of civil law, and in that remarkable system of reasoned expediency and policy which characterized the foremost representatives and spokesmen of the Christian church in its formative period, as exemplified in Fathers of the early church like Origen and Augustine, or in popes like Leo the Great and Gregory the Great. The objective ethical bases of their reasoning may be illustrated by anyone for himself who can find the time, command the insight, and possess the patience to read that great piece of apologetics known as *De civitate Dei*.<sup>1</sup> Anyone, however, may easily possess himself of an equally

<sup>1</sup> Augustin, or Augustine, finished his work, *De civitate Dei*, about the year 426. His argument is that pagans are censurable for attributing the calamities of the world, and specifically the sack of Rome by the Goths under the lead of Alaric in 410 A.D., to the Christian religion and its prohibition of the worship of the pagan gods. Augustine eloquently urged that the cruelties which occurred in the sack of Rome were in accordance with the custom of war at that time, whereas the acts of clemency at that time resulted from the influence of the Christ's name; Augustine further observed that advantage and disadvantage often indiscriminately accrue to good and wicked men alike. The bishop of Hippo, Africa, at one time professor of rhetoric in Milan, Italy, quoted Virgil and Horace as freely as Peter and James or the Psalms of the Old Testament to corroborate an observation of his own. Augustine clearly recognized what in our day we should call natural causes; he shows that the calamities of Rome were due to the corruption and vice into which the Romans had fallen and into which they were even then being plunged deeper and deeper. So his argument runs for the most part through his first seven books. In his eighth book he undertakes an account of the Socratic and Platonic philosophy and lashes the doctrine of Apuleius that demons should be worshiped as mediators between gods and men, as Wycliffe in the fourteenth century argued in his *De dominio*, needed no mediators of the sort which certain sages of mediaeval church and state were then passionately urging. The eighth book is especially obscure.

In order to follow the rational ratiocination of Augustine throughout the twenty books of *De civitate Dei*, it is to be sure as necessary, but it is no more necessary, to eliminate the out-worn psychology of Augustine than it is necessary to eliminate the out-worn psychology of many of the religious conceptions of Plato and Aristotle before we can successfully modernize the *Republic* of Plato or the *Politics* of Aristotle, before

objective example of vigorous ethical reasoning by reading that simple but great letter of Pope Gregory to Abbot Miletus in 601, in which he declared his reasons for his conclusion to spare the temples which had been erected to the pagan gods. For the stately apostolic salutation, "To his most beloved son, the Abbot Miletus; Gregory, the servant of the servants of God," we may substitute a more direct modern form of address and then proceed with directly quoting the opening words of Gregory's letter.

MY DEAR BROTHER MILETUS: We have been much concerned, since the departure of our congregation that is with you, because we have received no account of the success of your journey. When, therefore, Almighty God shall bring you to the most reverend Bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what I have, upon mature deliberation on the affair of the English, determined upon, viz., that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed.

But Gregory continued his letter and pointed out that the idols within those temples should be destroyed, and he directed that "altars be erected and relics placed"; he also directed that as a sign of purification water should be sprinkled over these objects. Gregory then argued that if those temples are well built it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of pagan gods to "the service of the true God; that the nations seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed." The custom of slaughtering animals (oxen) for the honor of the pagan gods and other wastes of pagan festivity and dedication Gregory sought to rationalize by substituting a more rational and less harmful and less destructive set of *mores*. Thus Gregory directed that a

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we can successfully modernize and apply their actual intellectual reasoning to modern conditions and problems. It has often occurred to me that had Augustine been possessed of the modern equipment of social science and social philosophy he might have chosen to argue for the location of his *Civitas Dei* as a successor to our mundane cities, to an earthly reconstructed city, by the perfection of future generations of mortal men, without transferring all his aspirations to a heavenly city far off. For the reading of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, let me recommend the translation into English by Marcus Dods, found in Vol. II of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers, edited by Philip Schaff. First series, New York, 1907.



sort of camp meeting should be held about a rededicated pagan temple when made ready for Christian worship. "They may build themselves huts of the boughs of trees, about those churches which have been turned from" use as pagan temples. They were directed to "kill cattle to the praise of God in their eating, and return thanks to the giver of all things for their sustenance." Gregory correctly accepted the maxim that he who would "ascend to the highest place, rises by degrees or steps, and not by leaps." The flying machine was unknown to Gregory.<sup>1</sup>

From the letter of Gregory to Miletus in 601 to the *Encyclical upon Labor*,<sup>2</sup> by Leo XIII in 1891 and since, similar lines of concrete and opportunist ethical reasoning may be found in abundance, penned by Catholic and Protestant churchmen alike. The Protestant churches of the Calvinistic variety throughout its various branches, the Lutheran, Anglican, and Wesleyan, and various types of other independent churches, have borne much fruit in the furnishing of good counsel adjusted to the hard actually existing factors and conditions of life. In fact these churches co-operate with one another and with the Catholic in some instances so far in the promotion of ethical ends and aims of everyday life that these forms of co-operation give some promise of a reunited Christendom; but these promising tokens, it must be confessed, stand by the side of tokens which indicate that that day of union is still afar off. Said a Catholic to a Protestant, "Where was your church before the reformation?" Said the Protestant in reply to the Catholic, "Where yours was." By an adequate and sufficient study and acquaintance with their respective and mutual shortcomings as well as by a sympathetic appreciation of the merits of the social service of the several branches of the Christian church their ultimate reunion may be accomplished. Into this union of fellowship and co-operation the enlightened spirit of altruism and social service of the new Judaism of the contemporary

<sup>1</sup> For this complete letter from Pope Gregory to Abbot Miletus, 601 A.D., see the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England*. Edited by J. A. Giles. Second edition, London, 1849: Henry C. Bohn, pp. 55 and 56. See also Glynn, *The Great Encyclical*.

<sup>2</sup> For citation of parts of *Encyclical upon Labor*, see Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 500, or Hayes, *Political and Social History of Europe*, II, 249-51.

world also commends itself. But in our conception of humanity and its co-operation toward promoting the advancement and ultimate union of all mankind we must provide for more than Christian Protestant and Catholic and advanced Judaism. In the present stage of the world's development we may at least agree in pronouncing as good literature Lessing's fable in his *Nathan the Wise* of three rings and the loss of the true original, and that confession of Peter recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, 10:34-35, "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him." These citations we may at least agree in recognizing as verdicts of great literature. It is not widely questioned in our time by the thoughtful that the modern forms of organized Christianity, notwithstanding the bickerings and dissensions which too often issue, are nevertheless a powerful agency for good which gains expression in individual and social, i.e., public or popular, welfare.

In fact these agencies with their continuous adjustment and readjustment of individual and social conditions constitute a constituent part of the life of every strong nation, large or small, under the sun. This larger social control, which now governs national life in its ramifying interrelations, imposes on the citizenship of every people its norms of conduct and the direction of individual and collective effort. Hence come the limitations and power of the state; hence arises the supplemental control which is imposed on the citizenship of a state or people in the formal or tacit enactment of positive law.

a) Sociocracy and Democracy; Merit of a Mixed Constitution: For some years now I have been accustomed to employ the word sociocracy rather than either the word democracy or the word autocracy as a neutral word in distinction from both words, which are nowadays much used and often very indiscriminately used, and much in opposition as if the words were mutually exclusive, whereas the opposition is after all now largely chauvinistic and usually rests on subjective presuppositions which do not at all rest on reality or correct information respecting the actual practices and policies of the several states respectively under discussion.

After the passions of the present conflict shall have subsided we can again discuss the relative merits of varying state policies more calmly and dispassionately.

If we examine modern forms of sociocracy, whether we denominate them as democracy or autocracy, we shall the more readily discover what there is and how much there is in common between the English and the Continental systems of law. All forms of social control, whether exercised by the church, the family, or the state, combine to make up public opinion or the social mind. The groundwork of a public opinion or social mind, if it is to be depended upon for the guidance and adjustment of the intricate relations of social life, must rest upon some system of reasoned law like the civil law of Rome and of Continental Europe, or the common law of England and the statute law of America and other lands founded on the English law; these systems of reasoned law are themselves expressions of ethical theory in so far as they approach the ideals of ethical theory, and in what country does its reasoned law not claim to aspire to an approach of ethical justice? In the Continental countries of Europe there is so far no distinction between legality and justice, just as there is no distinction between *Recht* and *Gesetz*; but does that prove any corresponding difference in justice and legality? Is the claim which is usually and often boastfully made for the distinction not after all essentially chauvinistic?<sup>1</sup> The long-since recognized merit of a mixed constitution now still deserves recognition. Modern economics and politics have as yet given no final answers to the respective claims of democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy. Shall their respective claims be finally answered much as Plato and Aristotle answered, and as really nearly all the political philosophers and thoroughgoing thinkers of modern times have answered? The best elements of both extremes must be combined in what the Greeks called a mixed system, and what we may call a constitutional system.

After the great awakening which came to mediaeval Europe during the eleventh century Aristotelian lines of economic inquiry were again reopened and re-entered by the recovery of the study

<sup>1</sup> For parallels and points of contact between the Roman law and English law, cf. secs. 44 to 46 of my *Foundations of Economics*.

of the new jurisprudence of the eleventh century and the development of the canonist economics so vigorously developed during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> That the mercantilistic and cameralistic economics are likewise based on a broad historical and ethical basis has been amply shown by the well-known essays of Gustav Schmoller and Albion W. Small respectively.

The historical school of economics and the newly forming science of sociology have jointly helped the English classical political economy to the present broad and sound basis of economic science. Among contemporary students of economic science some are showing a generous interest in this newly forming science of sociology and some a less generous interest; others are even showing a jealous and possibly a hostile interest in it; while a few possibly are still proudly sticking to their last, claiming that they have enough to do cultivating their own chosen garden. Yes, surely, the social sciences must be differentiated! This is necessary for the purpose of distinctly dividing the labor of students who must needs devote themselves to specific problems in order to become intensive masters of chosen professional work or selected fields of investigation. But shall these students have no provinces of investigation which they may claim in common?

Before a man can be considered a master in the social science of economics, or of politics, above all before he can be considered a Doctor, that is, learned in these sciences, he should know in addition to routine economic theory and economic history at least the elements of political philosophy and the common law, together with the meaning of such terms as constitutional limitations, judicial interpretation, and political corruption. I believe so strongly in the interdependence of economics and politics that I would insist on their joint requirement in qualifying for a Doctor's degree in either by requiring the other to be offered as a minor to whichever is offered as a major. Moreover it is also even at present proving true that the newly, though perhaps only slowly, building science of sociology is again giving to morality and the philosophy of reli-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. secs. 13, 20, 23, and 30 of *Modern Economics*, and secs. 43 and 51-52 of *Foundations of Economics*.

gion their former place of prominence and importance in the discussions of economics and politics.

It is self-evident and a universally accepted principle of a scientific pedagogy that we should aim to implant in our education of the child those simple arts and sciences which mankind mastered first. What we are in danger of forgetting is that specialized study must begin after generalized study has been prosecuted to a liberal extent, and that graduate study, in our parlance, should follow, and not precede or be contemporaneous with, undergraduate study. Not every man has the necessary saturation point for successful graduate study. We may with more semblance of accuracy argue that first steps in education can be taken by all. They belong to primary and secondary education. What we are in danger of forgetting in a self-complacent democracy is the natural stratification of social classes and the real differences between the thinking and informed classes and those who have no claims to distinction and leadership or to special skill as technically trained. For those who aspire to rise to recognition as entitled to rank in the category of the learned in social science or learned in social sciences, a broad and longer career of preparation must be vouchsafed; as Plato might add, they must be well born in the sense of a scientific eugenics.<sup>1</sup>

b) The Significance and Uses of Applied Sociology and Pure Sociology:

Pure sociology studies man in his relation to his human environment for no other purpose than to discover the principles which lie back of human association, to discern the forces by which the social organization is built up, developed, and held together, to deduce all possible laws and generalizations as to the nature of social activities. Pure sociology has its eye neither on the future nor the present, but on the past. It would be content to stop its investigations a hundred years ago, provided that by that time all the essential facts could have been ascertained. Because the forces of society are most easily observed and isolated where they are reduced to their simplest terms, i.e., in the most primitive forms of society, pure sociology devotes much of its time to the study of human groups low down in the scale of culture, the barbaric and savage races of the present, and the prehistoric societies of the past, so far as evidence exists for studying them.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fairchild, *Applied Sociology*, pp. 293-94.

Applied sociology, on the other hand, seeks to serve wider ends than the accumulation of knowledge. It is concerned less with the ascertainment of truths than with the utilization of truths to serve human ends. Applied sociology turns its face, not to the past, but to the present and future, and since the present is but a point of time, preponderantly to the future; it is not so much concerned with finding out why society is as it is, as with determining how society can be made different from what it is—better than it is.

It is evident, however, that applied sociology is immediately dependent on pure sociology. Without the theoretic branch, the practical branch not only would be helpless—it could not exist. It is from pure sociology that applied sociology gets all its knowledge of the fundamental facts, the basic principles and laws which it is to utilize in accomplishing its conscious purposes. In one sense pure sociology is the handmaiden of applied sociology, but in an even wider sense it is the parent, the creator, the sustainer of applied sociology. Applied sociology needs continually to hark back to the teachings of the theoretic branch. Without the parent's guiding hand it is inevitably doomed to wander blindly and to grope ineffectually. A large part of the failures and miscarriages chargeable to the so-called "practical" sociologists is attributable to a faulty equipment of knowledge of pure sociology, or to a neglect to use the knowledge possessed.

Applied sociology then has to do with the task of examining the human relationships of modern civilized societies with the avowed purpose of evaluating them, of distinguishing helpful tendencies and forces from those which are pernicious, and of devising means to perpetuate that which is good, to eliminate that which is bad, and to reshape the social organization the better to serve human welfare. Just as the applied sciences in the material field seek to control and direct the forces of nature for conscious ends, so applied sociology seeks to manipulate social forces to accomplish human desires. Both are absolutely dependent on the forces which exist; neither can escape from the domination of these forces, nor go a step farther than the forces make possible. But both can control and direct the forces so that they operate as dynamic agents for human welfare rather than as unconstrained and vagrant powers of evil.

The goal aimed at by applied sociology in this manipulation of social forces is concisely indicated by the term utility, or the greatest happiness of the greatest number. To increase the sum total of human welfare, to make life more worth living to the largest possible number of the constituent individuals of society, to make society itself a more efficient agent of human happiness—these are the functions of applied sociology.<sup>1</sup>

The larger social science will aim to conserve the Aristotelian objective and empirically social viewpoint in the study and in the construction of the social sciences and so keep in close touch with the spirit and method of the physical and biological sciences, and

<sup>1</sup> Fairchild, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6.

will strive not to lose sight of the substantial unity, continuity, and continuous interrelations of all the sciences.

2. *The newer psychology and the realignment of ethics with economics.*—The psychology which lies back of the view of applied sociology just stated is the newer psychology which has been recently expounded, for example, by a group of psychologists in a series of essays collectively published under the title *Creative Intelligence*.<sup>1</sup>

Through this conception of sociology, re-enforced by the modern social interpretation of psychology, modern economists will again be able to yoke together the teachings of a rational ethics and sound business practice. That honesty and integrity in business is in the long run the best business policy, that it is the only safe and lasting basis of success in business in the long run, is the teaching of economic history. How the neglect of this maxim avenges itself by the decay of business resting on deceit is indicated in many ways. For example, it was demonstrated by the failure of a false trade money which imperial traders from the Roman Empire attempted to impose and no doubt temporarily did impose early in the Christian Era on unsuspecting Hindus, as shown by the Roman denarii which have been found in the Punjab, of the pretended coinage of Augustus, but debased and plated to pass at full value. The uselessness of this kind of deceit must be proved by long-time and not by short-time periods, that is, by social values and not by individual values. The intelligent and farseeing state and the large-minded and generous-minded individual, thoughtful of the future, both are alike guided by long-time, that is, social, values. On the other hand ignorant states and selfish, self-centered individuals are guided by short-time values, on which profits can be realized or are hoped for being realized before discovery of defects or other fraud. During the first century of the Empire a considerable trade with India had developed through Egypt, but with wars and deceit it was lost after the lapse of time on account of the use of unreliable methods in trade. This sort of reasoning may be sneeringly dubbed ethics or moralizing, but in order that economic practice or the economic *mores* of any given community may be proved sound they must commend themselves, not only to the

<sup>1</sup> By John Dewey and others, 1917.

isolated community, but also to the general *mores* of any advanced and enlightened community, else we cannot conclude that there is or can be any standard which we can safely or correctly designate as the standard of civilization. A war confessedly often introduces a temporary reign of unreason and terror. But even in periods of peace between states we must be hesitating, liberal, and large-minded, or magnanimous, as a classic Greek might say, if we wish to pose as able to declare what are or what ought to be the ethical standards of a civilized man.

Perhaps it would be safe to observe that among the select and honorable clergy of every church and in the learned professions of all states, whether of church, state, or general community, law, medicine, engineering, and other skilled professions have in recent decades shown decided evidence of the new propaganda for social justice and social amelioration.<sup>1</sup> The value of race psychology, local usages, and business methods and practices into which the would-be seeker for new trade must be willing and expert in adapting himself also deserve his assiduous and efficient heed and study.<sup>2</sup> But even these are vain and useless in the long run if they are made to rest on mere pretense and chicanery, and not on real mutual service. Altruism can never be profitably eliminated wholly from human intercourse of man with man, nor even of animal with animal. Grounded in this newer and profounder contemporary psychology and this more broadly and more deeply based sociology, contemporary twentieth-century economists now generally accept the contention of the historical school of the mid-nineteenth century and the protests of literature from writers like Carlyle, Ruskin, and Morris that the induction from facts by the old English economists, including Mill and most of his immediate contemporaries, was not sufficiently wide, or rather that induction from facts was not sufficiently practiced.<sup>3</sup> Their reasoning was

<sup>1</sup> Edward Alsworth Ross.

<sup>2</sup> W. B. Sheppard, "Our South American Trade," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXIV (1909).

<sup>3</sup> That brilliant Irishman, John E. Cairnes, in his study of the *Slave Power* (1862), showed the latent capacity of British economists of that period in historical exposition. John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People* belongs to the same decade and likewise holds high rank as an essay in the economic interpretation of history.



excessively deductive. Adam Smith had begun with a few undeniable maxims of the advantage of liberty of labor and the division of labor. Ricardo and his followers developed all these with great severity under the guidance of the principle of freedom—of competitive freedom. Soon the older economists had made a faith of competitive industry. The idea of competitive market value was habitually made the central and well-nigh wholly exclusive point of their theory, the major premise and the minor premises of all their syllogisms. The next step was to eliminate from value, and in consequence from wealth, the idea of well-being. In this crass garb industry stood forth as a state of war and as nothing more. Re-enforced by their *laissez faire, laissez passer*, the older economists by the aid of the *epigoni* of the first reform epoch won for our science the sobriquet of the “Dismal Science.” From the hopeless aspects of the *laissez faire* maxim the classical economists presently recovered by developing carefully reasoned and well-selected maxims of exceptions.

But from the unfortunate and scientifically unfounded separation of economics from ethics the English-speaking world, above all the United States of America, has not yet recovered. If the proclamation of the separation had been accompanied by a contemporaneous or coexistent declaration that the separation must be insisted on because, forsooth, we do not know what is meant by ethics because ethics is a philosophical or religious concept and not the basis of a positive science, the decree of separation would have been less mischievous. But unfortunately the decree of separation has been seized upon as a basis for that fearful maxim of much of our business and politics that “business is business,” or that “politics is politics,” either of which being interpreted means, “Do the other man and see to it that you do him first.”

In economic conduct we must insist upon honesty and integrity; if these are not ethical the economist can perhaps discuss his subject without the aid of, or even without reckoning with, ethical ideas. But unless this can be established we must draw upon the aid of ethical ideals for the determination and guidance of economic conduct. Not one of the masters of economic science has dismissed ethical motives and ends from his consideration as curly

as some of the *epigoni* have done it. What we must learn to insist on is that in the long run, or in the large, ethical ideas and economic ends must coincide; that they cannot, at any rate, be diametrically opposed to each other, else how can they be made out to be sciences of the same cosmos? If industry is absolutely competitive, this and nothing more, it is a rude and crude state of war. The relentless, the extravagant assertion of the rights of competition, a much misunderstood term,<sup>1</sup> gave the initial impetus and impulse for the separation of business from ethics, a point of departure from which contemporary economics has begun a return journey, a point of departure from which there must be more complete recovery if nations shall endure.

Among the many hopeful signs of the continued development of economic science in the immediate future is the growing respect for, and the present very general and concrete employment of, scientific method in economics in lieu of eighteenth-century doctrinaire methods. This is evidenced by the esteem and confidence which American economists have been winning in positions of public trust and specifically in the public administration of both our federal and our commonwealth public service. This has been true especially since 1898, the year of our war with Spain; and who can doubt that the results of the present war will also continue to impress nations of our time with further need of more expert professional public service. But let the economist beware of trusting too far or too exclusively to books, to mere books, lest his learning become merely the learning of the parrot or the mandarin.

Another hopeful sign of the further development of economic science in the immediate future lies in the growing recognition of the interdependence of all the social sciences upon one another. The several social sciences are less and less disposed to shut each other off from one another as if they could be assigned to respective water-tight compartments. The developing science of sociology is contributing directly to this wider view of a larger social science. The lesson of rising by each other's aid as suggested by Keller in

<sup>1</sup> See Hadley, *Economics*. What the older English classical economists did wish to rule out of their economic philosophy was the meddling interference from uninformed religious opinion, not the carefully reasoned opinions of a canonist economist. Cf. sec. 13 of *Modern Economics*.

his *Societal Evolution*, as the physical sciences do, bids fair to be taken. Is this example not already followed in more and more channels and directions? A happy index of this combination of effort is today found in the field of social politics,<sup>1</sup> which is haply sought to be advanced by the efforts of each of the departments into which the several social sciences are at present wont to be grouped, namely, anthropology, sociology, economics, politics, history, and social ethics.

3. *Sociology as foundation and continuation, structure and super-structure, of social science.*

a) Genetic Ethics and Economics: These sciences may be grouped together as two fundamental social sciences. Ethics may be regarded as the more spiritual and the less material of the two, while economics is the more material and concrete, in the sense that economics begins in even closer touch with life and matter. Ethics begins with human thought and reflections on human conduct, manners, and ways of thinking of human acts and relationships. Economics emerges with thought-processes and acts which center about the house hither and whither, converge the food quest in consumption and production, in discovery, preparation, or conservation.

Ethics in its genesis may be viewed as fundamental sociology. But ethics in this sense should be considered, not as an intuitional, but as an evolutionary or historical, science. The initial norm and therefore the initial unit of inquiry in social science is *ethos*, "custom." When the Greeks began to make their inquiry it should be remembered and fully borne in mind that they were no longer a primitive folk, although they were then yet pristine. After Aristotle, perhaps we should say long after, intuitional ethics began, although we find traces of the same earlier even than Aristotle. Intuitional ethics and the intuitional philosophy which sanctioned and postulated an intuitional sense or faculty was a full-fledged product of the eighteenth century of Europe.

When William Graham Sumner late in the nineteenth century determined for his part to abandon the inherited certitudes and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. E. Merriam, "Outlook for Social Politics in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, VII (1912).

a priori assumptions of the older philosophy, he began to look for an answer to his questions in search for the proper title for his first book in sociology. As the world now knows, he went back in spirit to Aristotle and happily selected the word *Folkways*; the whole student world now knows, or should know, that Sumner selected the word *mores*, a Latin word having a little wider significance, as equivalent for the Greek *ēthos*.

About the word *mores* the facts of Sumner's social studies mainly centered, and from these facts collected and reported in *Folkways*, Sumner and his students began a reconstruction of *social science*. At the same time, and both before and since, a legion of other students has been occupied with the same or a similar inquiry, with the result that a practical and historical ethics is gradually supplanting a decadent and waning intuitional ethics. Ethics and religion are too often identified with the faith of the medicine man instead of being identified as they should be with the faith and vision of the theistic philosopher.

The standards of conduct as worked out by any given society constitute its *mores*. The economist who aspires to rank as a master of current economic literature must acquaint himself, not only with the masterful contribution of William Graham Sumner's *Folkways*, but also with that notable continuation of Sumner's work which is embodied in *Societal Evolution: A Study of the Evolutionary Basis of the Science of Society*, by Albert Galloway Keller (New York, 1915), and with the recently published volume on *Applied Sociology*, by Henry Pratt Fairchild (New York, 1917), together with other recent contributions in the same field. Such fundamental phases of social psychology as Sumner has demonstrably expounded in his *Folkways* and which Keller and Fairchild continue to re-enforce and expound can no longer be left out of account by the economist who hopes to deal efficiently with the problems of international economy, and will continue to be involved in the international or world-state economy of the future.

The *mores* of any given group of society tend to "become," says Keller, quoting Sumner, "in part uniform, universal in a group, imperative, and invariable," growing, as time goes on, "more and more arbitrary, positive, and imperative." They are thought of

as the code of a superior group, and this involves their comparison with the codes of other groups, to the disadvantage of the latter. "This group egotism which, among other things," continues Keller, "causes so many tribes to denominate themselves 'Men,' as distinguished from the rest of the world, who do not measure up to that exalted title, is called ethnocentrism.<sup>1</sup> The reason why the rest fall short of "us" is because of their ways far more than for any other, for example, any physical peculiarity. Ethnocentrism is thus a specifically human sentiment. It enters to strengthen the local code of *mores* as the distinguishing character of the group, and to promote intolerance and hostility as respects the ways of others. "Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways, these excite its scorn. Opprobrious epithets are derived from the differences. Pig-eater, cow-eater, uncircumcised, jabberers, are epithets of contempt and abominations." A galaxy of such terms could be gathered in our own society and time, as, e.g., bog-trotter, dago, sheeny, griner, hunkie, bohunk, guinea, wapp. These and other terms have been invented to mark the exponents of uncongenial *mores*, racial, national, or sectional. Thus "ethnocentrism leads a people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others. It therefore strengthens the *mores*."

It is to be noted that the differences which catch the eye and are thus held up to contempt are often entirely inessential. Diversity in language is prominent among these; ignorant people take the attitude, so graphically portrayed in *Huckleberry Finn*, that a human being should talk in the way human beings were meant to talk, i.e., as "we" do. Again, it is what the other people eat that arouses our contempt and even ire. Greek and American Indian alike despised the "Raweaters" ("Eskimantsic"); and the British sailor hastened to smite the snail-eating Johnny Crapaud. Such judgments, often totally irrational, as to the undesirability of others' *mores*, have contributed not a little, with the proper opportunities, to the attempt to eradicate both *mores* and men.

The economist, moreover, cannot close his eyes to such a sociological proposition as this: "There are such things as harmful *mores*."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-60.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sumner, *Folkways*, secs. 28, 29, 65.

It has been affirmed of the classical English writers on political economy that these contain no name of the first rank in literature, and J. S. Mackenzie in his *Social Philosophy* comments with great directness and clearness on the shortcomings of economists, whether considered as scientists or as philosophers.<sup>1</sup> The influence of J. S. Mill, Cairnes, Alfred Marshall, and other English economists has recently aided in working out an altogether wider and more universal view of economic discussion and investigation.<sup>2</sup> Economists will undoubtedly continue to suffer from some of the past strictures which were deservedly passed upon them and will continue to be passed upon them, except as they will cultivate the wider aspects of their science. Economists cannot too well heed the remark of Schäffle, "Without good psychology there can be no good biology,"<sup>3</sup> and Mackenzie's added remark, "Without good biology there can be no good economics."

In our day science cannot be shut off by itself and set apart into a separate, water-tight compartment, and the more we try to set up the complete distinction between science and philosophy and between ancient and modern thought the more clearly we seem to be learning their interrelations and interdependence.

Are Plato, Aristotle, and Aristophanes or Sophocles modern or ancient? They are to me as modern as Hinky Dink or Bath-House John. The memory of the latter will not survive. This attitude of mind, this habit of thought, the evolutionary hypothesis, develops. Social science, which embraces economic science, can afford to take lessons from natural science the more cheerfully and self-complacently because evolutionary science ought to pay back its debt to economic science. Spencer substantially said, I learned from Malthus.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. S. Mackenzie, *Social Philosophy*, pp. 53-70. On p. 57 Mackenzie observes, "Of course the reference here is chiefly to English economists."

<sup>2</sup> Discussion of scope and logical method of economics, cf. sec. 46 of chap. vi of manuscript volume on *Economic History: Rise of Modern Economics*.

<sup>3</sup> Schäffle, *Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers*, III, 285.

<sup>4</sup> For his exact words see *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 440, where Spencer says of division of labor: "This division of labour first dwelt on by political economists as a social phenomenon, and thereupon recognized by biologists as a phenomenon of living bodies, which they called 'physiological division of labour,' is that which in the society as in the animal, makes it a living whole."

But how do you make the distinction between natural science and mental science, after once you accept the hypothesis of evolution? Does not, yea, is not, mental science rapidly becoming natural science? Can it be anything else? On this point the psychologists have triumphed in being admitted to the rank of Baconians. In another group of social-science students some time is now given to the question, Are you a Spencerian or a Darwinian? When I am asked this question as a student of social science I am always at a loss for a reply. I always prefer to remand the question to the questioner and let him seek his analogies or his differences between Spencer and Darwin from some botanist, biologist, or zoölogist, and as for saying which of the two has the closer relation to, or the more to teach, social science, I am at still greater loss, because neither of them worked on the real problems of social science; neither of them has made any direct contribution to social science. Herbert Spencer was a general philosopher, and Charles Darwin was a highly specialized biologist. As for their indirect contributions, neither of them made those contributions by reason of their study of social science, but by reason of their somewhat distant and timid acquaintance with the old philosophy and the old philosophers, and because of their discoveries and observations which have proved to be very fruitful in their reactions on the old philosophy. By "old" I mean to describe the distinguished philosophers from Aristotle to Kant or to Schleiermacher.

I have read Spencer, most of his volumes, and I have read Darwin, his *Origin of Species* and his immeasurably inferior *Descent of Man*. With respect to method and the spirit and inspiration of science Darwin is of course regarded as the greater contributor to human knowledge. But Spencer and his staff of amanuenses and their lore were also worth while; they have collected a vast mass of fact and legend of which students of social science have made extensive use. When some of my correspondents have called me a Spencerian I have been tempted to ask: What do you know of Spencer? Do you think I must be a Spencerian because I accepted the doctrine of evolution in the sense of human development? In biological science a student may declare, for example, for Alfred Russell Wallace. The biologists have heard of other great names

and usually name others also in their account of the development of the theory of evolution. In the same way we must recognize many names in any real account of the theory of development. If I must be called names I might prefer to be called Malthusian, Hegelian, Pauline, or Aristotelian.

b) Economics and Politics: In evolutionary science the words economics and politics stand in the same relation to sociology as the words botany and zoölogy stand to biology. The distinction between the sciences sometimes described as *ics*-sciences, from the sciences described as *y*-sciences, has been to rest on the claim that the former are more abstract, while the latter are more concrete. But if we look deeply enough, or push any of the concrete sciences far enough, we shall find the distinction between concrete and abstract not a simple one after all. The terms "economy" and "polity" have always been available as substitutes for economics and politics respectively, and there is some tendency to employ these words whenever their concrete and historic aspect is to be stressed. In our day both economic science and political science are tending to be treated on Aristotelian lines by being approached in a more concrete and historical spirit. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, from Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill, the English classical political economy came fully under the sway of intuitionism and the older metaphysics, but thanks to the historic insight and criticism of economists like J. E. Cairnes and Walter Bagehot, aided by certain Continental influences, a reaction set in, a reaction which was embodied in Alfred Marshall, as shown in sec. 46 of my *Rise of Modern Economics*.

Throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, until toward the end of the century or the founding of the American Economic Association, our older American textbooks on political economy represented accordingly a dogmatic intuitionism which tended to set up and apart the sciences, separating them by hard and fast lines. They go far, for example, in urging the separation between economics and ethics in the treatment of economic subjects, and the explanation is not far to seek. It is found in the fact that owing in part to our efforts to hold church and state absolutely distinct in our American life we have made about as little progress



in our discussion of ethics as we have made in the discussion of scientific aspect of religion. Indeed our usual attitude is to treat both ethics and religion as tabooed in scientific discussion. We have accordingly our reward; we have little to offer on these subjects which is worth ranking as scientific treatment or treatise thereon. Thanks to the new science of sociology and the new psychology, the beginning of a change is now being made in our attitude toward the treatment of morality and religion and in their recognition as subjects of importance which requires scientific treatment.

In the early editions of Walker's *Political Economy* occurs a strong passage which stresses the need of distinction between ethics and economics, urging even that they have nothing to do with each other. This passage is softened or wholly omitted in later editions. I know of no passage in our recent writers like Ely, Hadley, Seager, Fetter, Taussig, Davenport, or Johnson equally radical; and yet all alike, and that wisely, are at pains to avoid proposing to speak in the name of ethics or religion. This caution is necessary because accepted thought on these subjects is still too far from that unity and objective validity and demonstrability which must support a scientific opinion. In the sphere of ethics economists have begun to utter themselves cautiously because in the discussion of what economists are now calling, for example, a prosperity policy, they must necessarily lend themselves to some statements of reasons which involve ethical considerations. But on this plane of discussion they clearly occupy objective and tangible ground. When the close interdependence of ethics and theology, that is, of morals and religion, comes to be better appreciated, these subjects also will each come to be more recognized as more and more directly connected with mundane things and freely discussed in the antechambers of the several social sciences. Witness, for example, Edward Alsworth Ross on *Sin and Society* and Henry Pratt Fairchild in his reclassification of the topics of *Applied Sociology*. Can the science of economics, economists must now ask, continue to make its needed progress without also continuing some degree of mastery of both contemporary psychology and sociology as contemporarily expounded? Just as truly an economist must have at least a fair acquaintance with elements of mathematics and

material science. He who objects to these fundamental preliminary requirements as necessary equipment of the economists is likely to find himself in need of a larger view of the content of a good high-school or junior-college education; the master economist must now add to these a good senior-college and a university education. But it would be idle to insist on definite agreements in detail on all leading topics of economic theory or investigation. A very general agreement has now been reached, as may be shown by bringing into comparison the views of the writers of our present most widely used schoolbook treatises on economic theory. I quote approvingly the comment of Fairchild when he writes in the preface to his *Applied Sociology*: "If some of the conclusions which I state, or seem to state, challenge contradiction and refutation, that fact does not detract from the usefulness of the book for the purpose for which it is designed."<sup>1</sup>

In the concluding section of chap. vi of *Modern Economics*, sec. 46, an attempt has been made to bring together a summary of the present phases of economic theory on which general agreement had then been reached. But with respect to detail and the more subtle and remote points of discussion of problems in economic theory economists are today as far apart from each other as the psychologists, whether you bring into debate with each other followers of old or of new schools, although for the future victory will probably lie with the new or progressive school. But no one man may safely pose as the authoritative representative of the correct or right school. The correct school is represented, as the advanced pragmatists put it, by an attitude rather than by a system.

I accept the recent utterance of Dewey, but I have no quarrel with him who does not accept this utterance: "A belief in organic evolution which does not extend unreservedly to the way in which the subject of experience is thought of, and which does not strive to bring the entire theory of experience and knowing into line with biological and social facts, is hardly more than Pickwickian."<sup>2</sup> Indeed I could not accept the Dewey school did that school not

<sup>1</sup> Fairchild, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from p. 35 of *Creative Intelligence*, by John Dewey and others.

show profound respect for, approval of, and acquaintance with, the older philosophy and thought. In thus proclaiming myself a pragmatist, saying merely I take or accept the pragmatic attitude, I am not claiming rank as a psychologist; that claim would be irrelevant and premature. But I do aspire to win the approval of my colleagues and friends, particularly in the spirit of my friend and colleague, Professor Patrick, a psychologist, who said of one of our colleagues from another institution, "He writes well and clearly of psychology for a man who isn't a psychologist." It has occurred to me that Graham Wallas, of the London School of Economics, decided wisely when he concluded to name his recent book *The Great Society*, and addressed his Preface to Walter Lippman, the aspiring writer of *Preface to Politics*. All these involve difficult combinations, and a forecast, which are worth the trying; and still more worthy shall be the ultimate achievement of a combination and union of sociology, economics, and politics with the aid of psychology and history into a developing larger social science.

c) Genetic Politics; Theism (Theology) and Aesthetics: In the foregoing subparagraphs of this section, and for that matter I trust throughout this treatise, genetic ethics and genetic economics have lent themselves to consideration in large measure as realizable by concrete human beings in pursuit of their livelihood and associated in accordance with manners and customs which successive societies of man on the earth have developed in the concrete groupings of human history. This has been possible, I hope, on account of the importance that we have attached to an objective study of a real objective economic world, taking form or gaining expression in economic history. Politics in the sense of a political philosophy has also been considered in connection therewith in the sense that every concrete and complete economic society presumes or assumes the state as its necessary counterpart. Although within the compass of a single treatise this objective counterpart cannot always be continuously kept in view or made a continuous part of the same story, we must never for a moment forget that its reality must ever be kept in view as a fact. A genetic politics without the aid of political history which will give an account of its constitutions and

institutions is unthinkable. It is readily made the most dramatic and engaging of all forms of human history.

Although economics and politics are usually studied as distinct and as standing in contrast and even in opposition to one another, I have for myself been so convinced of their mutual interdependence, after looking into their nature and observing their inner connections with each other and their mutual dependence, that I have not attempted to draw a distinction where to me no clearly evolved distinction as yet exists, perhaps will never exist, except in the sense in which it has already long existed and is more and more clearly recognized: namely, economics is wont to deal with the production and distribution of wealth, politics with the struggles which pertain to its mastery in and for distribution. Today, for example, many talk freely and fluently of the distinction between an economic and a political democracy. But is the distinction not one of vested rights merely? Otherwise this distinction is for me obscure and unreal. I find similar difficulty in apprehending the distinction often set, for example, between economics and sociology, or between politics and sociology. Social science will gain immensely if once we can recognize economics and politics as clearly parts of sociology as we now recognize botany and zoölogy as branches of biology.

Recently developed sociological analysis of social functions<sup>1</sup> points to the unity of economics and politics in a larger social science; while both of these have their roots in an ethical or historico-social science which for purposes of clearness in analysis of thought and function and for the sake of effectiveness in the handling of the tasks and problems of social life recognizes them as subdivisions of social science. But these subdivisions must constantly recognize their mutual inner relations and interdependence.

Thus in correlating social functions and social forces with social phenomena what shall we do with economics and politics? Shall we classify economics only with hunger in our exposition of social forces, and politics with love or the principle of population? But this would be manifestly inadequate. Economics must have regard to both hunger and love. So must politics, whether we apprehend it as static or follow it in its various stages or phases

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fairchild, *op. cit.*, chap. ii.

of social organization from the tribal through city and national state to a world-state. Shall we then impute hunger, love, and vanity as bases of both economics and politics, and can we stop here? Must we not also reckon with other human desires and passions as entering into both the economic and the political life of man? Any negative answer to this inquiry leaves the economic man or the political man an incomplete or partial man considered as a social being. This partial or stunted view of man was taken by the older political philosophy, and it is now persistently taken of the economic man, but not necessarily so, and it is not in harmony with the highest aspirations of modern democracy. In a democratic economic and political philosophy the entire man, his being and his aspirations, must receive recognition and must be kept in view. Hence in a complete and adequate philosophy of the economic or political man we impute also, that is, reckon with, theism (theology), with religion and art, as underlying a basic conception of the unity of the universe and of its beauty and perfection.

In these three aspects then, namely, in the unity, beauty, and perfectibility of the social life, religion and art sustain a close kinship and minister to the aesthetic life of man just as philosophy, science, and learning stimulate and gratify man's mental reaction and develop and nurture his intellectual and spiritual life.

The concept of one God in whom we think the unity of the manifold was clearly enunciated by the founder of Christianity, whatever traces of theism we may credit to earlier sages. After Christ a unified humanity was thinkable, whether realized in a Kingdom of Heaven or in a unified world-state on earth.

A primitive man's religion is also and always a portion of his philosophy and science, though humble, incoherent, and inarticulate it must be. So an educated man's philosophy and science must also and always be a portion of his religion, provided only we preserve this dictum: Every man's religion is and must include a consideration of his attitude toward the universe. I think it was Bishop Butler, an eighteenth-century English divine and thinker, who, writing on the *Analogy of Religion*, said somewhere in effect: We call that God which we cannot account for by natural law which is now known or explicable by us in terms of cause and effect. If now we

assign the unknown and unknowable which requires an ultimate explanation to a deity, *ὁθεός*, *ein Gott*, God, or *dieu*, why not attribute the rationally known and explicable to the same ultimate concept of the universe in its unity, beauty, and perfectibility?

d) The Human Type of Evolution: This type of evolution is mental instead of physical; it is psychic, not organic. The result of human evolution takes form in variation, selection, transition, and adaptation of social organization of human beings in associated living rather than in changes of physical form or structure. "Viewed as an animal, man," etc.<sup>1</sup>

Natural scientists mean something definite and actual when they use the terms variation, selection, transmission, adaptation. So in our day social science as sociology is becoming and has become a natural science which has learned and is learning to use these terms, not only in recounting the past course of human development, but also, and much more, by applying these terms for the education and reconstituting, that is, reforming, reformation of the world. Results must follow if, in sociology, we can learn to employ correctly the terms social variation, selection, transmission, and adaptation. Thus we can assist in creating a new world and replacing the old, not by adopting haphazard and sudden methods of revolution, but by patiently working out scientific principles of social evolution.

The first step in science and life which must be taken for reconstituting the world-peace is the abolition of the old ideas respecting race finity and race hatreds, and that extraordinary and extensive chauvinism which has the modern world in its grip. One way of doing this will be through the turmoil and the second thoughts which will come as a result of this war. If America has a mission in bringing peace it will lie in the advocacy of that wider basis of human brotherhood which Israel Zangwill has proclaimed in his conception of America as a melting-pot of races and nationalities.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>2</sup> I indorse very heartily the comments and observations of James Harvey Robinson in the *Century* for June, 1917, in his introduction to the "Loyalty and the Foreign Born. An Interpretation," by M. E. Rawage. Although Mr. Robinson pleads the right of all those Americans who have an ancestral country to revere and honor all worthy ancestral traditions, he pleads more directly for a better and greater America

If the evils and mischances of an irrational and embittered ethnocentrism has fastened itself upon Europe, that is not an adequate reason for our forgetting the lessons we have learned in the last three centuries during which our gates to the Atlantic, our present-day Mediterranean, have stood wide open to all comers from Europe. Would not a reversal of our Jeffersonian, eighteenth-century dogma of equality before the law be the greatest mischance and misfortune which our entrance into the present European war could bring to us?

Are we now preparing the way for a more just and equitable economic equality both in America and Europe? Is this true even of Germany, notwithstanding the fears which the present war has awakened against what we are now calling kaiserism or autocracy?

Must we not, after all and in the end, agree to a peace the terms of which can be constructed on the basis of good-will and law and order of existing sociocracy, that is, of existing social organization, and on the basis of existing or reconstructed societal ideas and forms? Let France have her president and Chamber of Deputies, England her king and House of Lords, Prussia her king and Landtag, until such time as these countries themselves decide otherwise, they in the meantime co-operating with us for the restoration of a world-economy the interruption of which began in 1914, when the atmosphere was charged with imperialistic and reconstruction ambitions

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merged in a wider and more generous patriotism. Items of racial antecedents, when cited, may have the double purpose of stimulating charity and sanity of insight, for which Mr. Robinson has used his pen. My own ancestral stock was neither New England, Moravian, nor Huguenot, but Presbyterian German, belonging to that branch of orthodox Protestant Germans led by Calvin and Zuingli, who along with followers of Luther and various sects like the quietists were hurried from the Palatinate during the wars of Louis XIV, when Ellsäss-Lothringen was first transferred from Germany to the flag of France, when amid religious persecution these exiles joined other refugees and under the patronage of the English king and William Penn settled in the Colony of Pennsylvania. The various nationalities of that period settling in American colonies along with Englishmen themselves were then welded into a new nationality with Englishmen of revolting sects who formed the fundamental layer, but all these together producing a culture of which the ethics and theology of the Old Testament furnished so clearly the substratum that the general and widespread presence of Old Testament names in the American colonies must now be interpreted as an evidence of the piety of our ancestors rather than taken as an indication of Hebrew descent.

which then were probably not restricted to any one or even to any two countries. In 1914 hopes of a crushing victory were more freely avowed than now. An expectation, a desire for peace, has come. Will autocracy suddenly come to an end? Has the reconstitution of the German Reichstag commenced? Will democracy now suddenly triumph?<sup>1</sup> Where and when will democracy find its method, law, or chart of reconstruction and achievement, except in the laws of past social evolution? Does the hope of democracy for the future lie with the further development of legal systems? If the answer be affirmative it can only be so if the social conscience develops *pari passu*. Russia, Germany, France, and other portions of Europe will have their surprises in programs of accomplished social reconstruction. Not least of all will attention be commanded forthwith by the British labor movement and proposals therewith arising of a new social order.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Simeon Strumsky, "The Fourth Year of the War," *Yale Review*, October 1917.

<sup>2</sup> See "Labor and the New Social Order" (A report by the subcommittee of the British Labor Party), *New Republic*, February 16, 1918.

[To be continued]



# ALCOHOL AND CRIME: A STUDY IN SOCIAL CAUSATION

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At last, after generations of dispute, experiment, and research, clarified public opinion recognizes the liquor traffic as a problem of first-rate national importance whose solution depends upon prevention rather than cure. Alcohol appears as a factor, a chief maker, of the bad social conditions which mar our civilization. It is known to be a direct or contributory cause of degeneracy, pauperism, poverty, disease, and crime. In short, science has cleared the way for an intelligent approach to the drink problem. Refuge after refuge of the liquor interest has been destroyed. Pet fallacies have been exposed. Science has demonstrated that alcohol is not a healthful "food," a safe "stimulant," nor a socially productive "employer of labor." It increases the chances of death. If beer is "liquid bread," we now know that it is not the bread of life but of death, precisely in proportion to the amount of alcohol which it contains. In small quantity as well as in large, alcohol lessens physical and mental efficiency. It is a toxin, a narcotic, not a stimulant. It hinders sane thinking; for while it increases boldness and self-confidence it impairs the judgment. In all its effects it is destructive of the human organism.

## I. NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Accordingly, in its use and traffic alcohol appears as a powerful antisocial force. Especially is it a social menace with respect to crime. The results of the most cautious research show that it is a producer of criminals and of crime on an enormous scale. What else could one expect? Has not the scientific laboratory proved that the habitual use of alcohol, in whatever quantity, disintegrates the moral character? It impairs the judgment, clouds the reason, and enfeebles the will; while at the same time it arouses the appetites, inflames the passions, releases the primitive beast from the

artificial restraint of social discipline. All the conditions are favorable to the generation of crime.

To state in percentages the exact relation of alcohol to crime, or to the various classes of crime, may not always be possible in the present stage of statistical research. In the last analysis it may not always be easy to determine whether the crime committed by the intoxicated man is due to the habitual use of alcohol; whether the drinking habit was induced by poverty, disease, or other misery; or whether there is a "vicious circle" of cause and effect. It may not in every case be possible to disentangle alcohol as a cause from the skein of contributory causes of crime, nor to be quite sure whether it is a direct or an indirect cause; but, as will presently appear, the amount of crime for which it is certain that alcohol is wholly or in part responsible is so vast that even on this ground alone the shocked social conscience should demand nothing less than a drastic remedy: absolute outlawry of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks.

The problem in hand is complex; but here, too, science has done much to simplify the task of the investigator. Just as the physicist, the chemist, the biologist, and the pathologist have revealed the true nature of alcohol, so the criminologist, with his scientific coadjutors, is disclosing the real causes of crimes and the true nature of criminals. Tendencies or "characters" may be transmissible from parent to child. Heredity in this sense is a factor in human destiny which the eugenist is reckoning with to the advantage of the race. But, practically speaking, we now know that the criminal is the creature of environment, of wrong social conditions which may be remedied. The extreme dogma of Lombroso and his school that the criminal as such is an abnormal man, a distinct human type, is swiftly passing, if it be not entirely abandoned. Even Lombroso modified his view as presented in the *Criminal Man* (1895); and in his later work, *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies* (1899), he places the accent on social causes.<sup>1</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> The development of the theories as to the causes of crime are traced by Maurice Parmelee in the introduction of this English translation of Lombroso's work; and also in his *Principles of Anthropology and Sociology in Their Relations to Criminal Procedure* (1908).

is no hereditary criminal class. If the "born criminal" exists he is a rare specimen, indeed, compared with the sinister yet pathetic host begotten by bad social conditions.

Decisive proof of the power of living conditions to save or to damn the human soul is presented in Dugdale's famous book. Professor Giddings writes:

An impression quite generally prevails that "The Jukes" is a thorough-going demonstration of "hereditary criminality," "hereditary pauperism," "hereditary degeneracy," and so on. It is nothing of the kind, and its author never made such claim for it. He undoubtedly believed in the hereditary transmission of character tendencies, as of physical traits, and here and there he points out what seem to him to be evidences of heredity, in this sense, in the "Jukes" blood. But he is ever careful . . . to warn the reader "that the conclusion is tentative. Far from believing that heredity is fatal, Mr. Dugdale was profoundly convinced that 'environment' can be relied on to modify, and ultimately to eradicate, even such deep-rooted and widespread growths of vice and crime as the 'Jukes' group exemplifies." In the clearer light afforded by Weismann's researches and the Mendelian law, "we can only say that *probably* heredity is a fateful factor in the moral, and therefore in the social, realm, but that we need an immense amount of patient research to determine exactly what it is and what it does." One thing is certain, heredity "always has the coefficient 'environment'"; for hereditary character tendencies, whether these be good or evil, are modified, held in abeyance, or pushed forward by the conditions of the individual's life.<sup>1</sup>

These conclusions are powerfully supported by the great work of Bonger, *Criminality and Economic Conditions*.

The result is enlightening for the relation of alcohol to crime. There is no longer a plausible excuse for *laissez faire*. Under the shield of heredity the social conscience may no longer shift its burden to the shoulders of the Almighty. If directly or indirectly criminality is mainly the fruit of bad social conditions, the remedy is in society's own hands; for intellectual man, unlike the lower animal, is able to transform his environment. Sometimes the task is titanic. To master the crime-producing environment which consists in alcohol and the organized alcohol traffic may cost more courage, wisdom, and toil than it cost to abolish human slavery, than it may cost to destroy the "great white plague" or the "great

<sup>1</sup> Franklin H. Giddings, Introduction to the *Jukes*. "Criminals are made and not born," H. H. Goddard, *The Kallikak Family*, p. 54.

black plague"; but it can be done and it *will* be done when its nature is clearly understood by the majority. To believe otherwise would be to lose faith in human intelligence.

As a preparation for a wise policy the sinister record of actual crimes caused by alcohol must be placed within the reach of all. It should become a part of the textbook of public education. That record must be completed by the trained statistician. Already several valuable studies of limited extent—the best by the Committee of Fifty—have provided materials for fairly safe conclusions. Is it not needful to extend the investigation and bring it to date? Should not the national government put the whole many-sided problem of alcohol and the liquor traffic in the hands of a properly equipped commission for basic and comprehensive research? Still the figures in hand have a very great meaning. They reveal alcohol as a chief factor in felonies, in lesser crimes and misdemeanors, and in the often more harmful "social crimes" which are not always noticed by the statute book. What are the facts for each of these three classes of offenses?

## 2. ALCOHOL THE MOTHER OF FELONY

The investigation of the Committee of Fifty (1893-1905) enables us in part to measure for the United States the relative influence of alcohol as a producer of felony and equivalent heinous crime. It is important to note, in weighing its conclusions, that the committee was almost painfully cautious and conservative in its methods and in its findings. It did not attempt the enormous task of gathering the facts for the whole country. Its aim was to establish conclusions which should have typical value. Accordingly, its study "covered 13,402 convicts, in seventeen prisons and reformatories scattered throughout twelve states." In effect it was thus virtually restricted to the crimes usually classified as "felonies." The results of the investigation are presented by Mr. Koren<sup>1</sup> in a number of elaborate statistical tables or "summaries": rich mines for exploitation by the criminologist, the economist, and the sociologist. What is their meaning for the problem in hand?

<sup>1</sup> John Koren, *Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem*, pp. 133-209, and tables in the Appendix.

The most salient fact—huge, tragic, portentous—is that 6,694 of these crimes, one-half of the whole number investigated, were wholly or in part induced by intemperance as a “general” cause. In 4,179 cases, or 31.18 per cent of the total, alcohol was the “first” or principal cause; and in 2,261 cases, or 16.87 per cent of the whole, it was the sole cause of the felony. Assuming that the same ratio obtains, this means, according to the United States census, that on June 30, 1904, there were in the penitentiaries and reformatories of the whole country 30,000 felons whose crimes were wholly or in part due to alcohol.<sup>1</sup>

Another fact, hardly less enlightening, is disclosed by observing the nativity of the convicts. Intemperance as a cause of crime “yields percentages for the nationalities in the following order”: (1) Scotch, 58.33; (2) Canadian, 56.74; (3) Irish, 56.70; (4) Swedish and Norwegian, 56.25; (5) Polish, 53.41; (6) English, 52.92; (7) American, 50.23; (8) Italian, 50.00; (9) German, 44.87; (10) Austrian, 34.62; (11) Russian, 25.00.

The lesson taught by these figures is not hard to read. Among the foreign-born residents of the United States the relative percentage of felonies due to intemperance for each nationality stands in direct ratio to the drinking habits of such nationality. *The hardest drinking peoples show the highest relative percentages of heinous crimes induced by alcohol.* The relative quantity of alcoholic liquor consumed by a people produces a corresponding relative percentage of *its convicted felons*. Hence, as shown above, the notoriously hard-drinking Scotch, Irish, Scandinavians, and English take high rank for the proportion of their alcoholic criminals; while at the very bottom of the list we find the convicts classed as “Russians,” in reality of the “Hebrew race which is noted for its exceptional sobriety the world over.” The seeming exceptions to this rule may be explained. Thus the surprisingly high rank of the Poles and Italians may be accounted for by emotional race characteristics causing a large percentage of “crime against the person.” Perhaps the lower rank of the Germans may be accounted for by the excellent urban, industrial, and other superior social environment

<sup>1</sup> The total number of felons for all causes in prisons was *on that day* 60,653; but *during the year* 149,691 had been committed to imprisonment.

which partially counteracts the influence of an excessive use of alcoholic drinks. For, it should be noted, the statistics do not show that the total amount of crime committed by a people bears a direct relation to the quantity of alcohol consumed; but that, of the crimes for which a nationality is actually responsible, the percentage due to intemperance, generally speaking, bears the quantitative relation already set forth. In the cautious words of Mr. Koren, "more convicts of a hard-drinking people will owe their criminal condition to drink than those of a notably temperate nationality." The percentages for the hard-drinking peoples, when alcohol is considered either as the principal or as the sole cause of crime, tend to sustain this view.

Decidedly among the master makers of criminals in the United States alcohol holds the highest rank.<sup>1</sup> It is the primary breeder of felony. Mr. Koren's tables enable us to see how intemperance measures up with its chief rivals in the wasting of human life. "Lack of industrial training," "unfavorable environment," and "intemperance" are compared, each as the "first" or principal cause of crime. Intemperance is excluded from all cases in which it was only a minor factor, so that here its full extent as a crime cause is not under discussion. Grouping the 13,402 cases under review in this way, unfavorable environment is chargeable with 4,091, or 30.53 per cent; lack of industrial training with 2,943, or 21.96 per cent; intemperance with 4,179, or 31.18 per cent; other causes with 2,189, or 16.33 per cent.

Again, when the same factors are compared, each as the "sole" cause of crime, alcohol maintains its supremacy. Distributing the 13,402 cases according to sole causes, unfavorable environment is responsible for 986, or 7.36 per cent; lack of industrial training for 959, or 7.16 per cent; intemperance for 2,261, or 16.87 per cent. So, if the three great competitors in the production of criminals work independently, single-handed, alcohol proves stronger than its two rivals combined. The relation is more than reversed, however, when the victims of unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training, working separately and also in combination, are

<sup>1</sup> According to Bonger, *Criminality and Economic Conditions*, pp. 508-16, chronic alcoholism predisposes a man to crime even when he is not drunk.

added; for then they amount to 4,519, almost exactly twice as many as the victims of intemperance working alone.

The mine is by no means yet exhausted. According to these tables, what is the *favorite* kind of crime which alcohol produces? For the three rivals, each acting as the "first" or principal cause, the respective percentages of "crimes against property" are these: unfavorable environment, 30.54; lack of industrial training, 25.40; intemperance, 29.58. The percentages for "crimes against the person" show a very different relative rank. Now unfavorable environment yields 30.43; lack of industrial training, 13.45; intemperance, 36.14. The superior rank of alcohol as a producer of this class of felonies is revealed in an even more striking way, if intemperance be measured as a general rather than as a principal cause. While for all causes only 23.17 per cent of these convicts were committed for crimes against the person, 51.53 per cent of those who owed their punishment to intemperance were guilty of that kind of crime.

Of course it is not surprising that alcohol, while not neglecting the destruction of property, should show a decided preference for homicide and other crimes of violence against human beings.<sup>1</sup> This tendency is sometimes accentuated by race temperament. Already it has been suggested that the high relative percentage of alcoholic crimes committed by Poles and Italians may be explained by this tendency. It becomes a serious social menace in case of the Indian and the Negro. The effects of alcohol on the passions of the red man are disastrous in the extreme. The intoxicated Indian is bestial, almost fiendish, in his depravity. No depth of immorality, we are told, is too low for him. The lust of killing is aroused by the "fire water." Yet the specific desire for intoxicating drink is not an inherent race appetite. It was kindled and fostered by the insatiable greed of the white rum-seller. It is hardly too much to say that, first and last during nearly three centuries, the misfortunes, the degradation, the crimes, and the threatened extinction of the Indian people are due chiefly to the liquor traffic.

The case of the negro is unique. He is not a habitual drunkard. As a rule the negro of the South does not use liquor in his

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bonger, *op. cit.*, pp. 639-44.

home. He indulges in orgies of intoxication on Saturdays, on Christmas, or other holidays. Then his evil passions are released and he is prone to commit acts of violence; but in a less degree than the white man is his efficiency or earning capacity impaired by these excesses. Nevertheless, reports Mr. Koren, "whether we regard intemperance as a principal or as a general cause, it is seen to affect more vitally the criminal condition of the negroes than that of the whites. In the first instance we get a lower percentage by about 2 per cent, and in the second by about 10 per cent, in favor of the whites. In other words, while the statistics of poverty as well as of pauperism disclose far less intemperance in the colored race, among criminals the conditions are reversed. How are these apparent contradictions to be reconciled?" From a study of the schedules, he continues, we learn that "proportionately a great many more colored than white men are imprisoned for crimes against the person committed while under the influence of liquor. That is, they were to an unusual number guilty of unpremeditated stabbings, shootings, and other violent acts resulting from drunken quarrels that are so common among certain classes of negroes." In harmony with this conclusion is the fact that relatively fewer crimes against property, by 1 per cent, are committed by negroes than by whites; and that, while unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training combined as crime producers hold second rank among the white convicts, they hold only fourth rank among the black.

Is it strange that the South has become leader in the warfare against the alcohol traffic?

### 3. ALCOHOL THE BREEDER OF CRIME AND OF CRIME-PRODUCING CONDITIONS

The careful investigation by the Committee of Fifty, covering perhaps one-fifth of the convicts in the United States then imprisoned for heinous offenses, thus constitutes a powerful indictment of the liquor traffic. It is highly probable that its findings, startling though they are, do not disclose the full extent of the evil even in this restricted field. At the very best, statistical averages express but feebly and coldly the miseries and wrongs due to an antisocial



agency such as alcohol. Investigations of the relation of intemperance to crime in general bring us nearer the truth. For example, Ferri has pointed out a significant parallel between the increase in the consumption of alcoholic liquors and the increase of crime in France.<sup>1</sup> In that country the "average consumption of wine, estimated at 62 litres (13.64 gallons) per head in 1829, exceeded 100 litres in 1879; and in Paris the average of 120 litres in 1819-30, reached 227 litres in 1881." Again, the "total manufacture of alcohol in France (95 per cent of which is consumed in the form of drink) rose from 479,680 hectolitres in 1843 to 1,309,565 in 1879, and 2,004,000 in 1887." Simultaneously "there was an increase of crimes and offences, suicides in particular having increased from 1,542 in 1829 to 8,202 in 1887." Furthermore, he shows that the number of crimes rises and falls with good and bad vintages, respectively. Failure of the vintage in the years 1853-55, 1859, 1867, 1873, 1878-80 was "attended by a remarkable diminution of crime (assaults and wounding)"; while there was an increase of crime in 1850, 1856-58, 1862-63, 1865, 1868, 1874-75, when the vintage was abundant.

Thus a popular fallacy is exposed. This "parallelism," remarks Lombroso on Ferri's figures,<sup>2</sup> "is the stranger and more noteworthy because several authors pretend to attribute a fatal influence to spirits only and not to wine," so that it is "proposed to encourage the distribution of wine in the countries most inclined to crime." Yet these statistics show that on the whole the relation of the consumption of spirits to "homicides and assaults is not so evident as that of wine"; and "this is easy to understand, for brawls are more easily started in the wineshops than in the establishments of the brandy sellers, where the stay is too short for an opportunity to be given for quarrels." In Germany, as we shall see presently, it is beer rather than wine or spirits that measures the growth of crimes of violence.

The facts just considered have a special interest in connection with the quantitative theory of the relation of alcohol to crime presented above in connection with the nationality of convicts.

<sup>1</sup> Ferri, *Criminal Sociology*, pp. 116-24.

<sup>2</sup> Lombroso, *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies*, p. 91.

It finds further support in the parallelism between the increased number of crimes and the larger use of alcoholic drinks on holidays. Schröter "reports that in Germany out of 2,178 crimes (assault and battery) 58 per cent took place Saturday night, 3 per cent Sunday, 1 per cent Monday; and that upon these same days sexual crimes, rebellion, and arson took the lead with a ratio of 87 per cent."<sup>1</sup> In this instance it is significant that of the 215 cases of crime taking place on Monday 112, or 53 per cent, were "committed by men who did not go to work on that day." But Sunday is the favored time for such offenses. A mass of statistics gathered by Aschaffenburg<sup>2</sup> from various sources reflects "sadly on what is called Sunday rest." It is noteworthy that a large percentage of the assaults and other crimes committed by German students are holiday offenses. For this fact beer-drinking is mainly responsible. "Compared with the criminality of all classes of society, that of the students appears very grave, especially taking into consideration how few of their crimes are offences against property, which constitute 46 per cent of all crimes and offences against the laws of the land."<sup>3</sup>

A similar coincidence in the number of crimes of violence and the consumption of alcoholic drinks on holidays has been noted in Italy, where "all the crimes of violence and against persons take the lead on holidays, as compared with fraudulent and premeditated crimes," which are not primarily induced by drink.<sup>4</sup> It is needless to add that every observer knows that the same parallelism exists in America wherever the saloon is open on holidays or on days of great popular gatherings. For a vast number of families, days of "rejoicing" are in fact days of sorrow and misery.<sup>5</sup>

In European countries as well as in America alcohol shows a decided preference for crimes of violence against the person. Of 3,000 French convicts investigated by Marambat, 78 per cent were drunkards. Of the crimes against the person committed by them

<sup>1</sup> Schröter, *Jahrbuch der Westphälischen Gefangnisse*; cf. Lombroso, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> See the tables and diagrams in Aschaffenburg, *Crime and Its Repression*, pp. 76-80, digesting the researches of Lang, Koblinski, Löffler, Kürz, Heim, Schröter, and others.

<sup>3</sup> Aschaffenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81, Table XVIII.

<sup>4</sup> Lombroso, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Bonger, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

88 per cent were induced by alcohol; while the percentage of their crimes against property due to the same cause was but 77. Quite similar results were obtained for Italy through Marro's researches.<sup>1</sup> The fullest and most carefully digested statistics have been gathered for Germany. Baer gives figures for the penitentiaries showing that 75.5 per cent of assaults; 68.8 per cent of robberies and murders; 63.2 per cent of simple homicides; and 60.2 per cent of sexual crimes are caused by alcohol; while in the common jails the percentages for alcoholic crimes of violence are even higher.<sup>2</sup>

Statistics for the period 1883-1902 confirm Baer's earlier conclusions. In the entire empire the average number of crimes committed for every 100,000 civilians of punishable age was as follows for five classes of offenses: (1) resisting officers, etc., 41; (2) felonious assault and battery, 1.58; (3) theft, 201; (4) fraud, 47; (5) aggravated assault and battery, 196. It is enlightening to observe that for the first and fifth of these classes, where we should expect drunkenness to be a cause, the averages are high. Furthermore, in several districts on the same basis of 100,000, the number of convictions for aggravated assault and battery is startlingly large. For instance, in Bromberg it is 358; in Southeastern (Lower) Bavaria, 441; in the Palatinate, 517. Thus these offenses "are concentrated at three points." The reason is not hard to find. "The three centers of this brutal crime are also the three centers of alcoholic indulgence in its various forms: in the east (Bromberg), spirits; in Bavaria, beer; and in the Palatinate, wine."<sup>3</sup>

Here an interesting question arises: which of the three rival kinds of alcoholic drink is the most efficient maker of criminals? In the comparison just made wine takes precedence; but for Germany as a whole, and probably also for America, the leadership seems to belong to beer. The researches of Wlassak<sup>4</sup> indicate that in the descending scale the sequence is "beer, wine, spirits." In

<sup>1</sup> Lombroso, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-99; Marambat, in *Revue scientifique* (1888).

<sup>2</sup> Baer, *Der Alkoholismus* (Berlin, 1878).

<sup>3</sup> Aschaffenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>4</sup> Wlassak, *Der Alkoholismus im Gebiete von Mährisch-Ostau*; Aschaffenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

any case, "we can certainly agree with Földes<sup>1</sup> in thinking that the kind of beverage is unimportant, as compared with efficacy of the alcohol it contains."<sup>2</sup> If this conclusion is just, it warns us against making what may prove to be a fatal mistake: the amount of crime and most likely of the other evils due to alcohol will not be lessened by substituting beer for spirits or even for wine. *It may even be increased*; for the tendency is to consume it in relatively larger quantities, partly under the illusion of its alleged less dangerous effects. It is the quantity of alcohol which counts.

For crimes of violence English statistics tell a tragic tale. Measured by districts, the number of assaults and homicides rises steadily as the amount of drunkenness increases in passing from region to region. According to expert medical research (1907), at least 60 per cent of the graver homicidal offenses and about 82 per cent of the minor crimes of violence are chiefly due to alcohol. It is responsible for half the crimes of lust. The violation of children occurs most often in "seaports where alcoholism is most rife"; while rape on adults, like very many other crimes, is frequently the result, not of chronic, but of simple drunkenness.<sup>3</sup> "In England, where it makes itself felt with most intensity," remarks Lombroso, "alcoholism enters as a cause into no more than 77 per cent of the cases" of crime.<sup>4</sup>

The European figures just presented must be taken for what they are worth. They are approximations to the truth won by expert investigations of limited extent. They probably fall short of measuring the whole volume of criminality due to intemperance. Vast as is the number of felonies and other heinous offenses caused by

<sup>1</sup> Földes, "Einige Ergebnisse der neueren Kriminalstatistik," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft*, XI, 535; cf. Aschaffenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>2</sup> Consult Aschaffenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46, and Elizabeth Tilton's enlightening discussion, "Is Beer the Cure for the Drink Evil?" *Survey*, XXVII, 599-604, February 24, 1917, showing that beer is an efficient producer of both disease and crime. "No other drink is so insidious," affirms Professor Gustav von Bunge; and these conclusions are sustained by the researches of Professor Emil Kräpelin and other German experts.

<sup>3</sup> William C. Sullivan, "The Criminology of Alcoholism," in T. N. Kelyack's *The Drink Problem*, pp. 189-98.

<sup>4</sup> Lombroso, *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies*, pp. 98-99.

alcohol, the number of lesser crimes is much larger. In certain groups of prisoners the percentage of alcoholic convicts mounts as high as 96 or even 100.<sup>1</sup> Very convincing are the facts disclosed by the careful and elaborate report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for the year closing August 20, 1895.<sup>2</sup> Only the general results of the investigation may here be mentioned. For one year in one state, for all classes of crime, including drunkenness, 26,672 persons were convicted. Of these, 21,863 were under the influence of liquor at the time the crime was committed. Again, when the intent to commit the crime was formed, 4,206 are reported as "in liquor"; 4,866 as "sober"; and the rest, 17,600, as "not ascertained." To the question, "Did the intemperate habits of the criminal lead to a condition which induced the crime?" 22,514 answered "yes"; while in 16,115 cases that "condition" was in part induced by the "intemperate habits of others." Here, as in Germany, beer is the "ranking" drink as a producer of law-breakers. On the average each convict was "addicted" to 2.97 "kinds of liquor"; but while 8,891 reported as addicted to wine; 20,251 to distilled liquor; and 22,233 to malted liquor, the highest number of all, 23,355 convicts, confessed that they were addicted to lager beer.

Furthermore, these tables reveal another fact which should quicken the social conscience: *the largest percentage of alcoholic criminals is yielded by the "occasional drinkers" (18,571); the next largest, by the "social drinkers" (18,392); while at the bottom of the list are the habitual or "excessive drinkers" (4,516).* Baer obtains a similar result for Prussia: 52.2 per cent of the alcoholic convicts in the penitentiaries and 70.4 per cent of those in the prisons are reported by him as "occasional" drinkers.<sup>3</sup> *Decidedly the social or occasional drunkard is a serious menace to society.* The constant drunkard may not be quite so capable of the homicidal rage as is the fitful drunkard; but, like the constant opium smoker,

<sup>1</sup> Lilian Brandt, "Alcoholism and Social Problems," *Survey*, XXV, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Part I: "Relation of the Liquor Traffic to Pauperism, Crime, and Insanity," *Report*, pp. 3-416. Its relation to crime is treated in many tables (pp. 121-287).

<sup>3</sup> Aschaffenburg (*Crime and Its Repression*, pp. 72-75) discusses this point, reproducing Baer's figures; cf. Lombroso, *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies*, pp. 96-98.

he has paid the price. His relative immunity—it is only *relative* immunity—spells degeneration. He is but a survivor of a throng of whom many, before becoming sodden, have passed through the criminal court.

#### 4. ALCOHOL AND SOCIAL CRIMES

The whole story has not yet been told. There are even darker phases of alcoholic criminality. Some of the most fatal wrongs against society are not measured by court sentences nor defined by the criminal codes. There are long-range offenses which elude the lawmaker and escape the notice of the man on the street. Alcohol is responsible for such "social crimes" on an enormous scale. In various ways, for instance, it is a menace to the family and a destroyer of domestic happiness. Thus, during the official year ending April 3, 1913, the court of domestic relations in Chicago heard and disposed of 3,699 cases, of which 2,432 were for wife or child abandonment or for failure of parents to support their children. Among the causes of these 2,432 family separations, excessive use of intoxicating liquors held first place with 46 per cent, while but 12 per cent are charged to the next highest cause, immorality of the husband.<sup>1</sup>

The legal as well as the actual disruption of the family life is likewise very often due to intemperance. In Germany drunkenness is one of the chief causes of separation and divorce; and the children of divorced parents are frequently forced into a life of crime.<sup>2</sup> In the United States drunkenness is the officially assigned cause of about one-fifth of all the dissolutions of wedlock. The great government report, covering the years 1887-1906, discloses the sinister fact that directly or indirectly 184,568 divorces, or nearly 20 per cent of the whole number reported for the two decades, were granted for intemperance; and in nine-tenths of these cases the culprit was the man.<sup>3</sup> Think of it! More than one hundred and eighty

<sup>1</sup> *Sixth Report of the Municipal Court of Chicago*, pp. 84-86; cf. also Herbert C. Shattuck, "Legal Aspects of Prohibition," *Case and Comment*, XX, 463.

<sup>2</sup> Lombroso, *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies*, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Bureau of the Census, Special Report, *Marriage and Divorce*, I, 28-29; also *Bulletin*, No. 96, pp. 14-15.

thousand marriages dissolved and homes destroyed by the drink curse, not to mention the thousands of wives who patiently endure that curse without seeking judicial relief! Even this huge number fails to tell the whole tale of family wreckage due to alcohol. It is well understood that a large percentage of the divorces in the court records charged to desertion, and some of those charged to adultery, are really due to conditions caused by drink. Does not the situation call loudly for an abatement of the divorce evil through the outlawry of a primary cause, the liquor traffic?

Alcohol in many ways is a menace to mother-welfare and child-life. It is a protoplasmic poison which from the instant of conception may foredoom a human being to an abnormal life of misery and crime. "The child of the female drunkard is not born with a direct alcoholic tendency, but is probably born with ill-nourished tissues, and especially with a badly developed brain and nervous system, which render him more liable than a healthy individual to fall under the influence of drink." The milk of the drinking mother contains alcohol, so that the "child then absolutely receives alcohol as part of his diet, with the worst effects upon his organs"; for alcohol harms the "cells in proportion to their immaturity."<sup>1</sup> The harmful influence of the inebriate mother on the unborn child is established beyond reasonable doubt. "Since the work of Nicloux it may be considered to be proved that alcohol may pass as such from the mother to the foetus, and in considerable quantities."<sup>2</sup> In a study of chronic drunkards among the mothers in the Liverpool prisons, Dr. W. C. Sullivan has shown that a large percentage of their offspring are degenerates.<sup>3</sup> He "found that of 120 such inebriate women there were born 600 children, of whom 335 (or 55.8 per cent) died under two years of age or were dead-born." The result of a comparison of "these figures with similar returns from sober branches of the same families" is even more convincing. Of

<sup>1</sup> Mary Scharlieb, "Alcoholism in Relation to Women and Children," in Kely-nack, *The Drink Problem*, pp. 162, 166; cf. Horsley and Sturge, *Alcohol and the Human Body*, pp. 263-65.

<sup>2</sup> Nicloux, *L'Obstetrique* (1900), cited by Newman, *Infant Mortality*, p. 72; cf. Horsley and Sturge, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-65.

<sup>3</sup> Sullivan, "Influence of Maternal Inebriety on the Offspring," *Journal of Mental Science*, XLV (1899), 489-503.

the 125 children of 21 drunken mothers 69, or 55.2 per cent, died under two years of age; whereas of the 138 children of 28 sober mothers only 33, or 23.9 per cent, died in those years.<sup>1</sup>

Further, Dr. Sullivan found a "progressive death-rate in the alcoholic family." With the advancing years the inebriate mother gains more and more power to doom her child. Dr. Sullivan's results are exhibited in the following table:<sup>2</sup>

	Cases	Dead and Dead-born	Dead and Dead-born Percentage	Dead-born Percentage
First born.....	80	27	33.7	6.2
Second born.....	80	40	50.0	11.2
Third born.....	80	42	52.6	7.6
Fourth and fifth born.....	111	73	65.7	10.8
Sixth to tenth born.....	93	67	72.0	17.2

Commenting on these figures Dr. Sullivan says "it is especially noteworthy that the rate of still-births shows almost as marked a tendency to regular increase as does the death-rate among children born alive." Dr. Laitenen discovered a similar waste of life in Finland. He inquired into the death-rate in "3,611 families which had 17,394 children. Where the parents were abstainers only 13 per cent of their children had died. The parents who were 'moderate' drinkers lost 23 per cent; and the heavy drinkers lost 32 per cent."<sup>3</sup>

Even more startling evidence as to the disastrous effects of parental inebriety has recently been given by Dr. Mathew Woods.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Newman, *Infant Mortality*, pp. 72-73; also Kelynack, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

<sup>2</sup> Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 493. The table is reprinted by Newman, *Infant Mortality*, p. 73. For similar evidence see *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration* (London, 1904), III, 67-68 *passim*; Aschaffenburg, *Crime and Its Repression*, pp. 69-72, 124; Demme, *Ueber den Einfluss des Alkohols auf den Organismus des Kindes* (1891); Legrain, *Degenerescence et alcoolisme* (1895); Shattuck, in *Case and Comment*, XX, 465-66.

<sup>3</sup> Scientific Temperance Federation, *The Effects of Alcoholic Drinks upon the Human Mind and Body* (1913), p. 24. On Dr. Laitenen's research, see Horsley and Sturge, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49; cf. Bonger, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

<sup>4</sup> Woods, "Seven Cases of Epilepsy in Children Traced to Single Alcoholic Intoxications on the Part of One or Both Parents Otherwise Teetotalers," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, LXI (December 27, 1913), 2291-92, supplementing his article in *ibid.*, February 9, 1907, p. 469.



Experts are mostly agreed, he points out, that of the two rivals—the “twin brothers”—in causing congenital epilepsy, ancestral drunkenness and ancestral epilepsy, the former is the more prolific in the breeding of epileptic offspring. Chronic inebriety probably accounts for 35 per cent of all cases of this disease. Maudsley boldly asserts that “epileptics, because of drink on the part of parents, are as much manufactured articles as are steam engines and calico-printing machines.” Hitherto, in about 30 per cent of the cases of epilepsy in children, no adequate cause could be found; for the parents were sound and had a family history of good health and sanity. Possibly Dr. Woods has solved the puzzle. He has established a strong probability that in each of the seven cases studied by him epilepsy took place in children whose genesis occurred during the intoxication of one or both of the parents who usually were abstainers from alcoholic drinks. Here is food for sober thought. Is epilepsy the only disease which may be caused by the single inebriation of the parent? If the occasional as well as the habitual drunkard may foredoom his unborn child to such a fate, is any policy adequate short of total abstention from intoxicating drinks and absolute outlawry of the liquor traffic?

Abortions are frequent “among women who drink; and for this reason families of drinkers show a fecundity from two to four times less than that of temperate families. This fatal liquor can, then, stimulate carnal passion to the point of violence and crime without thereby increasing the birth-rate.”<sup>1</sup> Drunkenness of the parents destroys child-life after birth as well as before. Owing to neglect and malnutrition the infant death-rate in alcoholic families is excessive; and the slaughter of babes is very often by violence and especially through overlaying.

The evidence for the injurious effect of alcohol on parentage is very strong; and the negative results obtained through the investigations of the eugenics laboratory in London are not sufficient to refute it. On the contrary, when properly interpreted in the light

<sup>1</sup> Lombroso, *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies*, p. 88. On abortions due to alcohol see Newman, *Infant Mortality*, p. 74, and T. C. Shaw, “Psychology of the Inebriate Mother,” *British Journal of Inebriety*, October, 1903.

of biological law, they seem either to confirm it or not to affect it all.<sup>1</sup>

Directly or indirectly alcohol is probably the most potent factor in the waste of human life. It is a cause of suicide<sup>2</sup> and of race suicide. Under influence of drink a great number of persons kill themselves each year. The indirect race suicide is much the greater. Beyond question, race suicide consists chiefly in a death-rate needlessly high rather than in a low birth-rate, whatever the cause may be; for the high death-rate is due mainly to bad social conditions which society may remedy if it will. The worst of these bad conditions is alcohol and the liquor traffic whose death toll is frightfully large. Even the number of officially reported deaths due to alcohol is startling. In the registration area, covering 51.8 per cent of the population of the United States, during the five years 1904-8, 13,218 deaths are charged to alcoholism and 29,406 to liver cirrhosis. Since 75 per cent of the cases of liver cirrhosis are caused by drink, it follows that in the whole population of the country during those five years, if the same specific death-rates obtained, 68,093 persons were slain by alcoholism acting directly or indirectly through its favorite disease.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the killing power of alcohol in connection with other special diseases must be considered. It is estimated that the percentages of deaths wholly or in part due to drink are 10 to 12 for tuberculosis; 22 for pneumonia, paralysis, and apoplexy; 30 for Bright's disease; 16 for heart disease; and 43 for heat prostration; while there are in all 106 diseases in which alcohol may be one cause of death.<sup>4</sup>

Drunkenness must be charged with much of the legalized or socially sanctioned slaughter which we call war. Lombroso shows

<sup>1</sup> The exploitation of the report of the London laboratory by A. J. Nock, "A New Science and Its Findings," *American Magazine*, LXXIII, 577-83, should be read with the luminous criticism of C. R. Davies, "Alcohol and Parentage," *Survey*, XXX (1913), 737-38.

<sup>2</sup> F. Printzling, *Trunksucht und Selbstmord* (Leipzig, 1895); Horsley and Sturge, *Alcohol and the Human Body*, pp. 90-92.

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Mortality Statistics*, 1908, pp. 114-15.

<sup>4</sup> Scientific Temperance Federation, *The Effect of Alcoholic Drinks*, pp. 20-21, citing Phelps, *The Mortality of Alcohol* (1911); cf. Horsley and Sturge, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-31, 269-77; W. H. Welch, in *Physiological Aspects of the Liquor Problem*, II (1913), 351-74, for the Committee of Fifty.

that "alcohol is a powerful factor in insurrections. This fact has not escaped the attention of leaders of rebellions, who have often taken advantage of it to attain their ends." The homicidal crowds of the French Revolution were inflamed by drink.<sup>1</sup> Everywhere in the annals of warfare one finds evidence of the bloody deeds resulting from alcoholic madness. Considering the number of statesmen, diplomats, and especially military leaders who in all times and places are reported to have been hard drinkers, may we justly assume that many needless wars and many massacres in wars have been caused by the inflamed passions or the warped judgment due to alcohol?

The close relation of the liquor traffic to social disease and to social vice is notorious. The saloon is the sister of the brothel. Of this the Chicago vice report affords convincing proof. The commission found that next to the house of prostitution itself the liquor interest is the most important element connected with the social evil. No other influence in the city contributes so much to immorality and prostitution. "The Brewery Companies, the Liquor Dealers' Protective Association of Illinois, and the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association have all gone on record as in favor of the elimination of the sale of liquor in connection with prostitution." Yet, by actual count during the term of investigation, 928 prostitutes were "permitted and encouraged in no less than 236 saloons," many of which are "under the control of the brewery companies." In other words, over 50 per cent of the 445 saloons examined are "frequented by immoral women who openly solicit for drinks and for immoral purposes and receive the protection of the saloon keepers and interests"; while in the city there were 6,707 saloons not investigated by the commission.<sup>2</sup>

Without doubt the saloon is the chief laboratory of the vice and crime attributable to the use of intoxicating drinks. The closing of the saloon is the indispensable condition of any successful effort to eliminate the evils caused by alcohol. Wherever the saloon has been closed, whether by local option or by state-wide prohibition,

<sup>1</sup> Lombroso, *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>2</sup> *The Social Evil in Chicago* (1911), pp. 119 ff. "Alcoholism is a breeder of prostitution and sexual crimes," Bonger, *op. cit.*, pp. 352, 619-20.

drunkenness and therefore vice and crime have been lessened. Everywhere "dry" towns compare favorably with license towns in this regard.<sup>1</sup> Why stop with local or state action? Why not demand nation-wide prohibition? Are not the American people ready to empower and to require the federal government to outlaw a traffic so destructive of the moral and vital resources of the nation? No alleged service of the saloon as the "poor man's club," no failure of society to provide healthful recreation for the masses, should blind us to the fact that the evil caused by the American saloon, in its sinister alliance with corrupt politics, vice, and crime, outweighs many times all the assumed benefits which it may have as a "social center." There can be no safe compromise if we would conserve the spiritual and the vital resources of the nation. The saloon must go. The proposed constitutional amendment should be ratified by the states, and that speedily. Moreover, is not the vast waste of food materials in the production of alcoholic drinks in reality a social crime? In the present world-crisis the evil seems intolerable. As "first aid" in the emergency, shall not the whole liquor traffic be absolutely "interned" during the war?

<sup>1</sup> Henderson, *Preventive Agencies and Methods*, pp. 219-32; Cherrington, *Anti-Saloon League Year Book* (1913); *Massachusetts Report* cited above. The *Report of the Massachusetts Prison Commission* (1911) shows that 63 per cent of all arrests are for drunkenness.

## THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF OUR EDUCATIONAL AIMS

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Sociologists are in the habit of proclaiming that the central field of knowledge of most worth and the human characteristics most needed in our modern highly differentiated society are social. They likewise insist that increased recognition be given to sociological principles as the basis of efficient institutional management. If these propositions are to be maintained, the sociologist must be prepared to accept increasing responsibilities for showing how these social qualities may be developed and for applying the principles of his science to the clarification of institutional problems. Nor must he be content with the mere elaboration of general principles or the outlining of general programs; he must apply his principles specifically and co-operate with practical administrators in every institutional field.

This specific nature of the function of sociology has already been accepted with reference to the problems of philanthropy, of the church, of the family, and of special phases of urban and rural life. But in the field of education sociologists have been laggards. They have dealt vaguely with education as an important basis of social organization and control and of social progress; but they have not carefully analyzed education as an institution, or taken vigorous hold of educational theory and practice. Few sociologists would admit that psychology has a greater educational mission than sociology; yet while psychologists are making actual contributions to educational progress through the development and application of a scientific educational psychology, sociologists are still in the stage of quibbling over the name that should be applied to sociological studies of education. The inevitable result of the

domination of psychology in the training of teachers and in determining educational principles and practices is an exaggerated emphasis upon the individual aspects of education. What sociologists should contribute to education is a virile educational sociology that is broad enough and definite enough to shift some of this emphasis from the development of individualistic traits to the development of social traits, or what we may call social-mindedness.

The natural approach to such an educational sociology is through a study of educational aims. An analysis of the specific purposes of our present educational system will show at least three things: first, how far the present directors of our schools are from an intelligent sociological view of education; second, some of the steps already taken by our most progressive educators to introduce socialized materials and methods; third, the urgent need of sociological aid in further elaborating ways and means of developing social-mindedness through school training. To get at the problem it is necessary to analyze the social aspects of the four specific objectives entering into our present educational aims, that is, the development of physical vitality, of cultural attainment, of vocational efficiency, and of social service.

#### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PHYSICAL TRAINING

With regard to the first objective of education, the development of physical vitality, the individualistic conception alone has prevailed. A sound mind in a sound body, or more specifically a sound body for the sake of a sound mind, has been the avowed purpose of the educator. In order to attain organic soundness, physical fitness, and good health for each individual we have established gymnasiums, taught physiology and hygiene, condemned injurious habits, outlawed petty vices, and built up a medical profession. In the preliminary stages of all these the welfare of the individual was practically the sole aim. If the welfare of the social group entered into the public mind at all, it was only in a hazy and indefinite sort of way.

In recent years, however, as the intimacy of social contact has emphasized mutual dependence, there has been a growing tendency to think and talk about the public health, that is, to consider physi-

cal well-being from the standpoint of the social group. It is realized that individual health and strength is no adequate defense against unsanitary conditions, monotony and overstrain in industry, or epidemics of contagious diseases. Something more than personal hygiene and individual physical fitness is required. We must have a social hygiene and social health control.

In pursuance of this new attitude we have developed an extensive body of regulative laws limiting the physical freedom of the individual for the physical protection of the group. Laws have been enacted establishing the eight- or nine-hour day, prohibiting child labor, requiring sanitary shops, forbidding the sale of impure food and drugs, enjoining vaccination, and supervising medical practitioners. Constructive social health measures are taken in the opening up of municipal and national parks, in providing public playgrounds and amusement centers, in establishing quarantine regulations, in draining swamps, and in constructing sewers. Public hospitals exist in every center of population, physicians are compelled both by social pressure and by statute law to attend to the needs of the poor, and it is scarcely an idle dream to look forward to the time when the whole field even of curative medicine will be socialized.

Still more social in its outlook is the plea for a sound physical heredity. We are evolving a program of eugenics which has up to date been primarily concerned with efforts to guarantee to coming generations a better physical foundation on which to build an efficient society. Marriage laws are being more carefully drawn, social diseases are being scientifically attacked, and efforts are being made to see that dependents, defectives, and delinquents have less opportunity to multiply their kind. While something is being done, and much more might be done to advance such a program by developing a sense of individual responsibility for guarding heredity, the classes of people who need to be prevented from reproduction cannot be reached by an individualistic appeal. Social regulation alone can attain the results desired, and this regulation must be based upon a social intelligence and a social conscience which do not now exist and probably never will exist until we have a more social type of education.

To lay an adequate foundation for this new field of legislation and to develop efficient social control over physical well-being it is necessary to begin with the young. As our school day and year lengthen and the average number of years of schooling increases, the school becomes a greater force in determining the social attitudes as well as the intelligence of our citizens. It therefore becomes increasingly important, not merely to develop sound bodies in our individual pupils and to teach personal hygiene, but to develop sane ideas of preserving the health of the larger group and to teach social hygiene. The youth must be trained, not merely to develop and conserve his own strength, but to safeguard that of his fellows. Just as proper habits of health are essential to individual welfare, so proper obedience to social health measures is essential to social welfare. Moreover, a mere knowledge of social hygiene will not accomplish the desired results. A social consciousness must be built up that will respond to public regulation, and a social conscience must be developed that will recognize and protect the rights of others. Since in the long run no law can be more effective than public opinion requires, it is necessary to see that individual will is reinforced by group imperatives. Health legislation and social hygiene will remain comparatively impotent until they have the support of a trained public mind, and the chief agency for developing that must be the public school.

That educators are beginning to recognize this is quite evident in their changed attitude toward physical training. Social hygiene is being emphasized even in the primary grades. Organized play is superseding the calisthenics and spasmodic semi-individualistic play of the past. Team games are succeeding individual contests. Quarantine regulations are being more strictly enforced. Public-school physicians, dentists, and nurses are taking the place of the individual medical attention formerly received. The textbooks in physiology and hygiene are embodying much social material. Teachers are recognizing more fully their obligations to the public and are emphasizing the social responsibilities of the citizen in maintaining the public health. Many schools are models of sanitation, and certain cities, such as Gary, are looking after sick pupils better than they would be looked after at home. All of these things and



many more have been started in our highly socialized schools, but to make them still more effective and to universalize them it is necessary to imbue all educators with social ideals. It is not enough for sociologists to preach the value of a sound physical basis for social health and progress; they must take a real part in training public-school teachers into social attitudes and aid in reorganizing educational materials and methods for the purpose of improving social health control and racial stock.

#### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CULTURE

With regard to the second objective of education, the attainment of culture, public opinion is scarcely less individualistic than with reference to the development of physical vitality. The education of the past has striven to produce cultivated individuals. When analyzed, the popular notion of culture breaks up into three parts—*aesthetic taste, refinement of manner, and moral idealism*. Thus the cultivated individual has been expected to appreciate and know something of literature, music, and art, to possess some degree of grace, good manners, and self-control, and to have wholesome impulses, refined sentiments, and ethical attitudes. Nor can we question that the attainment of these things is a desirable end of cultural education. But it is not the only end. There is a social aspect of culture above and beyond these things. One might possess all of these individual characteristics and still fall short of cultivated citizenship. Since the school is a public institution, mere polished personality can never satisfy its cultural demands. Individual culture may be subjective and passive, social culture must be objective and active, and the culture for which a social institution stands must eventuate in social activities. The graduates of our schools should not merely exemplify individual culture; they should become active agents of group culture through institutional channels.

The weakness of mere individualistic culture may be shown with reference to each of the elements mentioned above. With regard to the aesthetic nature one may possess excellent individual taste and yet show execrable social taste. He may have artistic ideas of dress and yet array himself in barbaric quixotism. Fashion may

dictate a costume that will exaggerate the defects and conceal the beauties of a society leader possessing unimpeachable personal taste. Likewise a housekeeper may have a sane natural taste in furniture and household decoration and yet follow a crude fad in her own home. A painter may have sound ideas of art, a writer a sound appreciation of literature, or a musician a sound love of music, and each of them follow some fantastic school into artistic absurdities. Individualistic taste in itself is not an adequate defense against the tyranny of fashion, fad, style, and conventionality. If education is to render effective aid in developing aesthetic sanity it must be social enough to provide constant group training where diverging ideals clash in a struggle for survival bitter enough to produce compromise. Aesthetic progress demands freedom for exercising individual taste, which can only be brought about in the atmosphere of friendly criticism and artistic tolerance.

Moreover, social welfare demands a social use of aesthetic taste and artistic appreciation. Civic art must have sponsors, public libraries must have promoters, and community music must have leaders. In a crowded world everyone with an artistic accomplishment is needed in social capacities. Where each one's work is narrow and specialized and often burdened with drudgery it is necessary to have public entertainment, social diversion, and mutual cultural inspiration. Yet many devotees of art are unsocial or selfishly exclusive. A painter may hoard his treasures, a potential literary master may lack the social incentive to write, or an exquisite violinist may refuse to share his musical joys with others. If one's artistic impulses are literary he should aid in spreading the reading habit by supporting the agencies of free literature, such as free textbooks, generous school and public libraries, and endowed magazines and literary foundations. If one's taste leans to the color and plastic arts he should strive, not merely to surround himself with objects of art, but also to be a patron of the public gallery and a worker for the civic uses of art. If one's artistic preference is for music and the drama he should lend a helping hand to the cause of more and better musical and dramatic performances. One of the most hopeful movements of the age is the increasing tendency of men of wealth to share their art treasures with the public and to

establish endowments for the democratization of the fine arts. But the development of artistic appreciation and knowledge must not be dependent upon the chance gifts of philanthropists; it must in a cultivated society be a part of public policy. It is no less a function of education to give this social direction to the spread of the fine arts than it is to produce individual artists.

As the possession of personal taste is no guaranty of artistic social service, so the possession of refined manners and individual self-control is no proof of refined public attitudes and social self-control. Men with personal refinement will indulge in disgraceful church rows and indecently partisan political harangues. Wendell Phillips had more personal culture than Abraham Lincoln, but he lacked Lincoln's refinement of public speech and his social sanity. Also it is a well-advertized fact that a group of people will be guilty of a social muckerism far beneath the approval of the average individual within the group. This is evidenced by the mob at a lynching, the bleacher gang at a baseball or football game, the hecklers at a political rally, and the fanatics at a heresy trial. Cultivated people with individual self-control will be led into excesses at a social celebration, and well-bred people will follow crude marriage and funeral customs and indulge in indiscriminate birthday and Christmas giving. No amount of individual self-control will stop a panic in an army or a financial crisis. In other words, social self-control, or self-control under social pressure, is a somewhat different thing from individual self-control, and its development demands a different type of training.

Likewise social morals are separate from, and supplementary to, individual morals. Some men with personal honesty do not hesitate to engage in an essentially dishonest business. Others who would not think of committing murder will deliberately make and sell poisoned drugs or adulterated foods. The ordinary man with plenty of public spirit will fail to aid justice by informing public officers of violations of the law, and a group of reputable business men will knowingly overvalue a bit of personal property taken under the law of eminent domain by their city or the state. In a similar way a social organization composed of honest individuals will fail to pay its debts, a church may stoop to gambling devices

to raise money, a political party composed of patriotic citizens will defraud the public, and a group of sincere reformers will override the rights of large bodies of citizens. Dr. Ross has well shown that the great sins of the day are the result of the lack of a social conscience that will sense the indirect consequences of personal acts and carry over personal morals into social morals.

- If the facts in the foregoing analysis show that personal culture and social culture are not identical and that an individual may possess the one and not the other, it is worth while to inquire how they may both be developed. In our present society education is the basis of culture. If that education is individualistic we may expect an individualistic culture. Only a social education where group ideals of art and conduct and morals are emphasized can result in social culture. Artistic breadth of view cannot be expected to result from the present method of tutorial instruction in the fine arts; some form of school instruction where free criticism and group rivalry are constant factors must be devised before artists will ever become as liberal toward the work of other artists as ordinary public-school and collegiate students are toward each other's efforts. Self-control under group pressure will never be established until people are trained to react sanely toward social suggestions from their youth up. A public morality that will approach private morality in effectiveness must wait for a school training which will call for constant moral decisions in self-determining groups.

#### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF VOCATIONAL EFFICIENCY

The third of our educational objectives, vocational efficiency, is also usually thought of from the individualistic standpoint. The purpose of vocational education as ordinarily expressed is to enable the individual to increase his income or to enable him to make a better living for himself and his family. But such a view shows a narrow vision. In our highly organized industrial society economic rewards are reciprocal. The income of an individual in any particular occupation depends in the long run upon the prosperity of his economic group, or even of the whole economic fabric of which his occupation forms only a part. Individual income is no more important than social income, and from the larger viewpoint the

wage of a particular laborer or occupation group is no more vital a concern of the vocational educator than the general wage scale or the proper direction and control of vocational effort. That every occupation has its social as well as its individual aspect may be made evident by specific applications.

Capital is the result of surplus effort and saving. The enormous increase in the productive power of the individual laborer of the present over the laborer of the past is due quite largely to accumulated supplies of capital goods with which he may work. This supply of productive capital has been built up largely because each worker in a useful occupation produces an economic surplus. It is the sum total of individual production that creates the social dividend which in the long run, in spite of a crude system of distribution, somehow accrues to the advantage of all workers. Productive agencies are so bound together in reciprocal service that whatever an individual adds to the total benefits not only himself but others as well.

There is also a reverse side to the record. If a vocation be non-productive or individually and socially injurious the whole economic fabric is weakened. A business failure is not merely an individual calamity—it is a social calamity. Any large percentage of business failures discourages industry and undermines general prosperity. The bungler or the slacker in his work not only lowers his own income, but casts discredit on his occupation, injures his fellow-laborers, and weakens the productive capacity of allied industries. Even more do the parasite and exploiter undermine general economic efficiency. An occupation may return individual profits and be honestly managed, but may in itself be destructive. The dive-keeper, the bucket-shop manager, and the sinecure office-holder are examples. Any sort of vocational efficiency must tend to eliminate such occupations. Moreover, most vocations have certain elements of hypocrisy and graft that need to be curbed. Good lawyers stimulate doubtful litigation, excellent physicians encourage useless calls, reputable ministers preach insincere sermons, efficient manufacturers produce worthless goods, honest real-estate dealers foster false booms, conscientious artisans conceal faulty workmanship, and energetic day-laborers kill time. None of these things is more

individually culpable than socially harmful, yet the general condemnation of such practices imputes the whole guilt to the individual who indulges in them instead of sharing it with the community which endures them. If a cure is to be effected it must come as much through a change in the social attitude toward work as through improvement in the individual attitude. Social motives must be made to reinforce individual motives.

Another phase of vocational efficiency is seen in the necessity, under our latter-day methods of conducting business, of securing a spirit of ready co-operation in the worker. A high grade of efficiency demands that one be, not merely efficient in his own special field, but able to co-ordinate his work with that of his fellows. This requires an intelligence which can comprehend the whole process if it be in manufacturing, or the whole business if it be retail merchandising, or the whole institution if it be a profession. It further requires more than individual adaptability; it demands a willingness to sacrifice certain self-ends to the needs of group or social ends. If labor organization is to benefit labor as a whole, not only must the individual workman join it, but he must own an allegiance that will reach beyond his special occupational union into the larger federations. If laborers and capitalists are to adjust their differences in an economical way each must understand the cause of the other, both must recognize the rights of the public, and all three must unite in a compromise that will establish an economic equilibrium. The business man must be both able and willing to co-operate with his fellows in establishing closing hours, trade conditions, and business standards. Professional men must establish and obey a system of professional ethics and co-operate in advancing technical knowledge. In fact, mutual dependence is so dominant a factor in present civilization that the co-operative spirit has become a cornerstone of our economic structure, and any effort to produce vocational efficiency that ignores its development is a menace.

That we are beginning to recognize the social aspects of vocational training is quite evident in professional education. The minister is trained, not merely to look after the interests and increase the size of his flock, but to labor for the upbuilding of the

whole community. The lawyer is urged by his law professors not only to win his cases, but to become an agent of social justice. We are demanding that the physician be a sponsor for social hygiene even at the expense of his own professional income. The virile teacher is expected to go beyond the confines of his school routine and carry his intellectual leadership into the community. Even less cultivated workmen are being drafted into social service. Labor unions and farmers' organizations are asked to accept public welfare as a part of their institutional purposes. We remind them that poor workmanship may lead to a collapsing building and hence loss of life, or that neglected crops may lead to public hunger. Under present war conditions this social-service phase of occupational efficiency is particularly emphasized. Trainmen must keep trains loaded and moving, miners must keep up the supply of coal, and steel workers and shipbuilders must keep the machinery of their trades busy. In every phase of our industrial system we are pleading the necessity of co-ordinated efforts and demanding the recognition of group needs as an important basis of individual labor.

If education is to be directed toward the increase of vocational efficiency, and all education is to some extent vocational, it is no safer to neglect its social aspects than its individual aspects. Just now we are in the midst of a campaign to vocationalize more specifically our public schools, and whatever may be our individual feelings we may be sure that it will partially succeed. The greatest danger in the process of vocationalization is that it shall be too narrow and technical in its aims. The only guaranty against this weakness is to see that social motives are instilled along with individual motives and that socializing methods are as much in evidence as individual instruction. We must maintain a broad enough curriculum to develop intelligent builders who take pride in their work, as well as efficient carpenters. We must increase industrial knowledge as well as train ingenious mechanicians. We must make our teachers technically efficient, but not less must we make them broad-minded educators. We need skilled physicians and lawyers, but not less do we need organizers of health control and reformers of our clumsy legal machinery. In other words, a vocational education provided by society should produce individuals who are

interested in the improvement of our economic system as well as in the increase of their own wages.

#### INDIVIDUALISTIC V. ORGANIZED SOCIAL SERVICE

The final objective of education, social service, is the only one which is generally recognized as having special social implications. Even here the individualist in education still maintains his individualistic point of view. Social service may be looked at from the standpoint either of its subjective value to the individual or of its objective value to society. From the individual standpoint its purpose is primarily to develop personality or to fulfil one's personal duty to help others. From the social standpoint its purpose is to increase the effectiveness of social organization or to fulfil an organization's duty to help society. The essential divergence comes from the direction of the vision, whether one looks at himself as a component part of a group or at the group as a specialized part of himself. It is the same difference that exists between egoism and altruism as motives of human action. We give higher ranking to altruistic than to egoistic motives, even though they may, and often do, result in the same type of conduct. In the same way social service inspired by group motives is on a higher plane than the same service performed through individualistic motives. This may be made clear by specific applications.

The basis of philanthropy is human sympathy. One may express his sympathy by aiding the individuals he knows or alleviating the misery he comes in contact with; or he may work through institutional channels, giving his aid to the organized agencies for human betterment. It is quite possible for one to be sympathetic and helpful, and all of us know people of this type, without being willing to contribute freely to organized charities. But we also know the weakness and dangers of purely personal charity. It is based on elemental feeling and is likely to degenerate into mere almsgiving. Organized philanthropy is superior because it is more likely to be constructive and is usually administered by trained workers whose sympathy is guided by intelligence and whose group loyalty keeps them from being led astray by unworthy personal appeals. Personal charity begins with the individual,



while institutional philanthropy always proceeds from the group outward. Institutional service when properly directed is not impersonal in the sense of losing the personal touch, but it does call for a higher type of devotion and demands for its support a more socially minded clientèle. It is social service *par excellence*, and before it can be universalized requires an impersonal social sympathy and an educated social conscience.

In the same way civic service may proceed from either personal or social motives and be made either an individual or a group enterprise. A citizen may work for political betterment because it will improve his citizenship and give him a greater personal following, thus opening up a means of political preferment, or he may do the same work for the good of his city, his state, or his nation. While the results may be essentially the same the impulse to service is essentially different. It takes a higher type of personality to respond to the group or social motives than to serve from individualistic motives. We glorify patriotism because the patriot thinks first of his country and later of himself. Likewise in business a man may work with an eye single to the success of his own establishment or with an added conscious effort to promote business efficiency. Every useful business successfully operated benefits the business community, but if there is mingled with the desire for personal returns the desire to render the community an economic service the business is likely to be run on a higher plane. A workman may do good work in order to increase his own pay, but the type of man the employer likes to promote is the one who sees the effect of his labor upon the success of the firm and who naturally co-operates without being driven. The churchman may sacrificially serve to increase his religious standing or to save his own soul, but the true Christian serves for the sake of the cause and to save the souls of others. In all of these cases the individual type of service is egocentric, while the social type is sociocentric. The sociocentric type of service demands the same individual insight and will to serve plus the willingness and ability to co-operate, and gives the added economy and efficiency that come from union.

If we are to increase and improve through education the type of social service which springs from social-mindedness we should

develop an educational system that will train our citizens as directly as possible for social activities. The only system of education that will do this is one which emphasizes social studies and gives continual practice in assuming group responsibilities. No past age has ever offered such a variety of institutional memberships and opportunities or has been able to stimulate through social organization such breadth of social-mindedness as we have in the United States today. Germany has succeeded in establishing a national unity and an individual subservience never before equaled, but she has done it by submerging all loyalties into service to the state. But political solidarity alone is too narrow a base upon which to found a great civilization. Our racial solidarity and national perpetuity must be founded upon a type of social and civic service which is broad enough to include a variety of institutional loyalties to counterbalance our native individual separatism. The stability and virtues of the family group, the ethical idealism of the church, the co-ordinated effectiveness of industry and business, the freemasonry of social classes, the constructive nature of organized philanthropy, and the democratic service of government must all be preserved. It is the public school alone which seems to possess the breadth of purpose properly to co-ordinate social activities and to reach the child while he is plastic enough to make its teachings effective, that promises an adequate development of this necessary social-mindedness. Nor may we expect its possible service to be even approximately realized until it is more highly socialized in its teaching personnel, its curriculum, and its methods than it is at present.

It would seem then that the manifest mission of sociology in education is to see that the social aspects of school training receive proper attention. The sociologist is needed in the educational field to counterbalance the psychological emphasis upon the development of individual intelligence and efficiency by the sociological emphasis upon group intelligence and social efficiency. We have pointed out the special need of social hygiene as well as of individual health instruction, the demand for social aesthetics, social self-control, and social ethics as well as for individual artists, individual self-control, and personal morals, the value of vocational

responsiveness and idealism as well as of vocational efficiency, and the superiority of organized social service inspired by group loyalty over egocentric social service inspired by individual impulse and ambition. But the orientation of education as an institution and the elaboration of educational aims are only the beginnings of the contribution that sociologists owe to education. They must take a definite part in the training of teachers, aid in outlining means for the socialization of educational materials and studies, stimulate the increase of group methods of instruction, and insist upon abundant laboratory practice in social activities as a means of instilling a sense of social responsibility and an intelligent social-mindedness.

## NEWS AND NOTES

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### NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

The central current of the discussions and deliberations at the forty-fifth National Conference of Social Work which met at Kansas City from May 15 to 22 was social reconstruction. Significant in this connection was the large place given to sociologists and social philosophers in presenting fundamental viewpoints and problems.

At the Saturday noon luncheon of teachers of sociology and others engaged in education for social work a motion was passed authorizing the appointment of a committee to arrange for meetings of this group at the next conference.

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### UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Professor Edward C. Hayes, of the University of Illinois, is giving courses on "General Sociology," "History of Sociology," and "Home Service and Social Work in War Time" in the first term of the Summer Quarter. The last-named course will be continued during the second term by Professor John L. Gillin, of the University of Wisconsin and director of the Division of Civilian Relief of the Central Division of the American Red Cross.

Professor Anna Garland Spencer, of the Meadville Theological Seminary, is offering courses on the social and religious aspects of education.

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### UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Dr. Jessie F. Steiner has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. Professor Steiner is the director of the third institute for the training of home service held at the University from June 18 to July 27.

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### COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Mr. LeRoy E. Bowman, of the War Camp Community Service, is offering a course in the summer session on "Community Organization."

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### UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Professor E. H. Sutherland, of William Jewell College, is giving courses on "The Social Survey" and "Rural Sociology" in the summer school.

## OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Professor James E. Hagerty is serving as director of the division of markers of the state branch of the Council of National Defense.

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## PENNSYLVANIA MILITARY COLLEGE

Dr. Charles J. Bushnell has accepted the position of professor of sociology and economics.

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## UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA

In the summer session Dr. G. R. Davies is giving a course in charities which takes up the study of general relief work and home service with special emphasis upon the problems arising in connection with the war.

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## UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Professor George E. Howard, of the University of Nebraska, is offering the following courses in the summer session: "Problems in Social Psychology and Ethics" and "Biography of American Statesmanship."

Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, president of the International Association of Police Women, is conducting a training class for police women in the summer session.

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## UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

During the last semester Professor E. A. Ross conducted a seminar course entitled "Social Progress and Regress." During the summer session Mr. W. F. Hintzman is directing the course in Red Cross Civilian Relief.

## REVIEWS

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*A New Basis for Social Progress.* By W. C. WHITE and L. A. HEATH. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917. Pp. 215. \$1.25.

Just a hundred years ago Thomas Chalmers, then minister of the parish of St. Johns, Glasgow, wrote:

There is an impatience on the part of many a raw and sanguine philanthropist for doing something great; and, akin to this, there is an impatience for doing that great thing speedily. They spurn the condition of drivelling among littles; and unless there be a redeeming magnificence in the whole operation of which they bear a part, there are some who could not be satisfied with a humble and detached allotment in the great vineyard of human usefulness . . . and in by far the greater number of instances will it be seen that instead of concentrating their exertions upon one district or department of the city, they expatiate at large and over the face of its entire territory, recognizing no other boundary than that which lies indefinitely but fully beyond the final outskirts of the compact and contiguous dwelling-places. . . .

That principle as laid down in the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns" is unconsciously reaffirmed (or at least unacknowledged) by the joint authors of this volume under review. They phrase it as "a unit equipment for a unit of population." The main difference is that they make the university pivotal, while in Dr. Chalmers' scheme the parish church was the hub. Chalmers was attacking waste in charity and its resultant pauperization. Dr. White attacks primarily waste and lack of real scientific vision or purpose in education, but includes eventually the whole range of community interests. His thesis in brief is that city life can thrive only by developing "autonomic units of population" each with a complete equipment for education, health, and welfare. Such units are to be determined by a perennial survey and census conducted by a municipal foundation to be located by preference in the graduate school of a local university or in the city government or a chamber of commerce, etc. These local foundations will work out the educational, health, and other agencies necessary to meet the vocational demands and peculiar bent of their communities. Since, however, certain needs of the community could only be met by combining into larger

units, a scheme of regional correlation is provided, leading ultimately to a supreme educational court of seven members "before which arguments for justice might be presented and by which the evil of autocracy—perhaps the greatest in modern university life—might be presented."

This book grew out of an abortive "survey" of the University of Pittsburgh, but it has a certain general interest for educational administration and community organizers. It does not always escape the temptation to intemperate language born in part of its local origin. It slaps hard the ecclesiastical college tradition and the wasteful competition between church-supported schools; it smites the autocracy of presidents and boards of trustees, while arguing with vigor for representation of faculties and students in university management. It tilts at educational quackery and fads, but falls into a pitfall of its own digging in the overworking of the idea that chemical analysis of human glandular products may offer us the key to understanding human psychology and proper educational procedure!

Either misprints or a faulty use of words ("numerable," p. 37; "effects," "latitudinarian," p. 45; "emitted," p. 51, etc.) mark the text here and there. The publishers through a reprehensible oversight have been advertising the authors as "engaged in making the widely known Pittsburgh Survey." This book has nothing whatever to do with the real Pittsburgh Survey.

There is much to be said for the authors' vision of a mighty progressive nation of university units, and no doubt such a social organization would promote the substance of real democracy while securing efficiency in administration. But so long as a supreme court by a margin of one vote declares it unconstitutional to regulate child labor as between states, I am not very hopeful of the immediate realization of this educational utopia.

ARTHUR J. TODD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*The Theory and Practice of Mysticism.* By CHARLES MORRIS ADDISON. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1918. Pp. viii + 216. \$1.50.

This volume presents in an untechnical and intimate manner an account of the stages of the mystic way with illustrations from the lives and writings of the great mystics. "The Longing for God," "The Way toward God," and "The Meeting Point" are the titles of the chapters

which describe the aims and the methods of mystical contemplation. A chapter on "Modern Mysticism" shows how this temper of mind is found in philosophers like Bergson and in poets like Wordsworth and Browning.

The author is an ardent advocate of this type of religion and evidently speaks out of very vivid personal experience. Like most mystics, appreciation and practice are more congenial to him than analysis, though this book is free from a certain dogmatism and zeal so native to its class. The last chapter, "Practical Mysticism," is a frank appeal and exhortation to the practice of mysticism, with some directions for the same.

The book is well suited to the general reader. It furnishes a short, reliable introduction to the subject. However, a novice might easily receive an exaggerated impression as to the extent to which modern philosophers and psychologists, such as William James, support the mystic's claims. The well-selected quotations in the text and the foot-notes, with the references to books at the end of each chapter, invite one to go on from these pages to the extensive literature of the subject which is rapidly increasing at the present time.

E. S. AMES

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Man's Supreme Inheritance.* By F. MATTHIAS ALEXANDER. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1918. Pp. xvii+354. \$2.00.

*Man's Supreme Inheritance* is a plea for conscious control of the human organism as opposed to current psychotherapeutic methods which make their appeal to the subconscious part of the mind, i.e., to feeling-tone instead of to reason. The latter methods, such as suggestion, hypnotism, faith healing, the author regards as "dangerous in practice and uncertain in results," since they merely substitute "one uncontrolled habit of thought for another" (p. 50). They "seek to reach the subjective mind by deadening the objective or conscious mind, and the backbone of my theory and practice, upon which I feel that I cannot insist too strongly, is that *the conscious mind must be quickened*" (p. 52). Instead of wholesale commands to a "supposed omniscient subconscious self" the author would appeal to peoples' intelligence (p. 54). The author is equally out of sympathy with an education based on uncritical tradition, such as the emphasis on right- or left-handedness, and with the "free expressionists" who would leave everything to the



random movements of the child (p. 124). The tendency has been to neglect "the means whereby" in our anxiety to reach the end. What is needed is conscious analysis of the former. Owing to the artificial conditions imposed by civilization, we have become victims of subconscious habits and predispositions which interfere with proper functioning. The author's "method is based firstly on the understanding of the co-ordinated uses of the muscular mechanisms, and secondly on the complete acceptance of the hypothesis that each and every movement can be consciously directed and controlled" (p. 199). In the necessary re-education the subject must first be taught to inhibit the wrong habits and then be guided into "the position of mechanical advantage." The author does "not believe in any concentration that calls for effort. It is the wish, the conscious desire to do a thing or think a thing, which results in adequate performance" (p. 103). The reviewer cannot go into the author's practical methods of treatment which are merely suggested in this book. With the author's personal tact and experience, they have evidently met with marked success. To copy them wholesale would be a violation of the author's fundamental appeal, viz., to "establish communication with reason" as against habit and prejudice. With the general principle of the book the reviewer is in sympathy. "It is our duty now to superimpose a new civilization founded on reason rather than on feeling-tones and debauched emotions, on conscious guidance and control rather than on instinct" (p. 242). This is as true in our group conduct as in our individual guidance.

J. E. BOODIN

CARLETON COLLEGE

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*Culture and Ethnology.* By ROBERT H. LOWIE, PH.D. New York: Douglas C. McMurtrie. 1917. Pp. 189.

This book is designed to acquaint laymen with some of the results of ethnological work. Its thesis is that the interpretation of culture cannot be made from the standpoint of psychology, race, or geographic environment but from the standpoint of culture itself. "Culture," he says, "is a thing *sui generis* which can be explained only in terms of itself. This is not mysticism but sound scientific method. The biologist, whatever metaphysical speculations he may indulge in as to the ultimate origin of life, does not depart in his workaday mood from the principle that every cell is derived from some other cell. So the ethnologist will do well to postulate the principle, *omnis cultura ex cultura*. This means

that he will account for a given cultural fact by merging it into a group of cultural facts or by demonstrating some other cultural fact out of which it has developed. The cultural phenomenon to be explained must either have an antecedent within the culture of the tribe where it is found or it may have been imported from without. Both groups of determinants must be considered."

This idea is somewhat like that of Tarde, that the advance of every science consists in suppressing external likenesses and replacing them by internal likenesses. But Dr. Lowie's method is not sound. It means only that cultural facts should be studied from the viewpoint of evolution, and while that is the usual method among scientists it does not exclude psychological, racial, or environmental factors. The influence of "contact" which he emphasizes is in reality an appeal to environment. In the last analysis social phenomena must be referred, as Spencer points out, either to intrinsic factors (psychology) or to extrinsic factors (environment). Dr. Lowie's method is only a convenient way of tracing sequences to those ultimate determinants defined by Spencer.

JEROME DOWD

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

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*The Play Movement and Its Significance.* By HENRY S. CURTIS.  
Macmillan, 1917. Pp. 346. \$1.50.

This volume is the fourth in a series by this author on recreation, the previous titles being "Education through Play," "Practical Education," and "Play and Recreation in the Open Country." Like the previous volumes, "The Play Movement and Its Significance" is a descriptive account of activities in progress in different parts of the United States together with a criticism of those activities. It is not intended to be a discussion of the psychological or larger social aspects of the play movement. The author's aim has been to give a concrete picture of the extent and development of play activities in the United States and the tendencies in control and administration.

It deals primarily with the play of children of school age and only in a small degree with recreation for adults. The necessity of this limitation is consistent with the development of the movement for the provision and control of recreational activities, since this development thus far has been confined chiefly to play for children.

The first two chapters deal with the sources of the play movement and the development of the play movement in the United States. The

chief sources are found in the disappearance of child work and increasing congestion of the population, together with the new social concern for child welfare and a new understanding of child psychology. The chapter on "The Play Movement in the United States" contains an outline for a proposed state law for the establishment of playgrounds.

The chapter on "Play at the School" is a briefer and more general discussion of the main problems discussed in the volume on "Education through Play." Municipal playgrounds are discussed separately from school grounds and from public parks. The author regards the term as an incorrect one and the municipal ground itself as occupying an anomalous position. His criticism of these grounds, in which are included the park playgrounds of Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Oakland as conspicuous examples, is that while devised primarily for school children they secure a much smaller attendance proportionately than do the school grounds, and that the educational and social purposes of the playground are completely divorced from the agencies in the community which are primarily responsible for educational control. He regards the municipal playground as having its largest usefulness in providing a place for adults and children to spend leisure time without any particular educational purpose. He also finds the problem of political control and racial contact on the playgrounds difficult in the case of municipal playgrounds.

In the chapter on "Public Recreation" a general descriptive account is given of parks, swimming-pools, special celebrations, and the control of activities which are generally commercial enterprises. The treatment is too brief to cover any critical discussion of the social and administrative problems involved in these questions.

The chapters on "Play for Institutions" and "Equipment and Supplies" offer more original suggestions than any other chapters in the volume. Starting with the point of view that all institutions for children might be treated as boarding-schools, a number of very excellent concrete plans are given for increasing the efficiency and "liveableness" of the institution. In the short chapter on "Equipment and Supplies" the unreasonable present costs imposed by commercial companies are discussed. A plan for the manufacture of supplies and equipment by penal institutions is well developed.

The amount of space given to the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls is out of proportion to the places that those organizations occupy in the recreation of the boy and girl. There are a considerable number of other specialized activities in the form of clubs and other agencies that

could well have been discussed along with the Scout movement and the Camp Fire Girls. The suggestion that the Scout movement should be made a part of the public-school system seems to be a very excellent one. Undoubtedly the movement to have its largest value and a real permanency must be insured of more continuous support than its present method provides. Moreover, since both the Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls movements are essentially educational in character there is no reason why they should not be essentially a part of the established educational institutions.

There is a good outline of "The Recreation Survey," its purposes and methods. The final chapter is devoted to a discussion of the cost of providing recreational facilities compared with the financial saving to the community, which might be accomplished through providing adequate facilities.

The volume is a useful addition to the very limited literature of the recreation movement. It will be found most useful by those who wish a brief summing up of the practices and tendencies in the United States. It has little that is new for the critical student.

CECIL C. NORTH

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

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*A History of American Journalism.* By JAMES MELVIN LEE.  
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917. Pp. x+462. Illustrated. \$3.50 net.

*A History of American Journalism* by James Melvin Lee, head of the New York University School of Journalism, supplies students of journalism throughout the country with a reference work long needed. Its only predecessor was Hudson's well-known work, which, though it included much interesting matter, was chaotic in form and brought the history of American newspapers down only to the year 1870 or thereabout. It was, so to speak, only the baby-book of journalism, for the greatest developments of our press have taken place within the last fifty years.

Mr. Lee's book presents a vast mass of information in orderly and intelligible form, and its facts have evidently been sought for and verified from the most authentic sources. Its twenty chapters record the beginnings of our colonial press, tell the story of the partisan press of our early national history, enumerate the most important papers in all the states and territories, and endeavor to distribute as justly as possible the emphasis to be accorded the many and various aspects of so com-

plicated a development. As a storehouse of facts and as a book of reference the book is invaluable. But Mr. Lee writes as a journalist, not as a historian. The picturesque details of newsgetting, the "beats," the pony expresses, the personal peculiarities of the great editors, improvements in the printing press, and similar themes interest him far more than the significance of the press in our growth as a people. When he touches upon the larger questions he is facile and genial rather than enlightening. Therefore, when in the last two chapters he discusses "The Period of Social Readjustment" and "Journalism of Today," Mr. Lee presents something like a defense of the modern newspaper, dismissing the charges that it is commercialized and that it suppresses and distorts the news, or refuting them with an easy optimism. It is an optimism which is not shared by many practical newspaper men today. I paraphrase the deliberate judgment of an editorial writer upon one of our larger papers: The social revolution which has already begun in this country will be an accomplished fact long before any intimation of it will be vouchsafed by our newspapers.

The more intelligent young men in journalism are aware of the ineffectiveness of our journals as organs of popular expression and are doing what they can to make the press more responsive to its task. But that certain ominous facts demand frank recognition rather than a complacent and partisan denial is not evident from Mr. Lee's excellent but too amiable work. The author would have done better to make his recent history purely a record of obvious facts and citations of opinions from authority rather than seem to pass in so light and confident a fashion upon problems which no one concerned for the purity and adequacy of our news as a basis for an enlightened public opinion can view without the gravest apprehension.

CARL H. GRABO

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Self-Surveys by Teacher-Training Schools.* By WILLIAM H. ALLEN and CARROLL G. PEARSE. Yonkers, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1917. Pp. xvi+207. \$2.25.

Educational efficiency rests ultimately upon the efficiency of teachers; and this in turn is determined by the character and efficiency of the teacher-training institutions. And now that we are attempting to evaluate the results of education through measurement, and the relative efficacy of the different factors involved in the process, naturally we meet with the two relatively new tasks of devising means and methods

of measuring teaching efficiency and of measuring the efficiency of training institutions.

This volume recounts the thoroughgoing efforts to do both of these things in connection with the survey of normal schools in the state of Wisconsin. It presents a long list of the aspects of teacher-training institutions into which inquiry needs to be made by way of determining their efficiency; and it presents detailed information and advice as to the best methods to be employed in the study of these many aspects. Few volumes on surveys present so many ideas in so brief a space. Those concerned in the labors of teacher training will find the volume highly suggestive.

An excellent book is unfortunately marred by the malicious tone employed throughout in the references to all other professional surveys and surveyors. Openly and by implication the authors foster the idea that their methods embody the last touches of perfection and that methods of all others are but the futilities of incompetents. Such insistent claims to a monopoly of wisdom rather repel the judicious who honestly wish to profit from the unusual number of excellent suggestions contained within the volume.

J. FRANKLIN BOBBITT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Report of the Richmond, Indiana, Survey of Vocational Education.* By ROBERT J. LEONARD, director, professor of vocational education, Indiana University. Educational Bulletin of Indiana State Board of Education No. 18, Indiana Survey Series No. 3. December, 1916. Pp. xv+599.

*Self-Surveys of Colleges and Universities.* By WILLIAM H. ALLEN, PH.D., director of the Institute for Public Service, New York City. Yonkers, N.Y.: Educational Survey Series. World Book Co., 1917. Pp. xv+394. \$3.00.

The report of the Richmond, Indiana, Survey is the third of a series of vocational educational surveys made in Indiana since the passage of the Indiana Vocational Survey law in 1913. They were made for the special purpose of adapting the newly established vocational educational system to the existing industrial life of the state. Other studies of a similar character are in progress. Richmond is a city of 25,000 inhabitants. It has for a long time been a center of the manufacture of agricultural implements. Something over 20 per cent of the population are

employed in this manufacture. The survey gives a detailed description of the principal industries and of the conditions of labor. As a report it is of the established conventional type: ponderous, superficial, and uninteresting. One of the demands that we are now beginning to make, even of governmental reports, is that they should be concise, they should make use of graphic materials for illustration, and above all they should be readable.

In the foreword to *Self-Surveys of Colleges and Universities*, William H. Allen defines his purpose in this book "to make it easier for American democracy to understand and to shape for democracy's ends the higher education upon which it spends a half billion dollars yearly." This paragraph is characteristic of the book, that is to say, it states an idea and then hammers it home with a striking fact. Although under the guise of a scheme for investigating colleges and universities, the author has written a brilliant and suggestive essay on college administration. The book itself is an admirable illustration of the way in which facts, ordinarily dry and unpalatable, may be made suggestive and interesting. One of the most interesting chapters is that in which he discusses the nature and possibilities of the catalogue and the official report, which, he says, should itself be a self-survey.

This book is not, however, merely a discussion of university and college administration. It is a book for the closet, for quiet meditation. Any person who will consistently go through, in reference to his particular work, with the sort of self-examination which is here prescribed will certainly be greatly improved intellectually and morally. As might be expected, self-surveys, whether of colleges or universities, are not valuable as a means of making scientific discoveries. They are valuable only as a means of testing efficiency and improving standards already accepted. Although this book is primarily for the administrator, it will at the same time be interesting and stimulating to the student.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Exceptional Child.* By MAXIMILIAN P. E. GROSZMANN, PH.D.  
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917. \$2.50.

This book is an attempt to summarize, in a comprehensive way, our present-day knowledge concerning the "exceptional" child, a term which, as the author explains in the Introduction, he applies "to all types of deviation from the average." Because of the effort to discuss in one

volume a variety of subjects—ranging from the failure of our public-school system to meet the needs of the “atypical” child to the causes of prostitution—the book is necessarily diffuse and general. It is valuable, however, to the layman interested in the subject of educational psychology, on account of its popular mode of presentation, its exhaustive bibliography, the “Medical Symposium” to which some eminent authorities have contributed, and the section on “The Problem of Clinical Research and Diagnosis.” This last section discusses the different scientific tests that have been developed for the determination of exceptional development in children, and contains many useful suggestions as to the proper training of the child who does not conform to “average” standards.

When the author leaves the field of educational psychology and ventures to touch upon social and economic subjects, he frequently fails to discriminate between scientific fact and his own personal opinion and prejudice; indeed, he even misuses scientific terms in his discussion of environmental influences that surround the child and tend to make it “exceptional.” For example he confuses heredity and environment in this flagrant fashion: “No eugenic childbirth is possible where there is not a healthy, happy home life” (p. 415); or “Many fathers whose nervous system has become depleted in the mad rush for gain have left a pernicious inheritance of defectiveness” (p. 419). Sometimes, too, the author abandons entirely the terminology of the scientist to assume the weighty responsibility of a pedantic moralist: “A child who lies is not necessarily wicked on that account” (p. 207); or: “An effeminate man is an abomination and a mannish woman is an insult to womanhood” (p. 84).

On the whole, however, the book is well worth reading and owning, as it contains many suggestive paragraphs and much information that could not be obtained elsewhere without considerable search.

HELEN GLENN TYSON

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION  
PITTSBURGH, PA.

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*Vocational Education.* Compiled by EMILY ROBINSON. New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1917. Pp. 303. \$1.25.

This volume is intended to be a sourcebook of material bearing on the subject of vocational education. According to the author's statement it is intended for the use of “teachers of vocational education, and students who are training to be public-school teachers, as well as people



who have only a general intelligent interest in education." Its selected articles are arranged under these divisions: phases of vocational education for youth, industrial education, commercial education, agricultural education, household arts, and vocational guidance. The authors, whose writings are used, are usually representative. Extended bibliographies of additional material in print bearing on the particular divisions just enumerated are presented. Unfortunately there is no index.

The purpose of the work is worthy, much valuable material has been brought together, and no doubt many teachers and others will be distinctly helped by it to a better understanding of vocational education.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

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*City and County Administration in Springfield, Illinois.* By D. O. DECKER and SHELBY M. HARRISON. New York City: Russell Sage Foundation, October, 1917.

*Social Surveys of Three Rural Townships in Iowa.* By PAUL S. PEIRCE, PH.D. Studies in the Social Sciences, First Series, No. 12, December, 1917. University of Iowa Monographs.

*Methods of Investigation in Social and Health Problems.* By DONALD B. ARMSTRONG, FRANZ SCHNEIDER, JR., and LOUIS I. DUBLIN. Reprinted from *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. VII, No. 1, January, 1917, and *Relative Values in Public Health Work.* By FRANZ SCHNEIDER, JR. Reprinted from *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. VI, No. 9, September, 1916. New York City: Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation.

*Chicago Social Service Directory.* By VALERIA D. McDERMOTT and ANNIE ELIZABETH TROTTER. Chicago: City of Chicago Department of Public Welfare, 1918.

The Springfield, Illinois, Social Survey is technically the most interesting and the most thoroughly executed survey which the Russell Sage Foundation has yet made. The survey was actually made in the spring and summer of 1914 with some additional investigations made the following year. The completed survey will comprise ten small volumes. Most of these studies were given publicity in the newspapers and at public

exhibits at the time they were made. The more formal and permanent reports of the survey made under Shelby Harrison have been completed more leisurely, and the completed reports are now being gathered together and will be given to the public eventually in three large volumes. This study of the city and county administration of Springfield includes a chapter on the "Community Service through the Municipality," that is to say, the fire department, city law department, streets and public improvements, etc.; analyzes the current income of the city, handling of special funds, and certain phases of the Sangamon County government. Particularly interesting and important are the recommendations with reference to publicity of the city government accounts and reports, particularly as a means of equalizing, in practice, the taxation on land values. The whole report is interesting and valuable and an important contribution to our knowledge of city administration.

The two pamphlets issued by the Russell Sage Foundation, one on *Methods of Investigation in Social and Health Problems*, and the other on *Relative Values in Public Health Work*, present, in a lively and interesting way, some of the pitfalls of social investigation, particularly when made by inexperienced investigators. The Russell Sage Foundation is a clearing house for actual experiments in social investigation and, on the basis of its materials, is standardizing schedules and improving methods. As in the long run the progress of social science depends upon investigation, and as this cannot be made in the laboratory but only in the field, the work of such an institution as the Russell Sage Foundation is invaluable. These pamphlets are excellent examples of this peculiar sort of social service.

Interest in the problems of rural life is still multiplying the number of surveys or investigations of rural conditions. The report recently issued by the University of Iowa of studies of three townships in that state is one of the most interesting and thoroughgoing of these recent studies. These investigations are of a strictly academic character, that is, they were not made for the purpose of improving local conditions in the regions studied, but were for the purpose of getting a general conception of conditions throughout the state by a method of sampling certain areas. For this reason the names of the townships investigated are not given, but the general locality is indicated and the townships actually investigated are designated by letters. The studies of the population since 1870 show a gradual and continuous decline in the rural population outside the towns of 2,500 or more. In fact it was found that in one of these townships the population was only 57 per cent of what

it was in 1870. Another interesting and suggestive fact brought out was that in all three townships there was a definitely larger proportion of males than females in the population. This excess of males was particularly striking in the statistics of minors in one township, which showed 168 males to 118 females. Quite as interesting was the predominance of males among the residents over forty-five years of age. This was characteristic of each township, the total being 247 males for 189 females. These statistics are still more interesting when considered in connection with the statistics of some of our larger cities, which show just the opposite condition, namely, an excess of females over males between the ages of sixteen to twenty-one.

It has become proverbial with us that the young man goes out into the world to seek his fortune, leaving his sister behind. In the twentieth century, perhaps it is the young man who stays at home, while the girl leaves in search of adventure and opportunity. The rural church is now a center of interest with students of rural life. In the three townships, with an aggregate population of 2,078 in 1914, eighteen sects are represented. Of this population 44 per cent in C. Township, 39 per cent in L., and 22 per cent in M. were church members. The townships having the largest number of church organizations had the fewest church members. The causes for this, as the survey points out, are not simple or easy to find. They are the most decisive evidences, perhaps, of the decline in the rural regions of the communal sentiment.

The second edition of the *Chicago Social Service Directory*, prepared by Valeria D. McDermott, Annie E. Trotter, and Commissioner Louise Osborne Rowe, is a decided improvement upon the first in several points, notably in the more careful classification of agencies, the more complete and detailed directory, and the general appearance. In many respects this little volume is a model of its kind and will be interesting as such to students and welfare workers outside the city of Chicago.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*American City Progress and the Law.* By HOWARD LEE McBAIN.

New York: Columbia University Press, 1918. Pp. 268.

\$1.50.

A most valuable contribution to the literature on the affairs of cities has been made by Professor McBain in this book. The work consists primarily of an examination of the existing legal principles and the

extent to which they facilitate or obstruct the application of any policy involving a change in the handling of municipal problems.

In an effective manner the direction which municipal legislation may take most successfully with least opposition by the courts, as well as the types of laws and policies which would most probably be unsuccessful, are indicated. This however is not the chief purpose of the study.

The book is divided into nine chapters of which the first two deal with the powers of constitutional and statutory origin and of the interpretation of those powers by the courts. The remaining chapters of the book deal with the power of cities to control nuisances, city planning—including building regulations and excess condemnation—public utilities, living costs, recreation, and commerce and industry.

There is no attempt made to present the different points of view regarding the various topics dealt with. The purpose is rather to present the law as it stands, and in this the author has made an important contribution to the study of municipal affairs. The book includes a valuable table of cases bearing on the subject and is adequately indexed. It should prove of great value to city officials, to the layman who is interested in making his city a better place in which to live, as well as to the student of municipal problems.

MANUEL C. ELMER

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

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*Disasters and the American Red Cross in Disaster Relief.* By J. BYRON DEACON. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1918. Pp. 230. \$0.75.

This little book is the first of several which the Russell Sage Foundation has in preparation under the general title of "Social Work Series." It is directed to two groups—the professional social workers who are likely to be called upon for service at a time of disaster and the laymen who, as citizens, are interested in the "social" handling of community problems. To the former, what Mr. Deacon offers is a handbook—a suggestive compilation of fact and principle. To the latter, the whole disaster relief problem is opened up in a very readable way. Each chapter, such as that on "Disasters at Sea," "Coal-Mine Disasters," "Floods, Fires, Tornadoes," is made complete in itself—with a presentation of the problem, an outline of the methods used in dealing with it, well-chosen "case stories" as illustrative matter, and a summary of the principle applied or evolved. Though the reiteration of these principles may seem unduly insistent to the professional workers, it serves

to fix them in the mind of the layman and suggests rather adroitly the wisdom of calling upon the Red Cross with its wealth of experience, trained workers, and ability to offer expert advice, rather than attempting to meet a great emergency with local organizations, alone, however willing and devoted they may be.

ETHEL BIRD

NEW YORK CITY

*Over There and Back.* By LIEUT. J. S. SMITH, U.S.A. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1918. Pp. 244. \$1.50.

This book will be of interest to the sociologist who is collecting materials upon the study of the war from the standpoint of mental attitudes. The crude actuality but real insight of the narration may best perhaps be indicated by the following two excerpts on the human nature of killing in war:

I kept wondering how it would feel to stick a Boche. It wasn't exactly like killing another man, but I wondered if I could do it, and tried to imagine it. I couldn't, so I stopped thinking about it. One fellow expressed the feelings of us all.

"I'm glad it's going to be dark, fellows. I hate those devils, but they look like human beings, even if they ain't," he said.

With that we passed the whole thing out of our minds and sang "Never trouble trouble till trouble troubles you," to relieve our feelings. And we went blithely on our way.

Don't ask me what I thought as we jumped in. I don't know. The whole thing was a blaze of color, a crash of shells and German S.O.S. signals in the air, as I made for the trench mortar. My mind centered on that one thing in front of me, somewhere in that trench. I merely felt the presence of those two trench walls. Dimly, vaguely, I knew I was in the German lines, and believe me or not, a great feeling of joy surged over me. Mad excitement possessed me and all around the roar and crash of artillery added to it when, Heavens! There was a German, right at the corner of a traverse. He was helmetless and without a rifle, but worse yet he was carrying one of their stick bombs.

It flashed into my mind, "You or he. Not you!" and I jumped for him.

Before he could spring the string on that bomb we went to the bottom of that trench together. It was rotten, but the instinct of self-preservation is always uppermost in the human mind.

Before I could get up, the other fellows rushed over me, headed for the trench mortar, and then I ran after them.

Don't think I forgot that German. I never have, and I never will. A memory is one of the curses on those who indulge in war.

The Introduction to the book is an illuminating analysis of the motives which induced an American cowboy on a ranch in the interior of British Columbia to enlist in the Canadian army at the outbreak of the Great War.

E. W. BURGESS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Real Front.* By ARTHUR HUNT CHUTE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1918. Pp. 309. \$1.50.

This book is by an American who served in the first Canadian contingent, and who, according to his publishers "was not only an actual combatant but had already been trained as a war correspondent in the Balkan and Mexican campaigns." In the volume are a number of passages which throw light on "the hidden things within the hearts of the men who were his comrades." The book is also characterized by a not unsuccessful attempt to achieve dramatic and ethical effects. The chapter entitled "Serving Our Soldiers" should have a value to those engaged in recreation programs for soldiers and sailors at the front or within and without training camps.

E. W. BURGESS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Socialism and Feminism, with an Introduction on the Climax of Civilization.* By CORREA MOYLAN WALSH. New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1917. 3 vols. \$4.50.

In the preparation of these three volumes, entitled respectively, I, "The Climax of Civilization"; II, "Socialism"; and III, "Feminism," the author has evidently made a wide survey of the literature of social science, ancient and modern, the results of which are presented in an interesting and popular way. The scientific value of the volumes, however, is vitiated by the author's initial assumption of the cyclical theory of history, and by his limited faith in the perfectibility of human institutions. Not only does he think that the present epoch has reached its maturity and is about to enter its decline, but we "have nearly reached the highest point of material civilization of which our society, on the earth it inhabits, is capable." The best that we can hope to accomplish is to retard this decline.

*Tales of Wartime France.* Translated by WILLIAM L. MCPHERSON. Dodd, Mead & Co., 1918. Pp. xviii+200. \$1.50.

A well-selected collection of French war stories by short-story writers of the day.

*The Escape of a Princess Pat.* By GEORGE PEARSON. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1917. Pp. 228. \$1.40.

An authentic account in autobiographical form of the experiences of Corporal Edwards, who was for eighteen months a prisoner of war in Germany. "The more personal details are based on the recollections of Corporal Edwards' retentive mind, aided by his very unusual powers of observation and the rough diary which he managed to retain possession of during his later adventures."

*Blown In by the Draft.* By FRAZIER HUNT. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918. Pp. 372. \$1.25.

Interesting stories of camp life; not sociologically significant.

*A Prophecy of the War (1913-1914).* By LEWIS EINSTEIN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1918. Pp. 94.

A republication in book form of two essays published first in January, 1913, and November, 1914, which predicted the Great War and forecast the entry of the United States on the side of the Allies.

*The Confessions of a Thug.* By COLONEL MEADOWS TAYLOR. London: Oxford University Press. First published in "World's Classics," 1916. 1s.

This is a novel based on the life of Ameer Ali with whom the author was intimately acquainted. "The thugs were an hereditary guild of murderers, who, acting under the supposed patronage of the goddess Kalee, strangled and robbed their victims in every part of India." The book was first published in 1839.

*Tuberculosis: Its Cause, Cure, and Prevention.* By EDWARD O. OTIS, M.D. Rev. ed. New York: Crowell, 1918. Pp. 328. \$1.50.

The value of this little book, which first appeared in 1909 under the title *The Great White Plague*, for popular propaganda and education will not be questioned. The appearance of the third edition however, gives rise to the question of the difference between a reprint and a revision. The revised edition of 1914 contained only negligible verbal changes and the addition of an appendix of five pages. The third edition makes no changes aside from the introduction of three new paragraphs on pages 288-89, 306.

*Helping the Helpless in Lower New York.* By LUCY S. BAINBRIDGE. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1917. Pp. 172. \$1.00.

The author was formerly superintendent of the woman's branch of the New York City Mission society. The atmosphere of the stories of her experiences is sufficiently indicated in the following excerpt from Rev. A. F. Schauffer, D.D.: "Mere 'social uplift' does not change man's *character*, and in this world of temptation and sin our aim should be predominately that change of character which, if it really takes place, governs the whole life for all time."

# RECENT LITERATURE

## NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**The Scientific Spirit.**—The scientific spirit is necessary to social work. Social work should be done in the scientific spirit (1) because it is a dangerous, if not to say extra-hazardous, trade from the standpoint of the worker himself; (2) it is a delicate and even perilous adventure from the standpoint of those whom social workers would serve. The scientific spirit does away with obtrusive personality. It lessens the hazards in charity by developing the rigorous determination to see clearly. To see the problem clearly means to get away from mere impressions. Science is both an attitude and a technique. The attitude can be cultivated without teachers, books, or colleges. Technique may be had from the literature of economics, political science, and sociology in their applied aspects.—Arthur J. Todd, *Survey*, February 2, 1918.  
F. O. D.

**Political Economy and the Social Process.**—Science and philosophy are striving to see everything as a part of a social process. There is a need of an adequate economic doctrine which would take an account of the economic movement with a view to rational social action for economic welfare. The market process is studied from the side of demand. This demand is being considered as an expression of the economic power determined by all existing conditions. The evils of the economic system are implicit in demand and are transmitted to production and distribution. Demand is a class phenomenon determined by the economic power which is concentrated in a small fraction of the people. On account of this concentration of power we have the waste and misdirection of social resources. It results, furthermore, in degeneracy and vices in our social system. The fallacy of economists consists in taking productivity as the basis of distribution and economic justice. Political economy of the present has scarcely the rudiments of economic organization in a large social sense. Competition is not a static phenomenon but is changing and exists only so long as it remains an object of the public will. The attitude of economists toward ethics must change from the optional and personal to a rational one. We should not separate the economic from the ethical aspects in the social process and should not regard the economic process as non-evolutionary or pre-Darwinian.—Charles H. Cooley, *Journal of Political Economy*, April, 1918.  
J. H.

**The Problem of Democracy.**—The modern idea of democracy differs from the Greek conception, which was based on the doctrine of natural inequality, in that it rests on the revolutionary doctrine of equal rights. Democracy is sovereignty resting in the whole people and was first formulated in the American Declaration of Independence, namely, that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Democracy has no existence in its rigorous purity. The ultimate power may be in those who are governed, but the authority arises from the opinion of those who govern, who are few. Contrast between theory and practice of democracy is evident in America. Democratic order is not the outcome of any theory at all, but the struggle for self-assertion of group interests grown conscious of their power and determined to assert it. A balance of power between the various groups is necessary to the stability of the state. The result of the progress of democracy since the great revolution is not government by the people for the people, but government of groups "engaged in perpetual struggle for ascendancy." The problem of democracy does not depend on devising machinery, but enabling the people to select and obey those who can govern them well, in attaining the "capacity to recognize capacity."—Walter Alison Phillips, *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1918.  
J. H.



**The Bases of Democracy in China.**—Institutions which have favored the organization of a democratic government in China and which favor its future growth are: (1) Social: (a) the family. The whole family is responsible for the civil and criminal liabilities of each member and for the welfare of the unfortunate members. Although the father is the nominal property holder, he can dispose of none without the consent of the other members; (b) the greater family, where families of the same origin occupy a village of their own with headquarters in the ancestral hall, directed by a board of elders, chosen by popular vote; (c) the village, made up of district groups other than the greater family; (d) the classes, the occupations: scholar, farmer, artisan, merchant, the degree of honor being in the order named. (2) Economic and industrial institutions: (a) the mutual loan associations, which perform the function of an emergency organization and a savings club; (b) the guilds: (i) the merchant guilds and (ii) the artisan guilds. (3) Political institutions: (a) the central government, which exacts only payment of taxes. (4) Popular aspects of the Chinese philosophy of government. The Confucian school is the most prominent. Its principles are: (a) government by the consent of the governed; (b) employment of moral v. physical agencies; (c) the employment of the ablest, wisest, most experienced, and most virtuous in government; (d) the right of the people to depose any ruler whose conduct they do not approve. (5) The influence of Western civilization: (a) in replacing superstitions by new meanings of worship; (b) by bringing in individualism; (c) by intensifying the feeling of nationality.—Kia-Lok Yen, *International Journal of Ethics*, January, 1918.

F. O. D.

**The Psychology of Conviction.**—The Great European War calls our attention to the study of conviction as a motive power to world-action. The psychology of conviction studies and analyzes the beliefs which have been handed over to us by tradition and interprets them into the motives of convictions. Conviction determines human conduct; hence the latter is used as a criterion for the psychology of conviction. The "case" method is adequate for its study. There is the psychology of the conviction as an objective belief and the psychology of the convinced as a subjective issue. A study of the personal aspect of conviction is especially valuable. Conviction functions as a means of removal of doubt as well as that of the support of conduct; it results, therefore, in the contented feeling of adjustment. The Freudian psychology throws more light upon our problem. It reveals to us the fact that the unfulfilled wish is the true motive of conviction. Rationalization is another Freudian mechanism which explains the justification of belief to reason. The problem arising out of conflicts of convictions may be solved, not alone by the discovery of truth, but by controlling the means of securing its acceptance. "The world-war is a war of convictions, tragically consigned to the ordeal of a scientific armament of destruction; and the decision, however reached, will establish one set of convictions in the minds of men and depose its rivals."—Joseph Jastrow, *Scientific Monthly*, December, 1917.

J. P.

**The Influence of Wars upon the Psychology of Our Times.**—In times of peace people tend to become sordid. They pursue pleasure and run after Mammon. A tendency to degeneration arises. War serves as an excitement stimulating the heroic virtues of the people. This may be seen if we compare France as she was before the war with the heroic France after three years of endurance and achievement. "The emotions and sentiments of the people at one period of conflict become more or less crystallized in their psychology and later under the influence of a variety of solvents are set free, again to become active." The "psychological inheritance" left with the people after a conflict serves as a determining force for future peace or war. Thus the struggle of the people against the tyranny of the King of Great Britain during the English Commonwealth (1649–53) was carried over to the American continent, where it found its expression in the French and Indian War (1756–63). Later "the same spirit was handed down to the American Revolution, and, somewhat more remotely but none the less certainly, to the great French Revolution." The Russian revolution is considered to be the immediate consequence of the European War. "The present German spirit has its main roots and development in Germany's conflict with the Danes in 1864; with Austria, her present ally, in 1866; and with France in 1870–71." It is also evident that this war has exerted an awakening effect upon Great Britain as well as upon the United States.—Charles K. Mills, *American Journal of Insanity*, April, 1918.

S. P.

**The Sociological Principle Determining the Elementary Curriculum.**—"The function of elementary education is to create the community of interest without which social organization is impossible; to impart the common culture which is fundamental to our complex social life. Such is the thesis of this paper." Because of a lack of common culture we are at considerable disadvantage in religious matters. Even the science of hygiene "cannot be applied everywhere unless the people all understand at least a modicum of its fundamental principles." The economists and sociologists "know the solutions to most of our problems. But the people do not; and there's the rub." "If a democratic people's conduct is to be dependable and harmonious" there must be "a wide popular distribution of all the inherited possessions of the race." This includes all the economic, scientific, and cultural achievements, for "the sanest, safest, and surest way to redistribute wealth is to redistribute culture," and "the more complex and cultured the civilization the larger and more liberally distributed must be the common-to-all." There are three tendencies in modern educational systems that tend to divert the schools "from their fundamental sociological task of producing a like-minded citizenry." The first is the excessive individualism in current pedagogy which is largely a result of the prevalent theory of democracy and the special emphasis psychologists have given to the individuality of the child. The second diverting tendency is that of specialization, especially in the lower grades. The third tendency is the fitting of the schools to the class or community. To have much specialization, especially in the lower grades, is a sure method of fixing class status. "What each and every local community needs is the rich cultural heritage of the race," though the present school curriculum should be adjusted to meet the present needs. "There is only one thing sadder than the undeveloped resources latent among the common people; and that is the blindness to those resources of even our educational philosophers."—Ross L. Finney, *School and Society*, March 23, 1918. A. G.

**A Municipal Program for Educating Immigrants in Citizenship.**—The existence of a large number of immigrants of voting age in our cities is not only a social but also a political problem. They should be educated in the principles of American citizenship, for only in this way will they make the proper transition from the ideals and the government of their native country to the ideals and the government of their adopted country. Over two and a half million foreigners over twenty-one years of age in 1910 could not speak English, and only 35,614 foreign-born adults were in school. This shows that they are making no systematic effort to acquire the English language. The larger cities should have a special director of the schools for the immigrants, while in the smaller communities one of the teachers of immigrants could also do the directing work. Teachers should have special training. Nationality and knowledge of the English language are the primary bases for organization of the schools. Then age, sex, and previous education should be used as bases for further classification. The federal court in Los Angeles has agreed to receive the certificate of evening school work as sufficient evidence of educational qualification for citizenship. Libraries have taken the lead in educating foreigners for citizenship, but they do it with publications in the foreigners' own languages. The social centers are attempting to make it possible for the foreigner to come into contact with American customs, and thus pass the transition from the foreign customs to the American.—John M. Gaus, *National Municipal Review*, May, 1918. A. G.

**The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh.**—The purpose of the study was to ascertain the facts relative to the recent migration of negroes to the North, with particular reference to Pittsburgh and the problems that the community must face in the amelioration of present evils and the prevention of future ones. More than 75 per cent of these newcomers to Pittsburgh are between the ages of eighteen and forty and the unmarried men greatly predominate in this group. The recent influx has been due to the increased demand for labor in the North caused by the war. The great mass of workers get higher wages in Pittsburgh than they received in the South, the average wage here being \$2.85, while in the South it was \$2.15. Of four hundred and eighty-nine questioned as to their religious affiliations, 76 per cent are either church members or attendants, while 24 per cent do not attend any church. The percentage of men

bringing their families with them is greater than is the case with our foreign immigration.

Negroes have entered the trades organized by the whites in increasing numbers within the last two years. They show a disproportionate increase of arrests for petty offenses over the increase of arrests for graver crimes. There is a decided increase in drunkenness and the visitation of disorderly houses. The majority of arrests are from the age group of twenty to forty years. The infant mortality rate among the negroes is very high in Pittsburgh. During the first seven months of 1917 the death-rate among negroes in the city was 48 per cent greater than the birth-rate. The negroes are more exposed to disease than the whites because of their lower social, industrial, educational, and moral status. The existence of a community problem is manifest and calls for a better social and economic adjustment of the life of the negro to northern industrial centers.—Abraham Epstein, *Publication of School of Economics*, University of Pittsburgh, 1918. G. E. H.

**A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program.**—The large immigration of peoples which is expected after the war to this country will cause an extremely difficult problem of Americanization. Therefore it will be necessary to check the inflow of vast numbers who maintain allegiance to foreign governments and to promote education of aliens residing permanently in America in order that they may acquire American ideas and ideals and speedily become American citizens. A comprehensive immigration legislation is needed in order to conserve American institutions, labor, and friendly relations with other nations. The basis for it will be: regulation of immigration according to the capacity of each race already in the United States; protection of the American standard of living, institutions, and national unity; protection of the aliens by the federal government. This policy should be based on justice, good-will, and economic and political considerations. The proposals involved are: (1) regulation of the rate of immigration; (2) a federal bureau for registration of aliens; (3) a federal distribution bureau; (4) a federal bureau for the education of aliens; (5) congressional legislation for adequate protection of aliens; (6) amendment of naturalization laws.—Sidney L. Gulick, *The Scientific Monthly*, March, 1918. J. H.

**The Real Effects of Civilization upon the Negro.**—The attitude of the negro toward the laws, the moral and health standards of civilized society, enables us to see the progress he has made from the most primitive ideas and practices through contact with the most advanced of present-day civilizations. In fundamental character little modification has taken place in the negro by his change in habitat from the African forests to that of the more enlightened environment of America. The fundamental and more primitive animal feelings and characteristics have become little sublimated. His moral conceptions have not been raised above the primitive level. In "the District of Columbia, in 1912 and 1913, there were four times as many illegitimate births of colored as of white children, altho the colored population was only about one-half as large as the white." As a general rule his family ties are weak, seldom reaching the fine relations existing in the white world. "A large and increasing amount of negro criminality is manifested all over the country." It does not seem that education is lowering the death-rate of the negro, or else the education that he is receiving is fundamentally faulty. The birth-rate as compared with the death-rate is decreasing more rapidly so that the total increase of negro population is relatively lessening. The negro has made little progress if measured by the degree to which he has overcome his primitive tendencies and concepts. He is still dominated by sexual lusts, superstition, suspiciousness, and distrust, and has in no field reached the level of efficiency attained by the white man.—Robert Wilson, *Journal of Sociologic Medicine*, February, 1918. G. E. H.

**Some Considerations Affecting the Replacement of Men by Women Workers.**—One of the most urgent problems of industry in war time is that of the replacement of men by women workers. Among the benefits resulting from the widening of women's employment the most striking is the breaking down of prejudices. Women have quickly responded to their opportunities and have proved their ability in work hitherto closed to them. Throughout the world women are entering new fields of technical

pursuits. In England 1,250,000 women are directly replacing men. "In Germany the number of women employed in metal trades alone in July, 1916, are reported to have been over 3,000,000." In France and in Italy the tendencies to replace men by women workers are growing with the same rapidity. In this country many promising fields are opening for women. Also their wages are rising. However, many evils result out of this new situation. Many occupations serve as a source of injury for women, such as lifting excessive weights, the manufacture of high explosives causing industrial poisoning; also night work and overwork causing overfatigue. Three essential safeguards are needed for girls and women entering upon men's occupations, namely: equal wages, additional legislation, and adequate medical supervision.—Josephine Goldmark, *American Journal of Public Health*, April, 1918. S. P.

**The Cripple and His Place in the Community.**—For many generations the cripple has occupied a rather obscure place in the community and has not had sufficient chance to share equally in all opportunities offered to normal children and adults. Medical care has been given, but the individual behind the handicap has not been interpreted. Industrial accidents and infantile paralysis have increased the number, but now, because of the war, the care of the returned crippled soldier forces the community to immediate action. The question confronting us is what methods are applicable in his education. A recent survey in Cleveland gives us a different attitude concerning the possibilities. The industries and occupations were classified as a basis for suggestion as to what a handicapped person may do. The survey also demonstrated what the successful, normal cripples themselves want: (1) not to be confused with the begging type of cripple; (2) not to be forced into a special class; (3) an opportunity to be judged by what is left and not by what is gone; (4) to share equally in all chances offered to normal individuals.—Amy M. Hamburger, *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1918. F. O. D.

**Juvenile Delinquency.**—During 1916 there were 1,161 children under sixteen years of age brought before the city justices of Manchester. This was an increase of 458 since 1913, the last complete pre-war year. One cause for delinquency is an emulation of "heroes" who have committed many offenses. Some have been made leaders of gangs just because they have been before the magistrates. The condition of tense suspense and anxiety that prevails in the homes whose fathers or elder sons are in the war finds its outlet on the part of the children by grouping themselves together for some action which often is unlawful. It is not "fair to attribute to any one amusement the cause for child delinquency. We should rather look to a multiple of causes. This combination may be summed up as follows, each factor serving as a contributing cause: the war spirit, the absence of father, the mother engaged in war work, uncertain conditions at home, the influence of cinemas, pernicious literature, lack of home instruction, want of protection and recreation, absence of religious essentials, and absence of suitable parental control." The cinema should be made beneficial. Organizations of various kinds, as the Boy Scouts, should serve to guide the boy's desire for an adequate outlet of his feeling and activity. Early marriages should be prohibited, for they only result in still more untrained children. Legislation will not solve the problem unless a good parental influence is developed which will give the child in the home a religious, social, and industrial training.—Robert Peacock, *The Child*, March, 1918. A. G.

**The Newsboy's Morals.**—Most writers think that the service of a newsboy subjects him to bad moral influences. From one-half to three-fourths of the boys brought to the courts as delinquents come from among the newsboys, so some authorities say. It is doubtful whether newsboys are more delinquent than other boys, and this is especially true of the newsboys that attend school. They are prone to gamble, but usually are too busy to do so. Many smoke. "Forty-eight per cent of the boys do not use profanity, 12.5 per cent use it habitually, 33 per cent use it occasionally, and 6.3 per cent only under great provocation." Only four or five out of more than a thousand admitted the use of liquor. Begging is not a common practice among the newsboys of Seattle. Other forms of dishonesty, as "no change," "short change," etc., prevail to some extent. "The juvenile police department affirms

its inability to look after the small sellers after night and the regular officers on the beat pay no attention to them unless they violate the law in some other way."—Anna Y. Reed, *Work with Boys*, January, 1918. A. G.

**Some Limitations of the Plan for Segregating the Feeble-minded.**—There are at least three or four feeble-minded persons to every thousand of the population. Feeble-mindedness is the cause of much criminality, pauperism, and prostitution. Studies of feeble-mindedness show that at least one-half is due to inheritance. If we are to decrease feeble-mindedness we must prevent these people from becoming parents by the reproduction of their kind. Theoretically our institutional segregation of the feeble-minded is to prevent this perpetuation, but practically the feeble-minded have been sent to institutions because of their anti-social character in the community, not as a eugenic measure. The cost of segregation is very great and an obstacle toward its general realization.

A state census of feeble-mindedness would show the people who are most in need of segregation. Today, the acquired feeble-minded are more likely to be sent to an institution than those with a hereditary taint, since the feeble-minded of intelligent families are sent to institutions by their relatives for training.

The Wasserman test shows that about 6 per cent of the cases of feeble-mindedness are due to syphilitic infection. In many cases intemperance is at least the exciting cause of the defect. Recent studies show that if the feeble-minded are trained from youth they become law-abiding and useful members of the community under favorable circumstances. The whole problem calls for continued scientific study so that these people may be trained, cared for, and segregated to the best of our knowledge.—Walter E. Fernald, *Ungraded*, May, 1918. G. E. H.

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## THE MEXICAN SITUATION: MANUEL GAMIO'S PROGRAM

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Commissions in plenty are studying the question, "What is the matter with Mexico?" Most of them are narrow in view and find a single cause to be the trouble, usually within the range of their own special field. Economic commissions, educational commissions, business commissions, all are studying Mexico and telling us just what she needs. A recent investigation by an educational commission has found of course that education has always been in a bad way in Mexico and that what is most needed is schools. Little red schoolhouses, with a Robert College under American direction thrown in, will solve all problems. That education in its proper time is desirable no one will question; that it is Mexico's most urgent need is not so evident. Of what advantage is it to teach boys and girls to read if no reading-matter is available? Of what use is it to know how to write unless there is some real need for writing? Mexicans may be illiterate; they are not unintelligent, nor are they, within the range of the requirements of daily life, uninformed.

Alberto Pani finds Mexico's chief need in sanitation and hygiene. His study, largely academic, was made at order of the

Mexican government. He believes that the Mexican most needs cleanliness, food, and decent housing. To some degree he is right. Schools may well wait until the cravings of hunger, chronic and lifelong to millions of Mexicans, are appeased. But Señor Pani is only partly right. The Mexican needs no direct control in the matters of cleanliness, food preparation, and building. The Indians of Mexico are usually clean; one may fare sumptuously today in an Aztec town; there are many houses in Indian villages which could not be surpassed in comfort and healthfulness. Filth, hunger, and bad housing exist in Mexico, especially in the great city (which was Pani's chief study), but the introduction of Italian "model houses" is not going to solve Mexico's problems.

Foreigners generally, especially business men, insist that Mexico's salvation must come through "development," with foreign capital, under foreign direction, "because the Mexican is incapable of working unguided." The trouble with the solution is that "development" is always primarily for the benefit of the outsider. When it has been carried through, Mexico has been but indirectly advantaged. Take the railroad development under the Diaz régime. Railroads were not built to strengthen and unite the country; they were built simply to give ingress and egress to Americans and Englishmen, to give entrance to their goods and exit to raw materials. What real advantage was it to Mexico that the city of Tampico should grow, when the only railroads from that port led to El Paso and Eagle Pass and Laredo and not to the city of Mexico? Instead of uniting the capital city with every part of the country, as real railroads should, these connected absolutely separated and disunited producing areas with the cities of the United States. In case of war with us the railroads of Mexico would be of little service for the transportation of Mexican troops, but they would enable the United States to flood the central plateau, the west coast, and the gulf seaboard with forces. In other words, the much-vaunted railroad development of Mexico was more advantageous for Americans than for Mexicans. So, too, the great petroleum fields

of Tamaulipas and Vera Cruz are of little real benefit to Mexico. They increase the business of Tampico; they furnish labor to a certain number of hands; they produce a valuable material for world-use; they make fortunes for a few American and English speculators; but they contribute little to Mexico's upbuilding; they lead to political corruption, to local unrest and disturbance, to meddling and interference, to constant threat of intervention.

No one who knows Mexico will claim that her troubles are due to any single cause. Her problems are highly complex. Their solution must come from Mexicans. Improvement must come from within, not from without. Neither as individuals, or commissions, or government can *we* settle Mexican troubles. Fortunately there are many Mexicans who are seriously seeking for the root of evils and trying to devise remedies. Among them is Manuel Gamio, who has recently published a most suggestive book and, as an official in the Carranza government, issued a remarkable *programa*. Señor Gamio is director of the newly organized *Dirección de Estudios arqueológicos y etnográficos*, a division of the *Departamento de Fomento*. We believe that he has found the gravest and most fundamental cause of Mexico's ills—the one which comes nearest to being the *single* cause. His book is named *Forjando Patria*; it deals with the forging of a nation out of the iron of the Spaniard and the bronze of the Indian—the two metals involved in the Mexican population. Gamio's fundamental proposition is that the Indian can no longer be ignored. He forms more than half the population. There will be no solution until he is given his proper place. This idea underlies every chapter of the book, which deals with a wide range of topics. The book is remarkable and on the whole sound. Few Mexicans so clearly recognize the real difficulty; fewer would state it; still fewer would dare to publish it with the force and earnestness of our author. If there is to be progress in Mexico, this principle must be admitted and made the very basis of action. As *Forjando Patria* is little likely to be known here, we make liberal quotations from it, adding brief comment only.

The fundamental question is: Can countries, in which the two great elements which compose the population differ fundamentally in all respects and are mutually ignorant of each other, be considered as nations? [p. 10].

Can eight or ten million individuals of indigenous race, speech, and culture hold the same ideals and aspirations, tend toward the same ends, render reverence to the same fatherland, cherish similar national manifestations, as the six or four millions of beings of European origin who dwell in the same territory but speak a different language, belong to another race, and live and think in accordance with a culture which differs profoundly from theirs, from whatever point of view? [p. 13].

The most liberal and radical Mexican leaders have ever pointed back with pride to the Constitution of 1857. Gamio finds it unsuited to the real needs:

The Constitution of '57, which is of foreign character in origin, form, and basis, has been and is adaptable to the material and intellectual mode of life of twenty per cent of our population, which by blood and civilization is analogous to the European populations. For the rest, the said Constitution is exotic and inappropriate.

It is an error, for example, to expect one same law shall apply to the Lacandon of Chiapas, who goes naked and lives by hunting and fishing in a wild tropical district, where no other idea of nation is held than that constituted by his mountains, his women, and his children; to the frontiersman of the north, into whom have filtered and percolated the language, the idiom, the industry, the aptitudes of the American; to the inhabitant of the high tablelands, conservator of the traditions, the customs and religion of the past and to the dweller in the seaport, liberal and innovator; to the frontiersman of the south, whose culture is more Central American than Mexican; to the Indian in general, helpless and illiterate, who speaks diversity of idioms, lives in unlike climates and differs in customs; to the man of culture, active, progressive in tendencies; to the individual of aristocratic lineage who has been educated(?) abroad and when he returns to his native hearth displays a repulsive hybridism in customs and ideas.

When the government knows these individuals and groupings thoroughly, it will be possible to undertake the task of legislating upon the social life. Then will be possible the formation of a general constitution with grand features and special laws adequate to the ethno-social and economic characteristics of our groupings and the geographical conditions of the regions which they inhabit [p. 52].

Throughout his entire argument Señor Gamio urges a real fusion, but the fusion must take what is native as the basis.



Life, thought, achievement, must be Spanish-Indian, not Indian-Spanish. The native, not the invader, must supply the foundation:

*Ethnic representation.*—In order to legitimately represent the different ethnic groupings of our population, the respective legislators ought to be named by them and to belong to them, or at least to be intimately permeated by their mode of being. Further, the electoral mechanism should be that which the said groupings choose, even though some of them in comparison with others appear very primitive. In effect, the native families preserve deeply rooted the patriarchal system in electoral nominations, in the settlement of domestic questions, etc., etc.; neither the federal government nor the state governors have a right to interfere with such methods of procedure, so long as they do not prejudice the collectivity.

The Chambers never knew what were the conditions and the needs of the Mayas in Yucatan, Quintana Roo, Campeche, Tabasco and Chiapas; of the Yaquis of Soñora; of the "pintos" in Guerrero; of all these families of natives which number various millions of creatures. Such ignorance was explicable if it was remembered how reduced was always the proportion of individuals of native origin in the legislative representation, being necessary to notice too that, apart from their small number, these individuals were renegade natives, who had already assimilated the culture, the language, the aspirations and the tendencies of other social classes—they did not understand nor "feel" the urgent physical and intellectual necessities of their ancient brothers, whom they considered as unredeemed and uncultured beings. And it is clear that these native families, separated from the national concert, ignored by the Constitution and the federal and state laws, and only taken into account when it concerned the imposition of arbitrary contributions upon them, of snatching from them their contingent of blood and service, and of taking advantage of them in commercial transactions, only found in their desperation one dilemma: to revolt or to die . . . and some, as may be observed in the central plateau, have been perishing, through degeneration; others—Yaquis and Mayas—vegetate ever in secular rebellion and almost all have collaborated in the present Revolution in search of liberties, in hope of the position and standing which by legitimate right belongs to them in the national home [p. 136].

The Indian continues to cultivate the pre-Hispanic culture, more or less modified, and will continue to do so as long as his incorporation into contemporary civilization is not secured through gradual, logical, and sensible means. The attempt at his incorporation has been made through inculcation of religious ideas, through clothing him, through teaching him the alphabet, in the same way as if dealing with individuals of our other classes. It is natural that this civilizing bath has not gone below the epidermis, leaving the body and soul of the Indian as they were before, pre-Hispanic. In order to incorporate the

Indian, we must not attempt to "europeanize" him at one stroke; on the contrary let us "indianize" ourselves somewhat, so as to present to him, already diluted with his own, our civilization, which he will then not find exotic, cruel, bitter, and incomprehensible. This approximation to the Indian naturally ought not to be carried to a ridiculous extreme [p. 172].

He urges that a characteristic, a truly Mexican, development in life, art, industry, and literature be encouraged. The past shows the possibility of a happy and creditable union: the present and future should produce something still more worthy of respect:

From this contest, there is born what may be called "cultural cleavage"; a great part of this middle class, which feels more the environment in which it has developed and the historical antecedents which brought it near the native class, adopted an intermediate culture, which is neither the native nor the western. We cite some manifestations of this culture: the popular music, which Ponce in most noble effort exerted himself to make known, is not native music, nor is it European; it is something intermediate, the technique, the mechanical part, of which is occidental, but which in character and sentiment strongly arouse the native soul. Our sculptors, who in Guadalajara, in Mexico, and in other places make little figures of clay and wax or typically decorated vases, are the true national sculptors, however much the public may, foolishly, consider its work as mere curious rubbish. The decorative designs which are used in the lacquer industry, pottery, textile fabrics and a thousand other things, are the legitimate Mexican decorations, they were inspired by our sky, by our soil, by our plants, by our animals, even by the ancient polytheistic religious conceptions of the pre-Hispanic Indians. As much might be said of the literature, the architecture, and even of the very special character which religious ideas show in this class. The "intermediate culture" originated immediately after the conquest, it being necessary, in order to understand perfectly what is here said to examine among other manifestations the transitional artistic work of the sixteenth century. This intermediate culture, like that of the native class, has developed without principles, method, or facilities; it is natural that it presents frequent deficiencies and even deformities, like everything that has to flourish, conquering obstacles. It is, nevertheless, the national culture, that of the future, that which will end by imposing itself when the population, being ethnically homogeneous, feels and understands it. It should not be forgotten that it is the resultant of the European and the modified native, or pre-Hispanic [p. 175].

We will accept what is said: the percentage of persons who possess scientific knowledge in Mexico is very reduced; that of individuals who do not know how to read is very large; the art of European origin is not understood

by the majority of the population; industrial production is restricted, etc., etc. In our turn we will reply: scientific knowledge in Mexico is deficient, because the character of the evolutionary stages which we have traversed during centuries has made anything else impossible; an actual scientific prosperity would be extraordinary and the extraordinary may always be left out of account. A majority of Mexicans do not know how to read and write . . . but they know other things: the people produces literary work, musical, etc., etc., that is to say, it lacks one cultural manifestation, literacy; but possesses others. Mexican industry is inferior in efficiency to the European, a fact explained by the richness of the soil and the consequent ease of subsistence. We do not understand European art, we do not "feel it," that must be confessed; the Europeans in their turn do not understand or feel our art.

In the final analysis, we live contented with the natural evolution, which our cultural manifestations follow and with the application of those manifestations of European origin which our necessities counsel us to borrow [p. 190].

To real nationality a common language is essential. Spanish is still far from universal in the country. Fifty native languages, perhaps, are still in daily use. There are probably millions who do not know Spanish; there are large towns where hardly an individual speaks it. Writers in Mexico often urge the purification of Mexican-Spanish, the restoration of it to academic perfection. Our author does not expect or desire to see a uniform spoken Spanish of Castilian purity in Mexico. There are local divergencies in Spanish speech that will continue. In writing, there will no doubt be a general diffusion of a Spanish that will be as correct and refined as our American-English compared with that of England, but no doubt local peculiarities of spoken speech will continue:

All these modes of speaking Spanish differ among themselves analogically, syntactically, phonetically, and ideologically, that is to say they differ in form, expression, and sound and they will differ as long as the Mexicans have not fused into a single race, physically and intellectually homogeneous and, in order that such a thing happen, it is necessary that this race live in a region where the physical and biological conditions shall be the same for all the individuals who compose it. In effect, the form and structure of the human body and the manifestations of its intellect—art, language, etc., etc.—result directly from the action of the foods, the climate, the flora, the fauna, and the geology of the soil or region they inhabit. Ah well, the distinct regions which make up our country differ in climate, botany, zoölogy and geology, and therefore the same Spanish will never be spoken in all the regions of Mexico, but that which naturally develops and flourishes in each one of them.

Four hundred years of experience are more conclusive than all that literary men and grammarians may say with respect to the attempted unification of the language [p. 194].

There is more of beauty, more realism, and greater force of expression attaching to this picturesque variety of "Spanishes" of Mexico than if they should be fused, through compulsion, into one impossible and grotesque imitation of the Spanish of Castile or of whatever other place [p. 196].

Of the rise of a national literature Gamio says:

It is logical to affirm that the national literature will appear automatically when the population attains to racial, cultural, and linguistic unification. Then, without doubt, the ethical, esthetic and religious ideas, the scientific acquisitions, the aspirations, the ideals of the distinct groupings of the country will not diverge as they now do, but will have converged and blended. The national literature will present various origins but one single body of exposition. The national soul will then be sensitive to the beauty of this literature, whether the episodes or passages which arouse the esthetic emotion be native or Spanish, pre-Hispanic, or colonial. Today, each Mexican grouping possesses its own literature, different from the others in form and in content, as one may easily convince himself by a detailed examination of the actual literary manifestations, written and "latent"—that is to say those which have not been written but exist and are orally transmitted, such as those of the natives [p. 205].

It is necessary to encourage all the actual literary manifestations in place of praising some and decrying others, a feat of fools to ridicule the little histories of Vanegas Arroyo, publications of the type of *La Guacamaya*, the pathetic compositions declaimed by the strolling bards of the town square and the stories that issue from the mouths of nurses and servants, since all of this is Mexican literature, however much the pretended purists preach the contrary [p. 206].

His discussion of the industries which arose by fusion during the colonial epoch is most interesting and deserves thoughtful reading. At its close he makes several concrete propositions:

We propose concretely:

1. That an attempt be made to crush out or diminish the ridiculous exotic tendencies which make us unconditionally prefer industry of foreign character and to disdain our own.
2. To encourage first of all the production of our typical industry to the end that not only its consumption in the country may be increased, but the demand which has always existed for it outside may be supplied and augmented.
3. To apply the technical methods of the foreign industries to the similar typical industries and to sensibly bring about the fusion of the two, as was done spontaneously and so brilliantly during the colonial period.

4. To send our workers to foreign industrial centres that they may incorporate with their traditional industrial aptitudes, foreign experience.
5. To establish in foreign countries expositions of Mexican typical products and in Mexico expositions of new foreign industries unknown to us [p. 262].

In reference to literacy he makes some observations which are sane and appropriate and outlines the proposed "editorial division" of the present government, which is planned to meet the actual conditions and to make it worth while for a person to know how to read:

It is frequently preached that the national welfare and the enlargement of the country depend upon the "alphabetization" of all the Mexicans. We, however, do not admit that the educational factor will produce such miracles unless it is accompanied by the complementary factors, as the political, the economic, the ethnic, and the others to which we refer in this book [p. 285].

If our population were racially homogeneous, possessed a common language and the same tendencies and aspirations, it would be easy to adopt and adapt an education plan analogous to that which has produced such a good result in those countries [France and Germany]. Unhappily, the heterogeneity of our population, the multiplicity of languages, and the divergence in modes of thought, render its implantation impracticable and impossible [p. 286].

In effect: when on account of lack of books, more advanced readings than the primer and first reader are impossible, the knowledge of reading appears idle and unproductive.

Nevertheless, for the generality of those who learn how to read there remains no other recourse, because there are few who can secure a more extensive education or even have the opportunity of obtaining printed matter of whatever sort. To what is this fact due, which directly and indirectly contributes to maintain illiteracy? It is that in Mexico the pamphlet, the book, publications generally, have always been costly and for that reason little adequate to the diversity of standards of the population. Provision has been made, though defectively, for the intellectual "élite," which can pay for what it reads, and for the city youth by supplying them schoolbooks. But is not the rest of the population, the great mass which longs to gather knowledge through reading, worth attention?

In consideration of what we have just said, the department of public instruction and fine arts has proceeded to create an editorial division, which will have for its high mission the vulgarization of human knowledge among us, by publishing books, pamphlets, and periodical publications, the prices of which shall be within reach of the generality of the population and the selectness

and adequacy of the text of which shall supply teachings of efficient and practical results. This division will also care for the needs of the intellectual "élite" and school children, since in agreement with the nationalist and democratic principles of the Revolution, all classes or social groups ought to receive the cultural benefit which in accordance with their conditions and aptitudes corresponds to them. Ultimately, the Indian, who with dire pains learned to read in the poor schools of the mountains and who apart from his primer has had nothing with which to enlarge his knowledge may secure at insignificant prices, or without any cost, elementary works of useful instruction, since they will deal objectively with the fields in which he lives, of the modes of seeding and cultivating them, of the wild and domestic animals of the region and the products which they yield, of the notable men and the salient facts of the past, etc., etc. The workman of the cities will encounter in his turn in such works, reliable counsels for perfecting himself in his industry and obtaining from it a better return, simple hygienic rules which will improve his health and that of his family, civic and social instruction which will strengthen the grouping to which he belongs [p. 293].

We have not presented the half of the passages we had translated to show Señor Gamio's views, but have already overrun our limits of space. His *Programa* is an official plan for amelioration based upon anthropological and ethnological studies and developed from scientific principles. It outlines an extraordinary, almost unique, governmental experiment. The Latin-American excels in drawing up schemes of perfection. No one better than he can formulate plans, programs, codes, constitutions. We are usually able to grant assent to almost every paragraph. These beautiful theoretical constructions are rarely carried through. We hope this case may prove an exception. Mexico would not only make a marvelous step forward, she would command the admiration and respect of the world if she could place her Indian in his proper position. Should she fail, the ideas and the words remain and they are largely true. Americans who really wish to know the causes of Mexico's present troubles will do well to read *Forjando Patria* with care, even though there may be occasional flaws and weaknesses in it.

## THE DISEASES OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES

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Social structures are made up of people, yet it would be rash to assume that they can have no tendencies of their own. There are structures so badly constructed that they would fail even if manned by saints; while there are others so shrewdly put together that they would render acceptable service even if manned by sinners. Nor should we overlook the fact that the long-lived organization which survives staff after staff and gathers tradition as an old wall gathers ivy is virtually a soul-mold. Although it takes the stamp of strong personalities, it tones down, keys up, twists about, inspires or deadens the ordinary person who becomes identified with it. Structures then will not be plastic because living beings compose them, nor healthy because their members are sound, nor serviceable because these members are busy. From being badly constituted or from wrong relations to their environment, structures are subject to diseases which hinder them from realizing the purposes they were intended to serve.

### PATRONAGE

Someone has to pick the members of a staff, and it is not easy to prevent that one from assigning the desirable post to kinsman, or friend, or highest bidder rather than to the best-qualified applicant. Nepotism is an old abuse that now excites resentment whenever it is recognized. In China the claims of family are felt so much more keenly than any other claims that every kind of public organization is vitiated by nepotism. In the European Dark Ages the hereditary kingship superseded the elective kingship partly because it was cheaper to satiate one royal family than a series of such families. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries nepotism was the cancer in the Papal States. Each pope felt that

he could trust only those utterly dependent on himself, consequently he raised his own relations to wealth and influence. Each papal clan hurried to gorge itself before the next pope should supplant it with his own hungry kinsfolk. Under Clement VIII the Aldobrandini, under Paul V the Borghesi, under Gregory XV the Lodovisi, and under Urban VIII, with unparalleled rapacity, the Barberini enriched themselves from a chronically depleted treasury. To raise money for them, offices were sold and issue after issue of government bonds marketed at ruinous rates.

Wherever there are good livings to bestow, nepotism or worse will creep in. Eighty years ago, commenting on a proposal to take away the patronage of the English cathedrals and confer it on the bishops, Dean Sydney Smith wrote:

I do not want to go into a long and tiresome story of Episcopal nepotism; but it is notorious to all that Bishops confer their patronage upon their sons and sons-in-law and all their relations, and it is really quite monstrous in the face of the world who see this every day and every hour to turn round upon Deans and Chapters, "We are credibly informed that there are instances in your Chapter where preferment has not been given to the most learned men you can find, but to the sons and brothers of some of the Prebendaries. These things must not be—we must take these Benefices into our own keeping"; and this is the language of men swarming themselves with sons and daughters, and who, in enumerating the advantages of their stations, have always spoken of the opportunities of providing for their families as the greatest and most important.

Nepotism is the disease of well-endowed churches just as gout is the ailment of rich men. On the other hand, the disposal of places in return for money, political influence, or personal service makes a black chapter in the history of the state. In England over two centuries ago the policy of turning out all the lower officials to make room for party men was adopted by the very generation that originated party government. Under George III, who used it to get the better of the party system, the patronage abuse reached scandalous heights, but after the American Revolution the practice of selling offices or letting them go by favor declined, and patronage was dispensed with a more and more strict regard to party advantage. Between 1820 and 1870 England went over to the merit system, established open competition for 80,000 government



positions, and laid the foundation for an unprecedented efficiency in her administrative departments. In the meantime the United States was moving in the other direction, and in the third quarter of the nineteenth century the sacrifice of fitness in public servants to favoritism and party work reached its climax. During the last thirty-five years, however, great progress has been made in delivering public office from subordination to private or partisan interest.

Patronage has gone to such lengths in the public service because the service is sustained by taxes rather than by voluntary contributions and because no constituency is so incompetent as the general public to judge what it is getting for its money. Nevertheless the canker may attack any structure that offers places worth having. Business enterprises, universities, churches, charities, and voluntary associations are by no means immune to it. Occasionally nepotism shows itself very clearly in the salary roll of banks and life insurance companies. Fortunately the disease is a patent one, and publicity, proper checks in the power of appointment, and scientific methods of testing qualifications and measuring performance afford the sincere foes of patronage effective means of getting rid of it.

#### CORRUPTION

The play of private motives in its personnel may cause a social structure to work quite otherwise than it was intended to work. Then, too, outsiders who have an interest in deflecting the servant from the path of honor study and plot how they may tempt him with the prospect of secret illicit advantage. Under the slang names of "graft" and "boodle" Americans have in recent years become familiar with the means by which their agents are seduced from their known duty. For a bribe the alderman votes to present a valuable franchise to a traction company, the supervising architect of the new city hall passes work "not up to specifications," or the police ignores the existence of outlaw vice shops. The gift of railroad passes or the promise of political aid influences the vote of the legislator. Contracts for public work are jockeyed into the hands of a favored firm instead of the lowest bidder. The purchase of supplies on the public account opens the door to jobbery. Clerks carry home office supplies as "perquisites," while

inspectors are induced to shut their eyes to evils which it is their duty to report.

But betrayal of the master is by no means confined to public servants. Railroad officials withhold freight cars from coal companies along the line that neglect to present them with blocks of stock. Buyers for retail firms swing orders to the wholesaler most lavish with presents or entertainment. Officials take advantage of their inside knowledge to speculate in the securities of their company. A ring of officials taps the treasury of a railroad with bills for needless or fictitious repairs on cars. The directress of an old ladies' home gets admitted to the institution an aged family servant whom she ought to care for herself. In order to attract a gift of tainted money a church muffles its moral message, while in order to hold in line a restive donor a college denatures its teaching in ethics or economics.

Nor is corruption confined to social structures. A great variety of legal relations, such as master and servant, principal and agent, ward and guardian, attorney and client, partnership, trusteeship, etc., opens a door to lucrative betrayal of trust. Indeed stealing, bribery, and illicit advantage are most difficult and dangerous in well-organized structures like a government bureau, or a railroad office, where accounting is thorough, responsibility definite, and every transaction leaves permanent traces of itself. While constantly new and ingenious tricks are invented to get around new safeguards, there are signs that precaution is overtaking rascality. More and more, undetected misconduct is confined to a ring of accomplices who are posted at the strategic points in the organization.

#### RED TAPE

In the endeavor to forestall corruption administrators sometimes bring on a disease nearly as bad, viz., a complication of procedure which makes prompt action impossible. Thus a French commission cites the case of an officer who, having received permission to have made for him at the Hotel des Invalides a pair of non-regimental boots, found himself indebted to the state for the sum of 7 fr. 80, which he was very willing to pay. To render this payment regular there were necessary three letters from the

Minister of War, one from the Minister of Finances, and fifteen letters, decisions, or reports from generals, directors, chiefs of departments, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Or take the ludicrous procedure cited by Wallace in his *Russia* (pp. 206-7):

In the residence of a Governor-General one of the stoves is in need of repairs. An ordinary mortal may assume that a man with the rank of Governor-General may be trusted to expend a few shillings conscientiously, and that consequently his Excellency will at once order the repairs to be made and the payment to be put down among the petty expenses. To the bureaucratic mind the case appears in a very different light. All possible contingencies must be carefully provided for. As a Governor-General may possibly be possessed with a mania for making useless alterations, the necessity of the repairs ought to be verified; and as wisdom and honesty are more likely to reside in an assembly than in an individual, it is well to intrust the verification to a council. A council of three or four members accordingly certifies that the repairs are necessary. This is pretty strong authority, but it is not enough. Councils are composed of mere human beings, liable to error and subject to be intimidated by the Governor-General. It is prudent, therefore, that the decision of the council be confirmed by the Procureur, who is directly subordinated to the Minister of Justice. When this double confirmation has been obtained, an architect examines the stove and makes an estimate. But it would be dangerous to give *carte blanche* to an architect, and therefore the estimate has to be confirmed, first by the aforesaid council and afterwards by the Procureur. When all these formalities—which require sixteen days and ten sheets of paper—have been duly observed, his Excellency is informed that the contemplated repairs will cost two roubles and forty kopeks, or about five shillings of our money. Even here the formalities do not stop, for the Government must have the assurance that the architect who made the estimate and superintended the repairs has not been guilty of negligence. A second architect is therefore sent to examine the work, and his report, like the estimate, requires to be confirmed by the council and the Procureur. The whole correspondence lasts thirty days and requires no less than thirty sheets of paper. Had the person who desired the repairs been not a Governor-General but an ordinary mortal, it is impossible to say how long the procedure might have lasted.

#### INDIFFERENTISM

Generally a social structure is less subject than an individual to the enlivening prick of competition. The people cannot turn

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Le Bon, *The Psychology of Socialism*, p. 176.

from one health department or school system to another as they turn from one dealer or physician to another. The taxpayers, moreover, have but the vaguest notion of what they ought to receive for their money, and their dissatisfaction with the service rendered registers itself in a smaller appropriation rather than in a "shake-up" in the organization. In the same way an ancient and renowned university will be patronized even if inept, and a church without a rival, dominating an ignorant and submissive peasantry whose whole mental outlook it controls, e.g., the Roman Catholic church in the tropical countries of South America, can with impunity sink into sloth. Whenever a structure is thus exempt from the natural penalty of poor service, the blight of indifferentism is likely to fall upon it.

Indifferentism is a senile rather than an infantile disease. As long as a social structure is new and on trial it will naturally be put in charge of energetic individuals who by agitating for it or by previous volunteer service have given proof of disinterested zeal and who will not tolerate listless subordinates. But after the service has struck root and made good its claims to support, after a certain good-will has been created and a guiding routine established, it excites the cupidity of the placeman and a type worms into it who thinks more of how much he can get out of his position than of how much he can put in.

It is commonly assumed that a structure is safe from dry rot if it is under a vigorous administrator who will weed out the lazy and promote the zealous. This indeed is just what a man does in order to get good service from his own employees. But the bureau chief does not own the bureau and hence cannot be trusted to deal always with his subordinates according to their merits. In order to guard against inferior posts being treated as patronage the incumbent is made so secure in his tenure that an energetic chief cannot promptly rid himself of languid underlings who are clever enough to avoid downright provable incompetency.

An extreme degree of indifferentism is possible when the personnel of a structure constitutes a self-governing body. Accounting for the negligence of teachers in an endowed university Adam Smith observes:

If the authority to which he [the teacher] is subject resides in the body corporate, the college or university of which he himself is a member, and in which the greater part of the other members are, like himself, persons who either are or ought to be teachers, they are likely to make a common cause, to be all very indulgent to one another, and every man to consent that his neighbor may neglect his duty, provided that he himself is allowed to neglect his own. In the University of Oxford the greater part of the public professors have for these many years given up altogether even the pretence of teaching.<sup>1</sup>

Indifference is so quickly felt and resented that a structure brought into direct relations with the general public will not be allowed to suffer long from this disease. A service like the police, fire-fighting, street-cleaning, the weather bureau, the post-office, or the school cannot go far in this direction without calling forth protest from influential persons. Save where there is a monopoly, indifferentism in a university is punished by loss of matriculates, in a clergy by loss of communicants, in a hospital by loss of patients. When, however, the sufferers from slackness are ignorant or lowly people—orphans, the ailing poor, enlisted men, borrowers, convicts, prostitutes, natives, negroes, or immigrants—the disease is not so promptly checked. So, also, when the structure is one that does not betray its sloth to the general public—a navy yard, an arsenal, a forestry bureau, or a customs service—the remedy must come from above.

In some cases inspiring leadership suffices to cure indifferentism. The tabulator yawning over his adding machine, the gymnasium instructor sweating over his awkward squad, may loathe his task because he fails to see it in relation to a worth-while end. Under a born leader who can fire him with a vision of the meaning of it all he may thrill with love of his work. In digging the Panama Canal it is said that the thousands of workers went at their daily task with a right good will because they felt it as part of a stupendous, everlasting achievement—the Canal. Sometimes an effete church, university, or religious order has been roused from its torpor, not by a thrust from without, but by the captaincy of a man of genius and ardor, who has radiated inspiration and kindled cold routinary souls with a vision of the greatness of their opportunity.

<sup>1</sup> *Wealth of Nations*, II, 346.

## FORMALISM

It is the way of the dull person to content himself with going through the motions of rendering service without troubling himself to see whether the benefits intended are indeed realized. Either because formerly success attended them, or because they *look as if* they can produce the desired effect, he assumes that certain forms are efficacious and never thinks of testing their actual results. For example, a building ordinance is adopted by a city and an inspector is appointed to see that it is obeyed. At first he issues building permits on the basis of architect's plans submitted and later inspects the building to see whether the plans have been carried out as approved. But as the city grows he has less and less time for inspection, until at last he sits all day in his office issuing building permits on the strength of plans which builders later change to suit themselves. Without realizing it he has become a mere formalist.

Courts of justice are very subject to this disease, because one litigant or the other has an interest in urging technicalities, so that, unless the judge puts his foot down, rules meant to save time and expedite the court's business are used to waste time and obstruct this business by becoming the subject of wrangling between attorneys. An American observer comments as follows upon the difference between the American and the British consular court in China:

In the British Court the direct dive to the gist of the matter before the court, and the intolerance of technicalities is what astounds and impresses the American lawyer. The wearying, formal, perfunctory round of demurrers and motions is entirely missing. Mere technical objections are easily and impatiently waved aside, and exceptions to pleadings right speedily cured wherever possible without postponement. Hence, being unsuccessful in achieving any advantage, such objections tend to lapse into disuse.

Other formalisms of organs of justice are: record worship; the insistence on trying records rather than trying cases; the throwing of causes out of court because brought in, or taken to, the wrong court or the wrong venue instead of transferring them to the right one and saving all prior proceedings; inflicting "the monstrous penalty of a new trial" when the jury appear to have been influenced

by improper argument by counsel, or by confusing expert evidence, when the error might have been corrected very simply in an oral charge to the jury by the judge.

Institutions for dependent children are very subject to formalism, because the victims make no outcry and no one of influence takes a strong interest in the fate of the individual child. It seems incredible that a foundling asylum which loses 97 per cent of its babies should live; yet experience has shown again and again that good people, pleased at going through the motions of succoring foundlings, will keep on with it. A large orphanage is just the sort of thing a formalist loves. The money laid out makes a brave show, the bigness of the charity is obvious, and the children, made spick and span, can be collected in one place to feast the eyes of donors and visitors. It is overlooked that children cannot be raised well on the wholesale plan, that the institution-child lags far behind other children in development, that the best parts of its nature atrophy from disuse, that all through life it will never stand for much nor alone, and that it would be infinitely better off if placed in a normal family, even if thereby the service to the orphan sank out of public view.

The formalist loves visible material relief of destitution—baskets of food and bales of clothing distributed to dingy women in shawls—and he never thinks of visiting the tenements to see how the weekly dole at the poor-office affects the habits and morals of the poor. He sneers at charitable societies which dispense few groceries but waste their income in paying salaries to “a lot of trained workers who do absolutely nothing for the poor”—save to hunt a job for the out-of-work, overhaul the plumbing which has produced disease, arrange for the removal of the ailing family to a better neighborhood, persuade the landlord to wait for the rent, stand off the holder of the chattel mortgage, teach the mother to cook or earn, put the boy to a trade, or entice the children to the social settlement where they will get aspirations instead of alms!

But the paradise of the formalist is the school, because it works with the mind, and the mind is something we know little about. In less advanced countries one comes upon such atrocities as making pupils learn by rote, parrot-like recitation of the textbook, primers

made up of the sayings of sages, natural science taught without materials or laboratory. But then look at our own sins. Children are set to work upon spelling-books full of strange words instead of studying the few hundred words which experience has shown they are likely to misspell. They are drilled in grammar instead of being trained in the correct use of their mother-tongue. They agonize over arithmetic operations which no one uses in real life. They pore over books instead of handling what the books tell about or doing what the books describe. They are made to labor over stuff utterly without use or interest—Latin prosody, for example—in order to strengthen their mental faculties generally, although experiments show that facility gained in doing one thing is not transferred to the doing of other things.

Universities especially are infected with formalism, for usually they are too high and imposing to be much in fear of critics. In the sixteenth century Rabelais has his hero Gargantua educated in the scholastic universities. For twenty years the youth works with all his might and learns so perfectly the books he studies that he can say them off by heart backward and forward, "yet his father discerned that all this profited him nothing, and, what is worse, that it made him a madcap, a ninny, dreamy and infatuated." In the next century the philosopher Locke complained that at Oxford he had been obliged to waste his time in formal disputations. "In the universities," writes Adam Smith a century later, "the youth neither are taught, nor always can find any proper means of being taught, the sciences which it is the business of these incorporated bodies to teach."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, as late as the time of the French Revolution Oxford students were still required, in order to receive their official certificates as trained thinkers, to repeat long "strings" of syllogistic affirmations and denials on some question in moral or natural philosophy.

Even in our own universities, goaded as they are by a sharp rivalry among themselves for gifts and students, we mark formalism in the abuse of the lecture system, in the endeavor to turn out examination passers, and in the refusal to grant the graduate student credit for supervised field work.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 350.



## OBSCOLESCENCE

The history of English charitable foundations is instructive as to the folly of regulating the present according to the will of the past. Owing to changes unforeseen by the testator, thousands of the twenty-eight thousand perpetual charities brought to light by the great survey instituted in England a century ago had become useless or even harmful. Funds had been left to provide forever for superannuated wool carders; for teaching children to card, spin, and knit; for apprenticing the children of poor Protestant soldiers in Cork, a city in which for a long time there had been no Protestant soldiers; for conducting services in the French tongue in the Walloon chapel of Canterbury Cathedral, although the congregation had known no French for a hundred years; for disseminating the doctrines of a sect that had died long since; for repairing causeways and bridges in a wet district which had been drained to the point of no longer needing causeways and bridges; for the ransom of Christians held captive by the Barbary corsairs; for the relief of those imprisoned for debt; for leper hospitals; for doles to needy persons who will stultify themselves by repeating some prescribed religious formula; for schools with fixed courses of instruction reflecting the educational ideas of the Elizabethan period.

The demand for thorough social reconstruction which has made such a stir in the last half-century gives color to the notion that people err chiefly in underestimating the stability of society. But it is likely that, taking one age with another, for one who looks upon society as a living plastic thing there are ten thousand who imagine the world will go on forever as they have known it. Even minds that have caught the idea of flux do not expect change to invade all departments or anticipate the changes which actually occur. Wisdom does not qualify men to read the social future, for the wise and farsighted testators have failed as egregiously as the ignorant in forecasting society's path of development. What then can be more foolish than to chain any perpetual endowment to the terms of a founder's will?

Even if it be not tied by the strict requirements in its deed of gift, a social structure will let itself fall behind the times unless outside pressure forces it to keep abreast of its opportunity. Thus

an old government office or bureau that can take its appropriation for granted wears a rut for itself, so that a "shake-up" may be required to get it onto the right lines. But then it will wear a new rut as deep as the old one, and if swift change is going on all about it in a score or two of years it will need another upheaval to adjust it to new conditions. Hence the more rapidly society changes, the sooner it develops away from its structures and the oftener it must overhaul them or inject into them "new blood."

Productive funds likewise exempt a social structure from the necessity of justifying itself in order to win favor and support. This is why the rich college or charity is likely to fall behind the times and do little good. Adam Smith, who knew well the English universities, characterized them as—

for a long time the sanctuaries in which exploded systems and obsolete prejudices found shelter and protection after they had been hunted out of every other corner of the world. In general, the richest and best-endowed universities have been slowest in adopting those improvements [in science] and the most averse to permit any considerable change in the established plan of education.<sup>1</sup>

This, to be sure, is but one aspect of endowments. They do indeed make possible an obsolescence that would soon be the death of an institution with nothing to depend on but current support. On the other hand, they maintain men who devote themselves to rendering valuable services, which nevertheless do not command a fair price, either because they benefit all alike, or because those who receive them will not or cannot pay what they cost. The true policy with endowed institutions is not to suppress but to supervise them.

Various causes hinder a social structure from molding itself to the changing situation about it. One is the force of habit. This being strongest in the aged will be felt most when the structure is controlled by those who have grown old in it. If it is in a bad rut an outsider must be put in charge.

An organization composed of a number of parts resists needed changes in its functions or methods because of the extra trouble they involve. After the parts have come to work together smoothly

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 357.

an alteration in a single part to adapt it to an outside situation may necessitate a whole series of adjustments between this part and all the others. The worry and friction until the machinery is again in good running order accounts for the stiffness of all intricate human organization. The more complex a structure the greater the pressure needed to keep it near its point of greatest usefulness.

It requires much more intellectual effort or ability to redirect the work of a school system, a bureau, or a charity than to continue on established lines. To go on doing the same thing in the same way is the line of least resistance. A growing sense of its futility will rarely rouse one to the exertion of studying the task afresh and devising new ways of tackling it. Often indeed mediocre minds are utterly incapable of originating a better adaptation of the structure to its opportunity, so that, unless able men are put in charge and given a free hand, the adaptation will not take place.

Finally an old, imposing social structure comes to have an atmosphere which in time soaks into and affects nearly everyone in it. One's subconsciousness becomes saturated with suggestions of the excellence of everything "we" do and the way "we" do it; of the greatness of the "institution" or "service" and its right to one's loyalty; of the bothersomeness of the pupils, orphans, patients, citizens, or enlisted men the organization serves and their ungratefulness for what "we" do for them; and of the ignorance, stupidity, and malice of the outsiders, who actually criticize "us" and want to change "our" ways. Steeped in this atmosphere, the man who is progressive in principle stands like a rock against reform in his organization; the man who pounces like a hawk on inefficiency anywhere else has no eyes for the red tape and circumlocution in his office; and the man with a keen sense of the absurd feels no twinge as he stores the gift toys to the orphan asylum in the loft, "where they won't get broken," or provides for a furnace in the plans of a government building in the cane belt!

#### ABSOLUTISM

Absolutism is a disease of social structures *absolved from* obedience to the judgment and wishes of their time. No doubt the instrument devised for carrying on some great and beneficent work of

public benefit ought to be withdrawn from the meddling of later generations in case tomorrow will be more stupid than today and *will not know it*. But if tomorrow bids fair to be as wise as today or, if not, will realize the fact and cling to today's decisions, nothing is gained by putting what we devise today beyond the reach of tomorrow's judgment. To be sure, carefully framed and time-tested establishments should not be changed at the passing whim of a single generation, but unless there is reason to suppose that a people is degenerating they ought to be subject to its settled will.

The living wills to which every social structure should be made obedient are of such as know and care most about its problem. The policy of an endowed charity hospital, for example, ought to reflect the judgment not only of the dead founder, but also of the living, who best understand and are concerned about the relief of the ailing poor. This of course is altogether different from subjection to the state or to majority rule. It is quite possible that the educational foundations of minor religious bodies would not survive a popular vote, while in a time of bitter class strife a research institute in economics or sociology would be perverted or suppressed, whichever party were dominant. The power to redirect or modify a social structure should therefore lie, not with the political organization, but with some section of the intellectual-moral élite.

An unendowed institution will be kept in sympathy with its time by its need of current contributions. It is the financially independent establishment that is liable to be caught in an eddy. Ever since the church lost general control of charities, the favorite form of government for a foundation has been the board of trustees which fills vacancies in its membership, i.e., the co-optative or self-constituted board. The only alternative has been the board chosen by the religious body—which admits the sectarian bias—or by the state—which lets in the taint of "politics."

But the self-constituted board easily gets out of step with its generation. Any special tendency which may develop in it is likely to become intensified and fixed. The element which happens to be in the majority when a vacancy is to be filled picks a man of its way of thinking. He in turn helps to get in others of the same kidney, so that a passing bias becomes chronic. Just as the shifting of

portions of the cargo in a listing ship hinders her righting herself and increases the list, so a mistaken temporary leaning in a board may be made lasting. It would be hard to invent a system surer to bring the institution under a clique and set it at odds with intellectual advance, moral progress, or social development. What has prevented our private foundations from becoming ossified has been the necessity of wooing givers, owing to the fact that few of them were rich enough to be able to take full advantage of their opportunities in a rapidly growing society. It is to be feared that foundations of ample means, like those of Carnegie, Sage, and Rockefeller, will in time show the unadaptedness to be expected of self-continuing boards.

Then too the rivalry of public hospitals, charities, and universities has often obliged the private foundations to be more progressive than they wished to be. It needs but little acquaintance with the tendencies in well-endowed and therefore financially independent institutions of learning to convince one that but for the state universities—which are obliged to make their work a broad social service—they would have persisted in excluding women, requiring the classics, stressing the “culture” or enjoyment studies dear to the leisure class, and equipping youth for “success” rather than for usefulness.

The problem of the close corporation has been often met. We know what happened to the English rotten boroughs in 1832 and to the old governing bodies of the English municipalities in 1833. In 1853 England subjected the boards in charge of her thousands of endowed charities to a government body, the Board of Charity Commissioners. The French Revolution ended the autonomous establishments for public benefit in France and put education, poor relief, and other social-welfare concerns under the direct control of the state. In Germany the communities, corporations, and proprietors which carry on charities originally in charge of the church have been gradually losing their autonomy, since the state more and more interferes in their action or takes over their resources and responsibilities.

In this country the state has not asserted itself, but the public is becoming enlightened enough to resent the type of government

provided for the great foundations of recent years. Such oligarchic control is the less excusable now that we know of a better way of choosing trustees. Recently one of our greatest universities provided that the faculty, the alumni association, and the board itself shall take turns in filling vacancies in the board of trustees. The only security that a public-service institution shall constantly reflect in its ideals and policies the best thought of its time is to found it on the intellectual-moral apexes in society. Thus interest in the advancement of natural science apexes chiefly in universities, the government scientific bureaus, and the national scientific associations. Here then are given the groups that should share in selecting the trustees of a scientific-research institute. Enlightened concern about public health comes to a head in public-health associations, anti-tuberculosis associations, medical societies and colleges, and like groups. Where are better sources of judgment as to who should have a hand in governing a medical-research foundation? There is little intelligent solicitude for the poor that does not express itself in charitable societies, charity-organization societies, and a host of other philanthropic groups. Generally those included in such groups work with a deep and unselfish interest and are ahead of, rather than behind, their time. If boards in charge of endowed orphanages, rescue homes, and free hospitals filled vacancies from names submitted in turn by these groups, it would be impossible for the management to continue long at odds with the best contemporary knowledge and ideals. No doubt the board itself should fill every third or fourth vacancy in its membership in order that unorganized or minor interests should not go unrepresented. Moreover, when a nominee is personally obnoxious to a part of its members a board should have the right to call for another nomination.

Here then is a means of recruiting the governing boards of quasi-public institutions which insures their ready response to the best forces of their time and yet does not entangle them with the political organization and open the door to "politics." If the ultimate authority over the enormous blocks of wealth being left for public purposes is not linked in some such way with the living élite of society, it is absolutely certain that in a century, perhaps in much

less time, the stately foundations rising about us will be cursed by our posterity as citadels of stupidity, prejudice, and perhaps even of political conservatism and class self-interest.

#### PERVERSION

Founders cherish the pathetic delusion that their college, charity, or religious house may be kept to the charted course; that what they launch with enthusiasm will look sunward through all time. This vain hope inspires the endeavors of the friends of a beneficent organization so to fortify it by means of irrepealable charter, autonomy, and gifts in perpetuity that no meddling hand may ever interfere with its blessed work.

But alas, no human foresight can save from degeneration a structure that has high aims and puts a strain on ordinary human nature. Despite your checks and safeguards, in a few generations perhaps it will have become the exact opposite of what was intended. Your beacon is now a will-o'-the-wisp, your rock of salvation a quicksand, your healing spring an infected pool. There is indeed no way to keep it true to its purpose save to make it responsive to those in each generation who are spiritual brothers of the founder.

In the higher realm nothing perverts like quick success. A furore floods a movement with enthusiasts incapable of rising to the plane of the founders. The warmer the reception of a new art, the sooner it will be discredited by imitators and quacks. The wider the response to the appeal of a young religious order, the sooner its impure fire dies in the rush of the unspiritual. With rapid expansion the membership grades down, and after the pioneers and their disciples are gone the character of the organization changes. Thus three centuries after St. Francis his "Little Brothers" were "arrogant mendicants, often of loose morals, begging with forged testimonials, haunting the palaces of the rich, forcing themselves into families, selling the Franciscan habit to wealthy dying sinners as a funeral cloak to cover many sins." Erasmus dreamed that St. Francis came to thank him for chastising the Franciscans.

As a body expands, the man of organizing ability is called to the helm rather than the inspirer and prophet. A university which has grown rapidly owing to the rare learning and zeal of its teachers

may, a generation later, come under the control of men skilful in organizing the teaching force and handling large classes. Impatient at having to spend so much of their time on administration, the real scholars, bit by bit, relinquish their authority to organizers, and the spirit of the institution changes. In this way Frate Elias, skilful organizer and friend of the Pope, but not in the least a saint, succeeded St. Francis at the head of the Franciscan Order. After Constantine the bishop of the church becomes less apostolic, while the typical Methodist bishop of today is scarcely a spiritual son of Wesley.

With the organizer comes less faith in spontaneity and more stress on form as embodying the founder's ideal. The life of the monastery is directed less by religious impulse and more by rules, the work of the research institute less by fruitful ideas and more by routine. Everything runs "as if by clockwork," only the one does not produce great characters, nor the other great discoveries. While St. Francis lived the stern rule of absolute poverty was applied with "the genial concessions and exceptions he knew how to make," whereas half a century later, under St. Bonaventura, his monks had to follow a formal and lifeless discipline. To carry flowers or a staff, to twirl the end of one's girdle cord, to sit with crossed legs, to laugh, to sing aloud, were all unworthy of Franciscan decorum. St. Francis cherished the sweetest friendship with Santa Clara, but in time the friar was forbidden even to look at a woman, much less speak familiarly with her.

When by its merits a body has gathered momentum and won prestige it becomes a standing temptation to the unscrupulous. If they can worm into it or, better yet, gain control of it, they can convert its store of power to their private purposes. Thus the popes of the Renaissance enriched themselves and their families by misusing the vast authority of the Roman church, while the representatives of the East India Company employed the great power of the company to practice extortion upon the rulers and people of India in order to build up private fortunes.

As a body gains wealth and popularity, it holds its members by benefits, so that they will tolerate a concentration of authority which would wreck a young society. Masterful organizers who love power



for its own sake magnify their office. In a religious organization control becomes established in the clerical order. St. Francis was a mere layman, but Albert of Pisa, the first priest to become head of his order, instituted that laymen should no longer be elected as officers. In England by the middle of the sixteenth century the charitable foundations were regularly in the hands of monks and priests. A royal edict took the direction of hospitals from clergy and nobles and lodged their management in the hands of "bourgeois, shopkeepers, and laborers." Early in the same century the right of choosing officers in the English craft guilds was restricted to their liveried members, and later control passed from them to a still more select body, the Court of Assistants, which, beginning as an informal committee of the wealthier brethren in livery and especially such as had held the higher offices in the guild, became a co-optative council well-nigh absolute in the affairs of the society.

Thus the body becomes machine rather than organism. Without voice the rank and file lose the genial *we*-feeling that once warmed their hearts. They stick to the organization for the benefits it gives or the opportunities it offers, but their loyalty is less pure than when it was truly theirs. Moreover, just as control slips away from them to a higher class, so may the benefits leave them. The Roman baths were originally intended for the poor, but under the later empire they were the exclusive privilege of the wealthy and one of their most luxurious forms of enjoyment. The thirty-three endowed grammar schools of London were all metamorphosed to teach the children of the higher class. Harrow, one of the most expensive of English schools, was founded by a bricklayer for the free education of the ranks in which he had been born. Male trustees twist foundations left for the sexes equally, to the service of the male sex. For instance, the endowments of Christ's Hospital given for the most destitute classes and "for girls as much as for boys" were found in 1865 to be educating 1,100 boys and only 25 girls, nearly all from the middle classes.

Finally the institution becomes an end in itself. The university exists for the benefit of its dons. The state prison is conducted as a provider of cheap labor for the prison contractor. A local charity becomes the means of enhancing the social prestige of the ladies

back of it. The courts of chancery instituted for the protection of orphans whose money was liable to misappropriation by unscrupulous relatives had become in Dickens' time a machine which sucked up all their money in interminable lawsuits, the lawyers being far more dangerous to the orphans than the guardians from whom the lawyers were to protect them. Military orders like the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaliers, founded to defend the Holy Sepulcher, came to fight each other more than they fought the Mussulman. In a millennium and a half the assembly (*ecclesia*) of the believers in a religion of love was transformed into a great temporal monarchy throttling intellectual freedom and cruelly destroying its expositors and critics.

Since the independent structure is never safe from perversion, organized society should beware of bestowing upon it favors and privileges. An unmodifiable charter should never be granted. Buildings actually used for public worship, education, or relief may be left tax free, but the exemption should not extend to other property of a private corporation. The one-sided partnership, so common in some of our states, whereby the public furnishes an annual subsidy to be expended at the discretion of the private charity, has shown the ugliest tendencies and should cease. Public funds should never be given to an educational institution not under public control. No legitimate service should be withheld by the state in order to leave the field clear for the private agency. The public asylum, school, university, library, or research institute should be set up in order to correct and spur the private institute. The self-constituting governing board should be looked upon with suspicion, and the state's right of visitation, report, supervision, and revision should not be allowed to lapse through disuse.

## DUTCH AND FLEMISH COLONIZATION IN MEDIAEVAL GERMANY<sup>1</sup>

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The progress made in recent years in economic and social history has changed both the axis and the orbit of historical interpretation. Political, dynastic, and military history, the history of governments, laws, and institutions, has ceased to interest many students of history in these days. The Aristotelian mind of Western Europe and America has discovered new sources of information and new subjects of investigation. No one of these questions is more important to the mediaevalist than that of demography.

Among the discoveries which the modern study of mediaeval history has made is the profoundly organic and heterogeneous nature of mediaeval society—the complexity of its composition, the variety of its texture. The sharp cleavage once supposed to have existed between the three classes of mediaeval society, we now know, was not a hard and narrow line of separation, but a series of social gradations, some of them so slight that their parallax, so to speak, has not yet been accurately determined.<sup>2</sup>

The light cast upon the condition of the mediaeval peasantry in the course of these social and economic researches has been

<sup>1</sup> The literature upon this subject is very large. It is cited fully in Kretschmer, *Historische Geographie von Mitteleuropa* (Berlin, 1904), 371-72; in Schulze, *Die Kolonisierung und Germanisierung der Gebiete zwischen Saale und Elbe* (Leipzig, 1896), 129; in Kötzschke, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 109. These books have brief accounts. Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte* (3d ed., 1906), III, 309-42, has a great amount of suggestive material packed into a small compass. R. Kötzschke's *Quellen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912) is an indispensable collection of the charters. Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Schmeidler (Leipzig: Hahn, 1909), is the best narrative source. May I also mention my article, "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," in the *American Journal of Theology*, April and July, 1916; and another, "German East Colonization," in *Proceedings of American Historical Association*, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> See my article on "Profitable Fields of Investigation in Mediaeval History," *American Historical Review* (April, 1913), 500.

enormous. One of the most interesting of these findings is the startling discovery that the rural population of Europe in the Middle Ages was probably more nomadic and less sedentary than the lower classes of society today.<sup>1</sup> These displacements of population were not upon the gigantic scale of the German migrations in the fifth century or the Norse and Hungarian invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries. Nevertheless they were mass movements of large dimension—waves of popular migration sometimes succeeding one another through a series of years, which were primarily motivated by desire for improvement of material condition and powerfully affected by economic distress and the pressure of social forces. The Frankish colonization of the Spanish March in the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious is an example of such a movement;<sup>2</sup> more important and more typical is the history of the eastward expansion of the German people under the Saxon, Franconian, and Hohenstaufen rulers, and their colonization of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia.<sup>3</sup>

In this pioneer labor Dutch and Flemish immigrants from the Low Countries played no unimportant part. The emigration of the peasantry of modern Holland and Belgium in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and their settlement in numerous scattered colonies in Lower Germany was due to the simultaneous operation of expulsive forces at home and the attraction which a new land presented.

Mediaeval Belgium shared with Lombardy the honor of being the most densely populated region of Western Europe. The heart

<sup>1</sup> This the late Achille Luchaire, *Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus* (English trans.), 404-6, clearly demonstrated. Cf. Powicke's review of the French original in *English Historical Review*, XXV, 565. The conclusion amply confirmed the previous researches of Lamprecht, *Etudes sur l'état économique de la France* (French trans. by Marignan), 138-39, 222-23; Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France*, II, livre iii, prem. partie. For Germany the last half of Lamprecht, *Deutsche Gesch.*, Vol. III, to mention no other work, shows the same thing.

<sup>2</sup> See Imbart de la Tour, "Les Colonies agricoles et l'occupation des terres désertes à l'époque carolingienne," in his *Questions d'Histoire*, 31-68.

<sup>3</sup> See my article, "German East Colonization," *Proceedings of American Historical Association*, 1916, and another, "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *American Journal of Theology*, XX (1916), 203-30, 372-89.

of the Frankish monarchy had been here, and the intimate association between the Merovingian and Carolingian sovereigns and the church had resulted in the founding of many monasteries in the land. Nowhere else in Europe perhaps were they more thickly clustered, with their ample lands and their thousands of serfs exploiting the rich glebe farms. Here were the great historic abbeys of St. Vaast in Arras, St. Bavon in Ghent, St. Martin in Utrecht, St. Géry and St. Sepulchre in Cambrai, St. Laurence and St. Lambert in Liège, and of St. Omer, St. Quentin, St. Bertin, and St. Riquier, formed of clustered communities of artisans, craftsmen, and petty tradesmen dwelling in separate "quarters" around the monastery walls, with the scattered villages of servile husbandmen on the abbey lands stretching roundabout,<sup>1</sup> and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries grown into more or less independent towns. Besides these great abbeys there were many others, Corbie, Lobbes, St. Trond, Nivelles, Andennes, Calmont, St. Hubert, Stavelot, Fosses, Alden-Eyck, Brogne, etc.

What these great monasteries did on a large scale in clearing forests and draining moor and swamp lands<sup>2</sup> those among the peasantry who were free did in less degree. For, as lay and ecclesiastical feudalism expanded, throwing its coils over the persons and lands of the free peasantry, rather than submit to servile conditions and bondage to the glebe they found refuge in remoter parts of the wide waste of moor and fen, exactly as the population of the uplands fled to the forest, and there established their tiny villages, and by ditching and diking and draining redeemed a few acres of soil from the reluctant grasp of the sluggish waters. Cubes of turf served for building blocks for their cottages, and peat was their fuel.<sup>3</sup>

But in the course of time, as in the uplands the feudality appropriated the forests and reduced the free forest villages to serfdom, so in the Low Countries the feudal nobles gradually penetrated into the remote fen regions and extended their seigneurial

<sup>1</sup> See Flach, *op. cit.*, II, livre iii, c. 7; Blanchard, *La Flandre*, 153-69; and my article in *Journal of Political Economy* (November, 1915), 872-73.

<sup>2</sup> Blanchard, 170-201.

<sup>3</sup> Lamprecht, *Deutsche Gesch.*, III (4th ed.), 336.

sway over the free marsh villages.<sup>1</sup> With the spread of the feudal and manorial régime came the evils of private war, which neither the truce of God nor the civil power (for the civil power was that of the lords themselves) was able to suppress, in addition to which the burden of heavy and vexatious manorial exactions was imposed upon the peasantry. From this condition of things emigration was the readiest form of relief.

Furthermore the lot of the peasant was made worse by the vicious commercial policy of some of the nobles, whose heavy taxation upon production, distribution, and consumption in the form of numberless *tonlieux*, *péages*, and *maltotes* impoverished the peasants and discouraged or even ruined enterprise. The bishop of Munster, for example, closed to the Frisians their market of the Ems, whither they had been accustomed to bring their cattle for barter. No other market was open to them because the Danes and the merchants of Bremen and Hamburg demanded money, a commodity which was very scarce in Friesland. As a consequence the Frisian cattle, practically the sole resource of the country, became diseased from inbreeding, and starvation ensued.<sup>2</sup>

Industrial coercion, again, was a factor in provoking emigration, for nowhere in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the development of industry and town population greater than in Belgium. If the burghers secured freedom of work and measurable political rights they stayed; if coercion succeeded they sought to migrate. What development had industry attained and in how far was it emancipated from the influence of agriculture and a rural environment and become urban? Levasseur has shown that a change had supervened in the relations between agriculture and industry by the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> It goes without saying that this change was intimately connected with the emancipation of the servile classes and the birth of

<sup>1</sup> The history of this swamp reclamation and forest clearing in mediaeval Belgium has been the subject of various studies: Blanchard, chaps. xi-xiii; Duvivier, "Hospites: défrichements en Europe et spécialement dans nos contrées aux XI<sup>e</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup>, et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Revue d'histoire et d'archéologie*, Vol. I; Van de Putte, "Esquisse sur la mise en culture de la Flandre occidentale," *Ann. de la soc. d'émulation de Bruges*, Vol. III.

<sup>2</sup> Curschmann, *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1900), 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire des classes ouvrières* (1st ed.), I, 173 f.; cf. 320-21, and Lamprecht, *L'état économique de France*, 241-47.

the burgher class in the towns. There is no need to enter here into consideration of this complex and thorny question. But the tendency to freedom of industry and the formation of industrial combinations like the guilds, as everyone knows, were bitterly resented by the nobility, who tried to maintain the serfdom of industry quite as much as the serfdom of agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

An additional factor which induced migration in the Middle Ages, perhaps the most general of all influences, was famine. The occurrence of famine was not always due to adverse weather conditions. It is true that a hard winter which killed the peasant's seed corn in the cellars, or a drought, or a prolonged wet season was often terribly destructive of the crops. But aside from these physical phenomena famine was often engendered, at least locally, by other causes, such as feudal war, exhaustive taxation both of production and distribution, in addition to which the rudimentary system of agriculture prevailing, with crude farming implements and ignorance of the use of fertilizers, must be taken into account.

Since Lamprecht deplored the absence of any monograph upon the history of mediaeval famine, the gap has been filled, at least for Germany and the Low Countries, by Curschmann's admirable book.<sup>2</sup> He has shown that in Belgium famine occurred four times in the eleventh century, nine times in the twelfth, and twice in the thirteenth. There is most certainly a connection between these hunger conditions—there was a three years' famine in 1144-47—and the huge emigration which took place from Belgium in the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> Under stress of such privation no feudal lord

<sup>1</sup> Levasseur, I, 167; Guérard, *Polyptique d'Irminon*, I, 471 f., 717 f., 729 f.

<sup>2</sup> See n. 2, p. 162, and compare the reviews in *Revue Historique*, *English Historical Review*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, and *Vierteljahrschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, all of which eulogize the book as a very valuable work.

<sup>3</sup> Curschmann, 40 and 140-41. He compares it, 8, with the great drought in Europe in 1847 and its effect upon emigration, particularly from Germany and Ireland. In the latter country the potato crop had also failed the year before. The effect of these "hard times" in provoking popular discontent and so promoting the revolution of 1848 has not yet been studied. Over-population and under-production are sometimes the positive and the negative way of saying the same thing, and over-population in the Middle Ages was a very prevalent cause of migration. See for Belgium, Blanchard, 485-88; Curschmann, 199; Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 135-40; for Germany, Püschel, *Anwachsen der deutschen Städte in der Zeit der mittelalterlichen kolonial Bewegung*, 13-15; Wendt, *Die Germanisierung der Länder östlich der Elbe*, II, 17-18. I have given some details in the two articles of mine cited in n. 3, p. 160.

could have been able to retain his tenantry. *Propter caristiam colono fugiente, plurimi vici deserti remansere*, reads a chronicle. The cattle were slaughtered for lack of fodder and to furnish food. When they were consumed nothing but flight remained as a recourse. It is impossible to avoid this conclusion, even if one is not always able to establish a direct nexus between any given famine and any given migration. The simultaneousness of the two events was not accidental.

When the Friesland or Flemish peasant betook himself to the refuge of the marshes in order to escape from feudal oppression he found only a precarious freedom even there. For he lived ever in peril of the sea. The low coast, the many deep tidal estuaries, the flat plains across which the Rhine, the Vaal, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and their affluents meandered, and which often overflowed their low banks in time of freshet, the salt marshes, the swamps—all these conditions exposed the population to floods which were sometimes terrible in their devastation.<sup>1</sup> Inundation was a power-

<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the first century A.D. Pliny, the Elder, who had seen service in the Roman province of Lower Germany, described the condition of the Frisians in terms which are applicable to them a thousand years later. He says: "In this region the wretched natives, occupying either the tops of hills or artificial mounds of turf raised out of the reach of the highest tides, build their small huts, which look like sailing vessels when the water covers the land, and like wrecks when it has retired. For fuel they use a kind of turf [i.e., peat] dug by hand and dried rather in the wind than in the sun, and with this earth they cook their food and warm their bodies. Their only drink is rain-water collected in ditches under the eaves." There is an ancient study of inundations in Flanders in the *Séances de l'Académie . . . de Belgique*, I (1777), 63 f. Blanchard, chaps. ix-xi, is very interesting, as is also Curschmann, who gives extracts from the sources. Montagu Burrows, *Cinque Ports*, chap. xi, deals with tidal and storm effects of the English Channel on the south coast of England. The year 1405-6 wrought terrible havoc along all the North Sea coast. It was perhaps the greatest storm in history, for it practically raged, with brief intermissions, over the whole of Europe from November, 1405, to April, 1406. Bruges, the greatest commercial emporium of the north, was ruined by it, for the sea overwhelmed the great tide gates at the mouth of the Zwin, regarded even in Dante's time as an engineering wonder, and so filled the harbor of Bruges with sand that nothing but the lightest draft vessels could enter. At the same time this great storm cleared a huge island of sand out of the mouth of the Scheldt and opened Antwerp, which hitherto had been a mere fishing village, to trade, and so it succeeded Bruges in commercial history. Popular opinion associated this mighty storm with the death of Tamerlane, who died February 19, 1405, but the news was not known in Western Europe until March, 1406. Wylie, *History of the Reign of Henry IV*, II, 470-75, has gathered a mass of data regarding its effects in England. The winter 1407-8 was the "Great Winter"—one of the most famous known.



ful incentive to emigration.<sup>1</sup> The peasant who saw his little farmstead destroyed in a day, the labor of years of tilling, draining, ditching, diking, go for worse than naught, his crops ruined, his cattle drowned or lost in the awful confusion of a great flood, had no heart left to begin the struggle all over again in such a land.<sup>2</sup>

Constant warfare against the sea was required despite the partial protection of a strip of sand dunes on the coast.<sup>3</sup> In Holland and Friesland, to the east of the Scheldt, this barrier had been broken down by inundations early in the Christian Era, and as the land progressively sank, relative to the sea, district after district was turned from arable land to swamp or perhaps completely submerged. So the islands along the coast were reduced in size, cut to pieces, or washed away; so the inland Zuider Zee was made an arm of the ocean in the years following 1200; and so shortly afterward were the Dollart and the Jadebusen scooped out by the voracious sea, which took, along with the land, the villages that happened to stand upon it. A flood of November 18, 1421, at the mouth of the Waal River, destroyed no less than seventy-two hamlets.<sup>4</sup>

To the Frisian and Flemish peasantry, which in the eleventh and twelfth centuries suffered under the combination of adverse conditions which I have endeavored to summarize, Lower Germany beckoned invitingly, and thousands of them trekked eastward filled with new energy and fresh hope, seeking to found new homes for themselves and to find new economic and political freedom in a land where the population was sparse, land cheap, and little or no capital necessary to begin with.

We catch the echo of this hope of the lowland emigrants of this time in the text of an old Flemish ballad which has been preserved:

<sup>1</sup> Püschel, 15.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious to note that the regions of Flanders most subject to inundation were least likely to suffer from famine. Curschmann, 21, suggests that the reason may be found perhaps in the fact that the peasants were often able to drive their cattle out of reach of the floods and so preserve them.

<sup>3</sup> Blanchard, chaps. ix and xi.

<sup>4</sup> Knüll, *Historische Geographie Deutschlands im Mittelalter*, 5-7.

Naer Oostland willen wy ryden,  
 Naer Oostland willen wy mée,  
 Al over die groene heiden,  
 Frisch over die heiden.  
 Daer isser een betere stée  
 Als wy binnen Oostland komen  
 Al onder dat hooge huis,  
 Daer worden wy binnen gelaten,  
 Frisch over die heiden;  
 Zy heeten ons willekom zyn.<sup>1</sup>

The *Drang nach Osten* of the German peoples had long since been under way when the first "rush" of settlers out of Friesland and Flanders into North Germany began early in the twelfth century. From the time of Henry the Fowler, under the lee of the battle line, the frontier of colonial settlement had advanced, conquering the stubborn soil and the no less stubborn resistance of the Wends, until by the term of the Franconian epoch Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and the Thuringian Reichsland were studded with German settlements; the initial stages of a permanent political and ecclesiastical system were firmly grounded; Magdeburg, Bardwick, and Lübeck had become important trade centers; and colonies of German settlers from farther west, tempted by cheap land and the easy terms under which titles might be acquired, were established.

But the Flemish and the Frisian pioneer did not come into these regions until the subjugation or expulsion of the former Wendish peoples there had been accomplished by the sword of the Saxons through two centuries of almost unrelenting warfare against them, and the preliminary work of settlement made by German colonists. They were not men of the battle edge, but of the rear guard.<sup>2</sup>

For the land into which they came the Fleming and the Frisian were singularly adapted. In the high feudal age Lower Germany along the coast of the North Sea and the Baltic was an almost un-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Schulze, *Die Kolonisierung und Germanisierung der Gebiete zwischen Saale und Elbe*, 79; Lamprecht, *D.G.*, III, 342. Willems, *Oude Vlaemsche Liederen* (Ghent, 1848), 53, has claimed that this ballad is not of the twelfth century, but later. He prints the complete text on p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See my article on "German East Colonization," *op. cit.*, for full exposition.

interrupted series of marshes and fens, which, owing to the sluggish flow of the rivers across the flat plain and the deep indentation of estuaries like the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe, sometimes extended a considerable distance inland. Mecklenburg and Pomerania were dotted with lakes. Even in the interior there was much bog land and some areas which were huge morasses.

The first German incomers into these regions had naturally avoided these places and appropriated for themselves the tilled soil of the conquered Wends. When almost all of this had been occupied, chiefly by the clergy and high feudality, the settlers, where possible, still clung to high ground and cleared the forests.

Before the coming of the Dutch and Flemings into Germany in the twelfth century the swamps and marshes, if used at all, were used only for pasturage<sup>1</sup> and occasionally, if not too wet, for hay meadows. But the German peasantry before their immigration knew little or nothing of the process of making such bottom lands arable.<sup>2</sup> The German feudal princes and prelates who imported these lowlanders by hundreds knew their value for swamp reclamation. Since Roman times dike-building and artificial drainage had been practiced in Flanders and Holland.<sup>3</sup>

It was the slow increase of population in Germany<sup>4</sup> and especially the enormous land hunger of the great proprietors, both lay and clerical, which gave a new value to these neglected spots and was the primary factor in inducing the bishops, abbots, and princes of Germany to bring in colonies of Dutch and Flemings. They were used to deep plowings in heavy soils. Moreover, the labor was without peril. It was a new country, but it was not exactly the frontier.

Intelligent nobles like Adolf of Holstein, Henry the Lion, and Albrecht the Bear vied with churchmen like the four great archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, Adalbert, Adalbero, Frederick, and

<sup>1</sup> Heinemann, *Albrecht der Bär*, 227; Meitzen, *Siedlung und Agrarwesen*, II, 451.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel, *Ländische Ansiedelungen der Niederländer*, x.

<sup>3</sup> Heinemann, 143.

<sup>4</sup> For information on this head see Kötzschke, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgesch.*, 50-52, where much literature is cited.

Hardwich, with Bernhard of Hildesheim and Wichmann of Magdeburg, in promoting the immigration of these Frisian and Flemish settlers. The Cistercian monasteries, however, were the most active promoters of lowland colonization. Having been but recently established, this order found little place for itself in older Germany, where enormous areas of land had been for centuries in the hands of the Benedictines and Cluniacs. In consequence the Cistercians were compelled to found their houses in the New East of Germany just being opened, where land was still cheap, and, in the case of monks, could be acquired for nothing.<sup>1</sup>

Within the space of a hundred years the lower Weser, the whole valley of the Elbe from Meissen to Hamburg, the marshes of the Havel, the bottom lands of the Mulde, the Black and the White Elster, the banks of the Oder below Breslau, together with its affluents like the Netze, were peopled with these Dutch and Flemish settlers. Place-names like Hollern, Hollen, Hollernweg, Hollernklink, Hollernstück, Hollanderhof, Hollern dick, Hollerwisch, Hollerwettern, Hollerbrock, and other names of localities of Flemish origin like Flemsdorf, Flemingsthal, Vlammingen, tell the tale, which is legible even today upon the map of Germany.<sup>2</sup>

The methods of colonization varied between the extremes of the individual pioneer settler and the migration and settlement of groups of colonists, great or small in number. In the main, however, the latter was the practice. The day of the *homo migrans* of the Salic Code, and of the *hospes* of the annals and cartulaires of the ninth, tenth, and even eleventh centuries,<sup>3</sup> had passed. While doubtless much forest land still continued to be cleared by the lone pioneer, or bog land drained, or waste redeemed, the group idea was dominant. It was real colonization—the simultaneous co-operative migration of blocks of people, who took their cattle and household effects with them from the ancient homeland, and their

<sup>1</sup> The subject of the influence of the Cistercians upon the colonization of the trans-Elbean lands in Germany is too large to be considered in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, III, 352-54; Kretschmer, *Historische Geographie*, sec. 227, where much local literature is referred to.

<sup>3</sup> See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, and compare Lamprecht, *Etat économique de France*, 230-41; Henri See, *Les Classes rurales et le régime domanial en France au moyen-âge*, 212-38.

settlement in a new country. This was the fashion in which the first important settlement of lowlanders was made in Germany, that of 1106 in the marshes of the Weser near Bremen.

The *organized* nature of these displacements of population in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is one of the first things to strike the student. In an article published elsewhere<sup>1</sup> I have endeavored to show this in the case of the history of the colonization of the trans-Elbean Hinterland by peoples of German stock who moved eastward from the older and more densely populated parts of Germany like Westphalia and Franconia. In the history of the influx of the lowland Fleming and Frisian, although the localities where they settled were different, we see the same purpose, the same motives, the same organization, and similar conditions of settlement.

Before entering, however, upon the particular history of the most important lowlander colonies established in Germany a word of caution is necessary. While some of them were initially formed of original settlers from Flanders and Frisia, which in course of time grew both from natural increase of the population and from agglomeration owing to the occasional arrival of new immigrants, on the other hand numbers of these Flemish and Frisian colonies in Germany evidently were not composed of *original* lowlanders,<sup>2</sup> but were offshoots of the mother-group. Confusion arises from the loose terminology of the sources, which do not always distinguish between Flemish and Dutch settlers, nor between original lowlander settlements and colonies derived from these. The lowland strain inclined to thin with each succeeding generation as the newcomers intermarried with their German neighbors, or with the local Wendish population which remained in its ancestral habitat. Finally, to confuse the investigator still more, the nature and institutions of these lowlander colonies were sometimes copied

<sup>1</sup> My article on "German East Colonization," *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> For example, Lüntzel in mentioning the settlement established by Bishop Udo of Hildesheim calls it a Flemish colony, whereas the names of the four men with whom the bishop made the contract are obviously Frisian, i.e., Dutch, as Vogel, *op. cit.*, xi, has pointed out. Again, the fact that the Flemish form of landholding is found to obtain around Uebigau, Schweinitz, and Domnitzsch in the later Middle Ages does not prove that these places were settled by original Flemish colonists (Schulze, 130, n. 1).

by real German colonies, so that there are examples of the latter which bear the earmarks of Holland or Flanders, though they actually contained no inhabitant of that stock.<sup>1</sup>

The chief source of information for the history of these low-lander colonies is of a documentary nature.<sup>2</sup> Of the chronicles Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* is far the most valuable. Philology has been an important auxiliary science in tracing the genesis of surnames and the names of places; and archaeology has thrown some light upon the subject.<sup>3</sup>

These Dutch and Flemish colonies in mediaeval Germany, as might be expected, were more numerous near the country whence the settlers came. The marsh lands of the lower Weser were the earliest place of settlement, then the lower and middle Elbe and its tributaries, then the Oder region. Traces of Netherlanders are to be found in Galicia, in Austria, and in the Carpathians. But little positive information is to be had concerning them.<sup>4</sup> The farther Baltic coast seems to have been settled chiefly by immigrants from Westphalia, although the dune and marsh topography might be presumed to have attracted the people from the Low Countries.<sup>5</sup> The high uplands of Germany and the mountainous region of the Erzegebirge and the Carpathians were usually avoided by them. They preferred cutting reed grass and digging turf to clearing timber and mining.

The Flemish settlements near Waldheim and Altenburg (where even now there is a locality named Flemmingen) and the Dutch and Flemish (*qui et Flamingi*) colony near Koesen, which were certainly established there before 1140, that is, before the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Pforte, are exceptional, for the reason that they found lodgment in a mountainous and forest country instead of a river plain.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schulze, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Köttschke, *Quellen zur Gesch. der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Meitzen, II, 358; Kretschmer, 374.

<sup>4</sup> Kaindl, *Gesch. der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern* (2 vols.) (Gotha, 1907), II, 208; Knüll, 94-95.

<sup>5</sup> Kretschmer, 367-68; Lamprecht, III, 305.

<sup>6</sup> Schulze, 129, note.

The earliest record of Netherlandish settlement in Germany is found in the *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* for the year 1062, when a small group of these immigrants was settled in the moors along the left bank of the Weser by the great archbishop Adalbert.<sup>1</sup> The fall of Adalbert and the plundering of the bishopric by the Billunger, coupled with the anarchy of Germany for so many years during the reign of Henry IV, probably deterred further immigration for a long time.<sup>2</sup>

Things rapidly changed, however, soon after the century mark was turned. In 1106 Archbishop Frederick of Hamburg-Bremen energetically revived his predecessor's policy, and granted "certain lands which are uncultivated, swampy, and useless" to his own people to persons "who are called Hollanders," and who were apparently refugees, for the charter recites that they came to the archbishop and "earnestly begged" for leave to settle on the moors.<sup>3</sup> The prelate, "considering that their settlement would be profitable," granted their request. The lands were divided into rectangular blocks measuring 720 "royal" rods in length and 30 in width. The settlers were to pay one penny (*denarius*) annually for each hide or holding, to give every eleventh sheaf of grain, every tenth lamb, every tenth goat, every tenth goose, and a tenth of the honey and flax for tithes, besides a penny for each colt and a farthing (*obolus*) for each calf on St. Martin's Day. A tithe of these tithes was set aside by the archbishop for the support of the parish churches, and each priest was to have one hide of land. They agreed to pay every year two marks for every one hundred hides for the privilege of retaining their own law and holding their own courts for the settlement of all their differences in secular matters. This they asked "because they feared they would suffer from the injustice of foreign judges." But the bishop's court was to be a court of appeal.

The success of the enterprise must have been soon manifest. For almost immediately afterward Bishop Udo of Hildesheim established a colony of Flemings at Eschershausen, west of the

<sup>1</sup> Lamprecht, III, 372.

<sup>2</sup> See my article in *American Journal of Theology*, XX (1916), 227-28.

<sup>3</sup> Kötzsche, *Quellen*, No. 1. There is an English translation in Thatcher-MacNeal, *Source Book for Mediaeval History*, No. 298. For commentary, Meitzen, III, 264-68. Map 86 is a luminous exposition of the text.

Harz,<sup>1</sup> and Dietrich of Halberstadt undertook the settlement of the lowlands between the Bode and the Ocker rivers.<sup>2</sup> Within two years after 1106 the promotion of Dutch and Flemish immigration for the redemption of swamp land became an organized effort of the clergy and lay nobles of Lower Germany. In 1108 the archbishop of Magdeburg, the bishops of Merseburg, Naumburg, Meissen, Brandenburg, and Counts Otto (of . . . ), Wichbert (of . . . ), Ludwig (of . . . ), "and all the greater and lesser lords of eastern Saxony" (*universi orientalis Saxonie majores et minores*) united in a joint circular petition to the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Aachen and Liège, the duke of Lower Lorraine, Robert, count of Flanders, and others, urging them to encourage the emigration of their surplus and hungry population into Lower Germany, which was represented, not unlike land-promotion schemes today, as a land flowing with milk and honey.<sup>3</sup>

We do not know what the immediate effect of this endeavor was. But by the middle of the century Flemish and Frisian immigration into North Germany was in full swing. Of the German nobles at this time Adolph of Holstein was the most active in this effort. "In 1143," says Helmold, "because the land was sparsely peopled, Count Adolph sent messengers into all the regions roundabout, even into Flanders and Holland, [the bishopric of] Utrecht, Westphalia, and Frisia, to proclaim that all who were in want of land might come with their families and receive the best of soil, a spacious country rich in crops, abounding in fish and flesh, and of exceeding good pasturage."<sup>4</sup> The marsh lands of the lowest course of the Elbe at this time were the special region of colonization, where Eutin and Süssel were settled by Dutch and Frisian pioneers.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kötzschke, *Quellen*, No. 2. The original charter is lost. We know the fact from the confirmation of it by Udo's successor, Bernhard. For another such colony see Schulze, 158, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel, *op. cit.*, vii.

<sup>3</sup> The text of this remarkable document is in Kötzschke, *Quellen*, No. 3, where references are also given to a large amount of literature dealing with it.

<sup>4</sup> Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, I, chap. 57.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Helmold confuses "Frisians" and "Flemings." For full information regarding these settlements see Gloy, *Der Gang der Germanisation in Ost-Holstein* (Kiel, 1894), 17 f.; J. von Schröder and H. Biernatzki, *Topographie der Herzogtümer Holstein und Lauenburg*, I (Oldenburg, 1855), 6. The settlement of the Elbe marshes must, however, have been begun before 1144. For evidence see Wendt, *op. cit.*, II, 31.



The furious racial and religious war which broke out in 1147, known as the Wendish Crusade, devastated the whole eastern frontier of Saxon Germany from Magdeburg to Holstein. The new Flemish and Frisian settlements were imperiled at the moment when many of the men had returned to their old homes in the Low Countries to bring back the residue of their possessions which they had left there. When the infuriated Wagri burst into the region with fire and sword they found less than a hundred fighting men in the blockhouses which had been erected to protect the villages, instead of four hundred. Fortunately the Wends, while they hated the Saxons for their oppression of them, did not confound the Flemish and Dutch incomers with their German enemies. The frightened villagers, who could not have resisted if they had so dared, were spared, they and their herds and crops.<sup>1</sup> Alone the garrison in the blockhouse at Süssel, under the leadership of a priest named Gerlach, braved the foe.<sup>2</sup> What destruction did befall the colony, not without reason, was attributed to the violence of their Holsteiner neighbors, who were jealous of the industry of the settlers and hated them as "foreigners."<sup>3</sup>

The effect of the Wendish Crusade in 1147 was to open large tracts of border land to occupation which hitherto had been still precariously held by the Slavs, and a wave of Dutch and Flemish settlers followed hard upon a great influx of Westphalian colonists into the territory east of the Elbe, along both the lower and the middle course of the river.<sup>4</sup>

The promotion of this movement was participated in by all classes of landed proprietors—dukes, margraves, counts, bishops, abbots. The greatest of these were Albrecht the Bear of Brandenburg and Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg. The amount

<sup>1</sup> Helmold, chap. 63, to the end.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 64.

<sup>3</sup> The Holsteiners called these lowlander incomers "Rustri" (*ibid.*, 158 and n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> This appears from a survey made by Bishop Anselm of Havelberg in 1150, after the Wendish Crusade was over, and is contained in the new *Foundationsprivileg* of Conrad III: ". . . et cum praeominatae civitates et villae saepe irruentibus paganis vastatae sunt ac depopulatae adeo, ut vel nullo vel raro habitatore incolantur, volumus atque praecipimus, ut idem episcopus liberam absque contradictione habeat facultatem ibidem ponendi et locandi colonos de quacunque gente voluerit vel habere potuerit:"—Riedel, *Codex Diplom. Brand.*, II, 438.

of lowlander blood infused with German in the middle of the twelfth century in the basin of the Havel River must have been considerable.<sup>1</sup> These tenacious lowlanders eagerly attacked the sodden soil. Thousands of acres of swamp land in course of time were redeemed by them. For example, documents of the year 1148 describe the region around Brettenburg on the river Stör as a huge morass. In the year 1340 the Dutch communities of Cronenmoor and Lütteringe are described as prosperous farming localities.<sup>2</sup> That the main body of settlers in this part of Holstein was of Dutch origin Meitzen has shown from the fact that Christian I of Denmark in 1470 issued a decree canceling the jurisdiction of Dutch law in the Kremper and Wilster marshlands and substituting Danish law instead.<sup>3</sup>

No lord of North Germany was more active in promoting the colonization and settlement of these Dutch and Flemish immigrants than Albrecht the Bear of Brandenburg. In this policy he was ably assisted by the bishops, especially Wichmann of Magdeburg. Except possibly Rainald of Dassel, Frederick Barbarossa's heroic archbishop of Cologne, and the versatile Christian of Mainz, who was for so long his viceroy in Italy, twelfth-century Germany had no abler prelate than Wichmann. On the paternal side he was descended from the Billunger dukes of Saxony, on his mother's from the margraves of Lausitz and Meissen.<sup>4</sup> After having completed his theological studies at Paris, Wichmann was successively prior of the chapter of Halberstadt, bishop of Naumburg (1148), and in the first year of Frederick I's reign was made archbishop of Magdeburg by him. He was a faithful adherent of the emperor through all the long conflict with Alexander III and one of the chief negotiators of the peace of Constance in 1183. He was an implacable adversary of Henry the Lion and a principal in the catastrophe which overcame the mighty Saxon duke in 1181. In that year, with the aid of the bishop of Halberstadt, he laid siege to Haldensleben. But the count of Lippe, who defended the place, diverted

<sup>1</sup> Köttschke, *Staat und Kultur im Zeitalter der ostdeutschen Kolonisation* (Leipzig, 1910), 30-34.

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, III, 354.

<sup>3</sup> Heinemann, 222.

<sup>4</sup> Fechner, *Leben des Erzbischofs Wichmann von Magdeburg, Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch.*, V, 417-562.

the course of the Ohre River. Nothing daunted, Wichmann threw up dikes around the town so that the water overflowed the walls and drove the inhabitants to seek refuge in church towers and granaries. Wichmann then built a fleet of boats and with this little navy triumphantly sailed over the walls of Haldensleben and so captured it.<sup>1</sup>

Although Albrecht had received titular investiture of the margraviate of Brandenburg in 1134(?), the Slav element in the Mark was not wholly subdued until 1157,<sup>2</sup> an achievement materially aided by Wichmann. Already in the last year of his episcopacy at Naumburg, Wichmann had imported a colony of Flemings and settled them at Schul-Pforta, where they long retained their own laws and gave their name—Flemmingen or Flaminghe—to the locality.<sup>3</sup> Six years after his transference to Magdeburg, when Albrecht's domination had been made complete in Brandenburg, Wichmann began the active importation of Flemish and Dutch settlers into the unoccupied marsh lands of the Havel. Wichmann was not the original pioneer in thus settling these colonies along the upper Elbe, for already in 1154 Bishop Gerung of Meissen had established a group of them at Kühren near Wurzen.<sup>4</sup> But Wichmann was the greatest promoter of these enterprises, more so even than Albrecht the Bear himself.<sup>5</sup>

The details of the history of the settlement of these Dutch and Flemish colonies by Albrecht and Wichmann may be traced in the *Urkunden*. But Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* has one chapter<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Montis Sereni*, anno 1182, in Mencken, *SS. rerum germanicarum, prae-cipue saxonicarum*, Vol. II; Raumer, *Reg.*, No. 1558.

<sup>2</sup> This information is contained in the fragments of the *Old Chronicle* of Brandenburg, to be found in Heinemann, 422; cf. Lavissee, *La Marche de Brandenburg sous la dynastie Ascanienne*, 71-72.

<sup>3</sup> Köttschke, *Quellen*, No. 9; Wendt, II, 35. For a complete study see Rudolph, *Die niederländischen Kolonien der Altmark im 12. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1889.

<sup>4</sup> Köttschke, *Quellen*, No. 10; Vogel, vii; Schulze, 159.

<sup>5</sup> Köttschke, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 18; Wendt, II, 30 f.; Heinemann, *Urkunden*, Nos. 38-41; Rudolph, *op. cit.* Hollanders were established at Krakau near Magdeburg, and at Kleutsch near Dessau; Flemings around Naundorf and Pechau near Magdeburg; Westphalians at Poppendorf, across the Elbe, opposite Magdeburg, *in pratis et paludibus*.

<sup>6</sup> I, chap. lxxxviii.

descriptive of Albrecht's colonizing policy which is so excellent that it is here translated:

In that time (*ca.* 1157) the margrave Adelbert, surnamed the Bear, had possession of eastern Slavia, who by God's care over him very greatly prospered in his lot.<sup>1</sup> For he conquered [*misit sub jugum*] all the territory of the Brizani,<sup>2</sup> Stoderani,<sup>3</sup> and many other tribes dwelling along the Havel and the Elbe, and overcame those of them in rebellion.<sup>4</sup> Finally, as the Slavs gradually disappeared [*deficientibus sensim Slavis*], he sent to Utrecht and the regions of the [lower] Rhine, as well as to those peoples who live near the ocean and suffer the violence of the sea [*patiebantur vim maris*], namely, Hollanders, Zealanders, Flemings, and brought a great multitude of them and caused them to dwell in the towns and villages of the Slavs.

He greatly furthered the immigration of settlers [*advenae*] into the bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg, because the churches multiplied there and the value of the tithes greatly increased.<sup>5</sup>

In this time Dutch settlers began to occupy the east bank of the Elbe. From the city of Salzwedel these Hollanders settled all the marsh and meadow land [*terram palustrem atque campestrum*] which is called Balsemerlande and Marscinerlande,<sup>6</sup> being very many towns and villages as far as the Bohemian frontier.<sup>7</sup> The Saxons are said formerly [*olim*] to have inhabited these lands

<sup>1</sup> Helmold's phrase is *in funiculo sortis*. The figure is derived from the method of surveying land by measuring it off with a rope. Helmold several times mentions this form of mensuration, e.g., chaps. 69, 71, 77, 84. Cf. my article on "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *op. cit.*, 385-86.

<sup>2</sup> The Brizani were one of the small tribes belonging to the Baltic branch of the Slavs; they dwelt near Havelberg (Riedel, *Der Mark Brandenburg*, 271 f.).

<sup>3</sup> A similar tribe in the same region (Riedel, 306 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Albrecht the Bear recovered Brandenburg (the city) in 1157.

<sup>5</sup> For the terrible burden of the tithe imposed upon the conquered Wends see my article, "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *op. cit.*, 210-17. 224, 386.

<sup>6</sup> Balsemerlande, Pagus Belxa, was the territory around Stendal in the diocese of Halberstadt. Marscinerlande is supposed to have been between Arnesburg and Werben, but Rudolph, *op. cit.*, 37, has questioned it.

<sup>7</sup> Helmold's words are *usque ad saltum Boemicum*. In chap. 80, 150, he uses the same phrase. Whether Helmold, who lived in Holstein, knew the difference between the Boehmerwald and the Erzgebirge may be doubted. Dehio, *Brem. Jahrb.*, VI, 85 f., thinks the phrase refers to the Erzgebirge; Rudolph, *op. cit.*, 37, to the Boehmerwald. Schmiedler, the last editor of Helmold, is sure that the latter is not meant, and not certain that it applies to the former. I have translated the word *saltum* as "frontier," which, while not an exact rendering of the word, is sufficiently indefinite to express the hazy state of Helmold's mind.

in the time of the Ottos,<sup>1</sup> as can still be seen in the remains of old levees which had buttressed the banks of the Elbe in the swampy land of the Balsami. But afterward, when the Slavs prevailed<sup>2</sup> the Saxons were killed and the territory has been possessed by the Slavs until our time. But now, because God has generously given health and victory to our duke and the other princes, the Slavs everywhere have been worn down [*protriti*] and driven out, and peoples "strong and without number" have been brought in from the borders of the sea,<sup>3</sup> and have taken possession of the fields [*terminos*], and have built towns and churches and increased in wealth beyond all expectation.

Albrecht the Bear seems to have preferred the agency of others in promoting lowlander colonization of his territories to direct enterprise by himself. His favorite agencies were the Cistercians and the Praemonstratensians. In 1159 Abbot Arnold of Ballenstadt purchased two localities "formerly possessed by the Slavs" from the margrave, and sold holdings in them to "certain Flemings who had petitioned permission to occupy them and to preserve their own law."<sup>4</sup> In 1170 Otto of Brandenburg gave two *Dörfer*, Dalchau and Drusedow, to the Johannite Order, which had been settled by Hollanders during his father's lifetime.<sup>5</sup>

In the Weser region the initiative begun by Frederick of Bremen was continued by later archbishops. In 1158 Archbishop Hartwig I established a colony of Hollanders on the Ochtum, a small affluent of the Weser.<sup>6</sup> In 1170 Friedrich von Machenstedt, founder of the monastery of Heiligenrode, southwest of Bremen, received permission from his successor, Archbishop Baldwin, to settle the swamp lands between Brinkum and Machenstedt, west of the Ochtum, with Hollanders.<sup>7</sup> This example is interesting because Baldwin himself was a Hollander by birth, and in 1178 returned to his native land as bishop of Utrecht, over which he ruled until his death in 1196.

In Saxony the precedent of Dutch and Flemish colonization, which Adolph of Holstein was the earliest of the lay nobles of

<sup>1</sup> Helmold, I, chaps. 12 and 18.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the great Slav rebellion in 1066. See, for details, my article on "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *op. cit.*, 228-30.

<sup>3</sup> The words are quoted from Joel 1:6.

<sup>4</sup> Kötzschke, *Quellen*, No. 13A.

<sup>6</sup> Vogel, iv.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

Germany to introduce, was followed by Henry the Lion, whose intelligent rule owes more to Adolph's example than his biographers have admitted. After all but the last remnants of the wretched Obodrite population were driven out of Mecklenburg in 1160, by a joint expedition of Henry and King Waldemar of Denmark, hundreds of lowlanders were imported into the bottom lands around Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg.<sup>1</sup>

As the end of the twelfth century approaches there is a noticeable falling off in Dutch and Flemish immigration into Lower Germany. How far this decline was due to the great revolution made in North Germany by the fall of Henry the Lion in 1181, or to the growing prosperity of the Low Countries, which, as every scholar knows, reached a high degree of economic development at this time, it does not seem possible to determine. One factor in "slowing down" this immigration perhaps may be found in this, that as the Weser and Elbe marshes increasingly became settled, the next available tracts, in the basin of the Oder, were so far away from the source of immigrant supply that it required unusual activity and unusually favorable terms to induce new settlers to go so far. Probably also the fact that the best marsh lands by 1200 had been taken up had its influence. What remained unoccupied was so huge and so hopelessly miry that simple peasants had neither the capital nor the engineering means to undertake its reclamation. Such enormous tracts of swamp as the Goldene Aue could be successfully drained only by corporate enterprise like that of the Cistercians.

Whatever the reasons, it is certain that there are proportionally fewer examples of the establishment of colonies of Dutch or Flemish in Lower Germany after 1180 than before that date. Hartwig II of Bremen in 1201 established a colony of Hollanders near Bremen, but it is noteworthy that exceedingly attractive terms were required to prevail upon them to come.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Heinemann, 227; Henry the Lion founded a colony of Hollanders in 1164 around Erteneburg (Meitzen, III, 358).

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, II, 350-51; Kretschmer, 368; Knüll, 7-8; Lamprecht, III, 326; Kötzschke, *Das Unternehmertum in der ostdeutschen Kolonisation des Mittelalters* (Bautzen, 1894), 5-8. It is unfortunate that Kötzschke has not included this record in his *Quellen*.

By the beginning of the thirteenth century the Hinterland of mediaeval Germany was not the valley of the Elbe, but the valley of the Oder. The "Far" East of earlier Germany had now become the "Middle" East,<sup>1</sup> and Breslau had taken the place of Magdeburg and Brandenburg as a frontier city. In the thirteenth century Silesia and the territory of Lebus in farther Brandenburg, where the March touched the Oder, not the bottom lands of the Weser and the Elbe, not lower Saxony and Mecklenburg, were the parts of Germany whither the tide of overflow population from the Low Countries directed itself. In Lebus, where the population still was heavily Slavonic (it was the ancient land of the Leubuzzi), the local house was very active in attracting colonists from Flanders and Eastphalia, from Hesse and Thuringia. In the thirty-five years between 1204-39 it is said that over 160,000 acres of waste or bottom land was redeemed by them.<sup>2</sup> In lower Silesia, where the people were Polish in blood, there was a great influx of German colonists in the time of Boleslav the Tall and his son Conrad, who seem chiefly to have come from Westphalia, and it may be surmised that most of the Flemish immigrants who entered Silesia came into the country in the wake of these. Zedlitz, west of the Oder near Steinau, seems to have been one of these settlements, and Pogel near Wohlau certainly was a Flemish colony.<sup>3</sup>

In general, it may be said that east of the Elbe River the Cistercian monks and the Praemonstratensian canons were more active in furthering lowlander immigration than either the bishops or the feudal nobles, while as to Prussia, the whole exploitation of

<sup>1</sup> Professor F. J. Turner has made this distinction classic for the history of the American frontier between the "Old West," the "New West," and the "Far West," and I have applied it here.

<sup>2</sup> Fisher, *Mediaeval Empire*, II, 16. I do not know upon what authority he depends for this statement.

<sup>3</sup> In the middle of the twelfth century the Augustins of Breslau brought a colony of Walloons into the Altmark (Grünhagen, *Les colonies wallones de Silesie*, Brussels, 1867), and later some serfs from Namur are found in Silesia. The Walloon immigration into Silesia preceded that of the Flemings, but they were never numerous. Their coming was rather an infiltration than a migration. Since Grünhagen's study, Levison (Zur Gesch. des Bischofs Walter von Breslau, 1149-1169, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Gesch. und Altertum Schlesiens*, XXV [1901], 353-57) has thrown new light upon this obscure Walloon population. Cf. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 138, n. 3.

the land was in the hands of the Teutonic Order. The colonizing work of the two former is a subject which will be taken up in another article, and the activities of the great military order of the north territorially fall outside of Germany proper.

As to Dutch and Flemish immigration into Southwestern Germany, there is little to be written. Leopold VI of Austria in 1106 issued a charter bestowing certain rights and liberties upon *burgenses nostros qui apud nos Flandrenses nuncupatur in civitate nostra Wiena*.<sup>1</sup> But the intensely mountainous nature of much of the Austrian and Hungarian lands repelled settlers who were used to a fen country. The Erzgebirge and the Carpathians had more attraction for Saxon miners from the Harz than for them. There is no evidence of organized or group colonization by Flemings or Dutch in Southeastern Europe. The few lowlanders found in Vienna or Hermannstadt probably percolated into the country individually or at the most in family groups.<sup>2</sup>

It was natural that the changes and new conditions here outlined should develop new institutions. Almost from the very inception of the movement it acquired an organized character. The joint proclamation issued in 1108 by Adolph of Holstein and other Saxon nobles is an indication of this. The mechanism of both feudal and ecclesiastical government was early used to promote and govern the movement of Dutch and Flemish colonization in mediaeval Germany. In the rivalry between the two forms that of the church was superior to that of the secular nobles; and of the two branches of the clergy the system of the Cistercian Order was superior to all.

One of the earliest and most influential institutions that developed was the office and profession of "promoter" or *locator*. Usually he was a bailiff or steward of the feudal domains of some prince or prelate, who as agent of the lord surveyed the tract

<sup>1</sup> This valuable charter is reprinted from Herrgott, *Monumenta domus Austriacae*, etc. (1750-72), in Reich, *Select Documents Illustrating Med. and Mod. History*, 264-65. Kaindl, *op. cit.*, II, 206-10, has summarized the information to be found. For other special literature see Schwind-Dopsch, *Urkunden zur Verfassungsgesch. d. deutsch-oesterr. Erblande* (Innsbruck, 1895), 38.

<sup>2</sup> Köttschke, 53A; *Archiv f. Kunde Oest. Geschichtsq.*, X, 92; Huber, *Gesch. Oesterreich*, I, 488.



intended for colonization, and then, armed with the terms of settlement, betook himself into the Low Countries and there organized a company of "homeseekers" whom he conducted into the new territory. His fee was commonly a preferred share in the enterprise in the form of an allotment of land. Naturally he often also became an important official in the new community and medium between the settlers and the reigning noble. The first mention of a *locator* occurs in the year 1149.<sup>1</sup> But it is evident from the allusion that the office was already an established one. In fact, this sort of real estate agency became a profession.<sup>2</sup> Even cities were established in the same manner.<sup>3</sup>

There is much variation in detail in these settlements, but a striking general uniformity both in method of distribution of the allotments and in institutions. The model for almost all agreements seems to have been the charter of Archbishop Frederick of Bremen to the men of Utrecht whom he settled in the Weser marshes in 1108. Instead of the nucleated manorial village, with its peasant strips or plowlands in the spring and autumn "plantings" separated by dividing "balks" of turf, its demesne land, its group of huddled cottages in one corner of the manor, its array of irksome farm tasks and "boons," these colonial villages were laid out in rectangular blocks—an American would call them "sections" and "quarter-sections"—of 40, 60, 80, or more acres, so that each homesteader had a farm composed of contiguous land, and not, as under the manorial régime, an assembly of widely scattered holdings. We find these "manors of Dutch measurement" among both the Dutch and the Flemings and among new settlements of German colonists, who recognized the enormous advantage of the practice over the old system.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Meitzen, II, 348.

<sup>2</sup> On the institution of the *locator* see my article in *Proceedings of American Historical Association* (1916), n. 81, and references there given. Köttschke's *Unternehmertum*, etc., is the most recent study of it.

<sup>3</sup> Poeschl, *loc. cit.*, is full of evidence on this point. More briefly described in Heil, *Deutsche Städte und Bürger im Mittelalter* (Teubner's Sammlung, Band 43).

<sup>4</sup> These "*mansus Hollanriensis dimensionis*" are frequently mentioned in the charters, e.g., Köttschke, *Quellen*, No. 19; Riedel, *Der Mark Brandenburg*, 51; *Codex Diplom.* I, 338. Elsewhere they are called "Flemish"—*mansos ad mensuram*

The village, instead of being a huddled group of cottages, was a long street, every house situated at the near end of the holding facing the road. Behind it lay the farm acres, the meadow, the wood lot, in this order if the "lay" of the land so permitted. Somewhere, usually near the center of the village, were the church and the priest's house, the priest, besides the local tithe, having a holding of his own (called "Goddess peece" in England) which was worked either by parish serfs or by the peasantry of the village. If there were several villages close together, a number of them collectively were formed into a parish.<sup>1</sup> The priest's house and that of the *locator* were generally the most substantial and commodious structures in the community.<sup>2</sup>

These Flemish and Dutch settlers brought their own house architecture with them in many cases. While doubtless the original "shack" might have been rudely built of logs, the permanent edifice was often of homemade brick made out of the local clay, with timber traverses and, of course, timbered superstructure. The floors too were brick; peat, with which the lowlander was familiar, but which the German peasant had no knowledge of, was burned in the fireplace. Sometimes the front of the house was decorated with rude and curious carvings, or painted pictures of horse heads, swans, windmills, etc. Of course these luxurious appointments obtained only among the more well-to-do settlers who possessed considerable land which was well diked and drained. Poorer settlers on small holdings frequently exposed to flood and freshet had no means to indulge in the blandishments of art.<sup>3</sup>

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*Flandrensiun* (Kötzschke, *Quellen*, No. 13C and 50C). They were also known as "mansus regales" or "Königshufen" (Sommerfeld, *Gesch. der Germanisierung des Herzogtums Pommern in Schmoller's Forschungen*, XIII, Heft V, 140, 149). Cf. my article on "German East Colonization," *op. cit.*, n. 76. Meitzen has an exhaustive monograph, *Volkshufe und Königshufe* (Festgabe f. G. Hanssen, 1889), 1-60, republished in Conrad's *Handwörterbuch*, IV, 496.

<sup>1</sup> On these Flemish "street" villages see Blanchard, *op. cit.*, 423-27, who gives some interesting maps. Cf. Meitzen, II, 47-53, 343-44; Inama-Sternegg, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgesch.*, I, 439-43. Cf. my article, cited just above, n. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Lamprecht, III, 364-65.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; Meitzen, II, 359-60, has a detailed account.

One of the primary inducements always offered to these settlers was exemption from the exasperating and multiple manorial obligations which burdened them in the homeland to such a degree that these grievances were a real cause of emigration. The sources abound with evidence on this point. Usually it was put negatively, that is to say, the charter clearly defined what should be the rights, duties, and obligations of both parties to the transaction, which, so to speak, became a written constitution for the government of the community. Sometimes, however, in order to make the colonists doubly assured, after reciting the duties and obligations the charter went on specifically to narrate *from* what the settlers should be exempt, so that their freedom was doubly defined.<sup>1</sup>

But in common with much that was new these settlers commingled some things that were old. They tenaciously clung to the preservation of their own native legal customs in the new land. The persistence of this characteristic trait of feudal particularism, which itself is traceable to the old Germanic legal theory of the personality of law,<sup>2</sup> in spite of the fluxing of the old order of things and the development of so many new institutions, is a striking example of the conservatism of things of the law.<sup>3</sup>

The charters abound with record of this privilege. It appears in the charter of Archbishop Frederick of Bremen (1106), in the earliest instance of Dutch colonization, where their traditional *judicia et placita* are guaranteed;<sup>4</sup> in that of Bishop Wichmann of Naumburg (1152) to the Hollander colony in Schul-Pforta;<sup>5</sup> in that of Bishop Gerung of Meissen (1154), where the provision is

<sup>1</sup> Item voluit idem archiepiscopus, quod omnes villici et cultores agrorum ejusdem ecclesiae liberi esse deberent *ab omni censu civitatis vel villae et quod essent liberi ab omni advocatia*," etc.—Henric. Wolteri, *Chron. Brem.* (ca. 1142), cited by Inama-Sternegg, II, 29, note. For other examples see Schulze, 157, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, II, 349.

<sup>3</sup> Even the *Stadtrecht* of Goslar, 1256, although it was a mining-town where few lowlanders settled, shows traces of Flemish law, e.g., the "institutio que vulgar. Kura" points to the Keuren of Flanders. The town coinage of Jüterbock and Bitterfeld for many years showed the Flemish origin of the places (Schulze, 126-27, n. 2). The Belgian scholar Van Houtte has made a special study of the survival of Flemish law among these Flemish colonies in mediaeval Germany (*Le Droit flamand et hollandais dans les chartes de colonisation en Allemagne au XII<sup>e</sup> et au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bruges, 1899).

<sup>4</sup> Köttschke, *Quellen*, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 9.

curiously worded: *in placitis que cum ipsis et apud ipsos*;<sup>1</sup> in 1159 in that of Abbot Arnold of Ballenstedt (*jure suo*); in that of Wichmann of Magdeburg in 1166 (*jure Hollandensium*); in the swamp colony established by Archbishop Baldwin in 1170 between Brinkum and Mackenstedt;<sup>2</sup> in the Kremper and Wilster marsh settlements.<sup>3</sup>

In the nature of things these imported judicial institutions were assimilated in course of time with those of the German population among whom these Dutch and Flemish incomers settled. But in some cases these special laws endured a long time. The Dutch colonies of Zarnekau and Gumale in Holstein preserved their "Hollensch Recht" and did not go over to "Holsten Recht" until 1438;<sup>4</sup> Christian I of Denmark in 1470 canceled the Dutch law of the Hollander settlement around Breitenburg in the marshes of the Stör;<sup>5</sup> the statutes of the Flemming *Societät* in Bitterfeld were in vogue as late as the eighteenth century, and remains of them are still traceable in this locality.<sup>6</sup>

It is a noteworthy fact that these Dutch and Flemish immigrants, especially the latter, were almost wholly a rural peasantry and not a townspeople, although the Flemish towns by the twelfth century were already well developed. The attractions of commerce and industry dissuaded this latter class from emigrating. In consequence the history of German town life in the Middle Ages shows little evidence of Flemish influence.<sup>7</sup> Nor do Dutch or Flemings appear in the records as servile *ministeriales* and household servants. In the war of 1166 waged by Henry the Lion's rebellious vassals Count Christian of Amerland seized Bremen with a body of "Frisian" troops,<sup>8</sup> but this is the only instance of the kind which I have met.

On the other hand, their effect upon the material development of the open country, especially bottom lands, was very great. While the Wends were traditionally a marsh folk, their crude

<sup>1</sup> Kötzsche, *Quellen*, No. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Wendt, II, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 13A, 14; Vogel, iv.

<sup>5</sup> Meitzen, II, 354.

<sup>3</sup> Kötzsche, *Quellen*, No. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Schulze, 130.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 130, n. 3. Guilds of Flemish weavers are traceable in Nordhausen, Langensalza, and Görlitz.

<sup>8</sup> Helmold, I, chap. 103: *Fresonum manu*.

agriculture was incapable of the engineering necessary to drain the swamps. As for the German, he was a woodlander by ancestral association and by preference; even the Low German of the North German plain usually avoided the river bottoms, until the process of feudal inclosure of the Almend and the forests drove him to them.<sup>1</sup>

But the incoming Flemish and Dutch settlers had a natural aptitude for this kind of labor. They were used to bog and fen, to peat marshes and swamps, and by inclination preferred lowlands to uplands. The great landed proprietors of Germany who promoted their settlement had a clear perception of their economic worth; hence the large privileges accorded them. The charter of Bishop Gerung lauds the "strong men of Flanders" (*strenuos viros ex Flandrensi*) who will redeem the waste of swamps around Meissen. Besides ditching, diking, and draining these lowlander immigrants materially helped the country by building roads.<sup>2</sup> Another service to which we find several allusions is the extermination of snakes by them.<sup>3</sup>

One might think that these humble laborers who settled where others would not go and hardly competed at all with the German would have been welcomed by him. But this was not the case. Helmold relates that the Holsteiners, not without reason, were suspected of firing the villages of Flemish and Dutch settlers during the Wendish crusade "on account of hatred of these immigrants" (*advenae*),<sup>4</sup> who were called "Rustri" in Holstein.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On this process of "inclosures" see Lamprecht, *D.G.*, III, 53-58; von der Goltz, *Landwirtschaft*, 93-98; Roscher, *Ackerbau*, etc. (11th ed., 1885), secs. 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> Kötzschke, *Quellen*, 11, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 2 (p. 7), 4 (p. 11).

<sup>4</sup> Helmold, I, chaps. 63-64.

<sup>5</sup> The term first appears in Schol. 3 in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, from whom Helmold, chap. i, 83, borrows it. See Pertz's edition of Adam of Bremen, the note to the schol. Helmold, I, chap. 64, quotes at length, the harangue of a German priest named Gerlach against the Flemings, in which he said: "Nulla gens detestabilior Fresis. Sane fetet eis odor noster." Every anthropologist and ethnologist knows the importance of this phenomenon among primitive peoples. So the children of Israel in Egypt complained to Moses and Aaron: "Ye have made our savor to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh."—Exodus 5: 21. Even to this day in Germany, from the Weser to the Oder, the terms *Vlämsch*, *Vlämischer Kerl*, *Vlämisches Gesicht*, etc., signify "uncouth," "heavy," "rough," "having bad taste."—Schulze, 130, n. 3, at end.

The resentment of the Wends toward them was more reasonable, for the Wends were a fen people who often were actually dispossessed by these settlers from the Low Countries. This was particularly the case in Brandenburg around Dessau, Wörlitz, and Pratau, where a ruthless expulsion of the Wends took place under Albrecht the Bear and Wichmann of Magdeburg.<sup>1</sup> In the really eloquent complaint of Pribislav, the Obodrite chieftain, relating the sufferings of his people, which is given at length by Helmold,<sup>2</sup> Flemings and Hollanders are mentioned along with Saxons and Westphalians as those by whom his people have been expelled from their homelands. "Worn down by the coming of these settlers," as honest Helmold says, "the Slavs forsook the country." It was the fate of the Red Man in America.

Lamprecht has said that the greatest deed of the German people in the Middle Ages was their eastward expansion over, and colonization of, the Slavonic lands between the Elbe and the Oder. Most of this long and important labor was done by the Germans themselves. But a not inconsiderable portion of this achievement was due to these nameless pioneers dwelling by the ocean and suffering the violence of the sea, who came to redeem the marshes of the Weser, the Elbe, the Havel, the Oder, and even the Vistula.<sup>3</sup>

Modern Germany has ill requited the service. The hapless children of Belgium no longer, in their street games, "count out" as formerly they did by singing the old ballad:

Naer Oostland willen wy ryden,  
Naer Oostland willen wy mée,  
Al over die groene heiden,  
Daer isser een betere stêe.

<sup>1</sup> Schulze, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Helmold, I, 98.

<sup>3</sup> "Dieser Pionierdienst in der Kolonisation des deutschen Ostens ist unter den vielen Grosstaten unserer westlichen Brüder eine der grössten; er soll ihnen unvergessen bleiben in jeder deutschen Geschichte."—Lamprecht, *Deutsche Gesch.*, III, 342.

# PROPAEDEUTIC TO MODERN ECONOMICS

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## PART III<sup>1</sup>

### THE DIVISIONS OF CURRENT ECONOMICS

#### D. THE DIVISIONS AND SUBDIVISIONS OF ECONOMICS, OR BRANCHES OF ECONOMICS

Economics	I. Descriptive	{ Economic history and genetic economics Economic statistics and accounting History of economic literature, including bibliography <sup>2</sup>
	II. Pure	{ Economic theory, principles, and problems of general economics
	III. Applied	{ Administration Finance Social economy and social politics

The foregoing division of economics into descriptive, pure, and applied is liable to some misinterpretations. Too great stress, for example, on the distinction between descriptive and pure economics is likely to lead to the inference that science lies at the foundation of pure economics, but is not required in descriptive or applied economics. Pure economics is related to applied economics as physics is related to mechanics. The term pure physics is employed only in contradistinction from mechanics, which is after all simply applied physics. Even the pure science of mathematics owes its great achievements and its great advancement to the demand which the modern world has made upon applied mathematics. So in economics, I sometimes think that in a very important sense there is no economic theory except applied economic theory. It must be remembered that the divisions of economics here given rest on a merely empirical basis; they are in accordance with a plan practicable in a university curriculum.

<sup>1</sup> Discussion of Parts I and II appeared in this *Journal* for July, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> This is the subject-matter of the history of economics as it has been ordinarily understood. It would sometimes be better described as the biography of economists.

1. *Division I: Descriptive economics.*—

a) Economic History and Genetic Economics: Economic history may be variously defined. For sufficiently advanced students it may be defined as primarily a history of economics from primitive economies through intervening economies to modern and contemporary economies. The study of ancient economics becomes significant and fascinating for the student of modern or contemporary economics the moment he approaches it in the spirit of a genetic science. Economic history then, for him, becomes genetic economics. Primitive and ancient or early economies are as much a study of concepts of economic organization, effort, and achievement as modern and contemporary economics are, but these concepts are at first very simple and only become complex and more and more complex with the advancing culture stages or the advancing stages of civilization. We might in the early ages and periods of the world speak only of economy or economies, while we reserve the word economics for later periods when our thinking becomes more abstract and less concrete. This we must do if we want simply to reproduce the thinking of early ages and the ancient period of history; but if we want to do more than this and subject past history to the contemporary stage of thought-processes, we may employ our contemporary abstract term economics when by the aid of the genetic or evolutionary method of approach to economic science we bring successive economies into a continuous unity. This I attempt to do in a manuscript volume entitled *Economic History: Foundations of Economics*, and its companion volume, *Economic History: Rise of Modern Economics*.

The first three chapters of the volume *Economic History: Foundations of Economics* are accordingly devoted to a study of economic evolution from primitive economic conditions to the higher economic aspects of ancient civilization, especially of the Greeks. The fourth chapter describes the Roman transition from city economy to imperial economy. The fifth chapter is occupied with the Roman, better described Graeco-Roman, imperial economy from Augustus to Odoacer, when the economic and political philosophy of the ancient world were definitely summarized under the influence of the Stoics. The sixth chapter analyzes the survival of



Roman economy in municipalities and provinces of the West, in the Eastern Empire, in Roman law, in the papacy, and in the Romanized and Romanizing Germanic kingdoms temporarily united under Charlemagne, but soon thereafter followed by the rise of mediaeval feudalism. The seventh chapter aims to give an account of the beginnings of economic reconstruction of Western Europe as signalized by the free-city movement after the tenth century, the economic conflict between empire and papacy, the revival of learning, art, industry, and government in general, followed by a more detailed analysis of the early Saxon Norman-English economy. The eighth chapter is given to the mediaeval city economy and European trade routes, to mediaeval economic theory and polity marked by the rising French and English new national economy. This last chapter, the eighth, gives accordingly a summary view of mediaeval conditions which prepare for transition to modern economic conditions and institutions.

This volume as a whole accordingly undertakes a survey of general economic history in the sense that in his attempt to discover the natural steps and stages of economic evolution the student of economic history cannot limit himself to ethnic and national boundaries. When, however, the highest culture achievements of the ancient world are reached, he finds himself so obviously in the ancient classical and Roman imperial economies that his attention may then converge upon Indo-European stocks, with only incidental notice of the oriental and Semitic economic achievement. But after following Rome and German Europe to the tenth century, the writer who wishes to confine himself to a single-volume treatise on the development of the ancient economy or ancient economics alone must again limit himself on account of the accumulating mass of material. In the present volume I began thus to limit myself when I selected for special treatment early Saxon economy, sec. 38, and the Norman-English economy, secs. 43-45. England has been taken as central in this treatise because this volume is addressed to English-speaking students. France or Germany or Italy or some other country might be selected with equal propriety as the standing-ground from which to view the general economic advancement to the dawning modern world; but such a survey

inclusive of all nations would be manifestly beyond the scope of one volume. Modern economic history, inaugurated by the economic revolutions beginning about the middle of the fourteenth century, can be but inadequately understood without some reflections on the origins and foundations of economics, and without some knowledge of that economic development and cultural history described in these essays.

In the titles of these volumes I employ the more abstract term economics rather than the more concrete term economies, although it is desirable to keep persistently in mind the fact that in the primitive and ancient, or in the earlier economic, development economic theory or the principles of economic science had only reached the most rudimentary expression in objective economies. Even in the modern period we should proceed from the study of objective economies to the study of the abstract statement of economic principles. In our educational scheme we do in fact proceed in this way because in our elementary education we are wont to get our introductory preparation for the study of elementary economics by means of some previous study of history and civics; in higher education we seldom undertake to enter upon the formal study of elementary economics or introductory economics before the Sophomore year of our better colleges has been reached or passed. There is much to say in favor of insisting that the study of economics requires such maturity and discipline of mind that it should be offered only as a university subject or to the upper-classmen of a college. This adherence to objective reality is immeasurably important in order to hold ourselves to the contemplation of a world of reality instead of giving reign to a lawless fancy and confused thinking such as may result from the lack of thoroughness and keen appreciation of reality in our occidental world; whereas in the oriental world the boasted oriental mind of the Hindoo of India, for example, quite generally substitutes a claim of hoary antiquity, and subjective fancies and images run riot which they call thinking, for the clear and critical thought-processes such as the Greeks in the time of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle followed.

In secs. 17-18 of *Foundations of Economics* I show how early occidental and oriental culture met in the Homeric Greeks, who carried civilization forward to the stage of criticism reached in the fifth century B.C., when the formal beginnings of economic science were made (sec. 20). How the oriental and the occidental mind further coalesced in ways and means for promoting and maintaining life may be traced in the progressive Roman republican and the Graeco-Roman imperial economies accompanied by constant and continuous infusions of oriental with occidental elements. The greatest fusing force was Christianity, which welded the direct and powerful contributions of the Jew, the Greek, and the Latin. How the teachings of Jesus were instinct with the realities of the economic system, and many of the accepted usages of the Caesars may be read, for example, by a simple and natural interpretation of the parable of the talents: "Thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the bankers, and at my coming I should have received back my own with interest."<sup>1</sup>

A simple recital of the foregoing facts of history is ample to show that an ancient economics developed and that it embodied all the elementary principles upon which modern economics has built its superstructure. As the elementary mathematics of the ancient world may be contrasted with the more highly developed mathematics of the modern world as ancient mathematics and modern mathematics respectively, so the elementary economics of the ancient world may be contrasted with the more highly developed economics of the modern world as ancient economics and modern economics.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 25:27 (Revised Version of 1886, Oxford University Press). A talent in the time of Tiberius Caesar was worth \$1,170 in our money as usually reckoned, and a hundred pence was worth about \$18, making a silver penny of the New Testament equivalent to about 18 cents in our American money. The parable of the talents is a lesson or suggestion on the possible handling of a large sum of money for investment for productive purposes. This clear recognition of one of the fundamental institutions of economic theory and practice was affirmed to the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, Christian emperors, and although later obscured by the teaching of the mediaeval church it again reappeared with the learning of the jurists and the canonists. After the canonist economics developed, the ecclesiastical opposition to interest virtually ceased and gradually disappeared altogether.

The rise of modern economics has been sufficiently sketched through the foregoing paragraphs of this propaedeutic.

b) Statistics and Accounting: The method of statistics is an application of the principles of the inductive logic to the summation and interpretation of the enumeration of data in any given field or province of phenomena. The steps which must be taken by the careful statistician are observation, enumeration, tabulation or correlation, and inference or the critical estimate of results. Statistics of course is chiefly an art which must rest on a scientific basis.

Statistics as a science began with the writers on political arithmetic in the eighteenth century, and with the cameralists, specialists in the examination of financial facts, working for and under the direction of the strong central states, such as Prussia. Among nineteenth-century scientific statisticians, such writers and investigators as Knies, von Mayer, and Meitzen, of Germany; Robert Giffen and Bowley, of Great Britain; and Carroll Wright, of the United States, may be named.

Some training in statistics is an essential adjunct to the equipment of a practical economist. The science of statistics furnishes, e.g., for the science of administration, the very essential facts which concern some specific subject or province of administration. It gives a knowledge of aggregates and a foundation for comparisons, enabling the public office, and private citizen as well, to find the merit and faults in any specific administrative system and to strengthen the weak places. Statisticians are an indispensable and essential part of the corps of officials required for the successful and efficient administration of the government of any state. Trained statisticians are equally essential for efficiency in large private economies.

The science of accounting may be regarded as a constituent part of statistics. It is at present denied recognition as a science by those who would deny this position to logic and mathematics, which may be correct; they certainly are ranked by many careful thinkers merely as methods of conducting thought-processes accurately. But to those who refuse accounting rank as a science on account of the simplicity of elementary thought-processes involved, a rejoinder may be made by urging that the objector

acquaint himself with the degree of mental training and natural endowment required for admission to the rank of professional or approved accountants.

c) History of Economic Literature: This will include encyclopedic economic literature, e.g., Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, certain treatises, and the bibliography of economics.

2. *Division II: Pure economics.*—

a) Principles and Problems of General Economics: To this division of economics I would urge in this brief sketch careful consideration, with a twofold object: First, I would urge a spirit of greater independence, self-reliance, and individual vigor in the study of subjects, topics, ideas, concepts, and laws to be summarized as principles of economics rather than an object, idol-like study of books. In order to do this a real grasp of, or insight into, the meaning of theory must somehow be secured.<sup>1</sup>

Some profess contempt for theory. But what is theory? The word theory is from a Greek word meaning a beholding, spectacle, speculation, spectator, or to see. Theory and theater are from the same root. To ask a man what is his theory of a certain subject or object is after all simply to ask him how he looks at it. The man who disclaims a theory of a subject or object proclaims or affirms either his modesty or his ignorance. To be modest in such a connection is often evidence of great intelligence.

<sup>1</sup> The following suggestions may be helpful to students and, if heeded, may aid them in developing habits of thoughtful, independent topical study, not only in general economics or introductory economics, but also in the various branches or subdivisions of descriptive and applied economics.

*On the use of books.*—Many more books must be known than can be read. We must aim to understand subjects rather than books. Books must not become our masters. Bibliography is important in every thorough investigation of a subject, but to reading the student must bring observation and reflection.

*On note-taking.*—Use the detached leaf or card system of taking notes. If a sheet of ordinary note paper is used it should not be too large. Aim to put one subject only on a given leaf. It may be well at times to turn over and write on both sides if required to complete a reference. Keep your notes, that is, your notebooks, so that you can at any time insert a new leaf or leaves (card or cards) if in your reading, or in the lectures, or in your observation additional material on a given topic becomes available.

*On observation.*—Do not fail to reckon with the importance of existing facts and experiences in the society of which you form a part.

In the development of a body of economic theory, for your own attainment of the mastery of this fundamental branch of economic knowledge or science, I would urge upon your attention, and even urge your adoption of, a maxim from Cicero *Tusculan Dissertations* ii. 5: *Refellere sine pertinacia et refelli sine iracundia parati sumus*, "We are prepared to refute without obstinacy and to be refuted without temper."

"I would not give the snap of my finger to have biology taught in all the schools of the land, if the subject were to be taught through books only," said Thomas Huxley. This remark has significance for our subject. Human society is constantly before us. We are its members. Objective study of it is possible. Nevertheless we cannot dispense with the use of books; we cannot bring economic experiment within the compass of a glass jar, as the chemist can bring his experiment. But we must not fail to observe and reckon constantly with the importance of existing facts and experience.

The scientific spirit is the spirit of comparison. This must be ever present, seeking out resemblances and differences. In this way tendencies of human action may be observed and classified and laws of social action announced. Abstract analysis must be illuminated by history and statistics, yet knowledge without logic, information without reflection and action, remain useless. The scientific method, the method of evolution, the historical method, are phrases which by some are used interchangeably. They have this in common that they all tend to foster the search for truth. Some knowledge of the history of economics is conditioning preparation for advanced study of economics and for advancing economic theory. The opportunity and occasion for advancing economic theory, i.e., principles, exists in finding the solution of economic problems, problems in efficiency, economic organization, administration, and finance.

An advanced course in economic theory that is too far removed from the problems of history and life is likely to be or become a mere study of tradition, encyclopedia. The student who is prepared to take up an advanced course in economic theory enters a new position of advantage in beholding the subject-matter which

he has beheld before. It is not so much like traveling into a new country, or taking a journey into a far-distant land, as it is going over the same journey and revisiting the same places. Of the over-ambitious author in science we say: Let him first read a book before he undertakes to write one.

Economic history, like political history or general history, may constitute an independent and integral increment in a liberal-arts training. With respect to other courses in economics it may be regarded as a suitable preparation for, or a valuable supplement to, the usual course in the principles of economics. My own preference for such a course in economic history is that it should be given as a supplement to the usual introductory course in economics.

Secondly, I would urge an order of topical investigation for the study of economic theory, not necessarily this or that specific order, but some definite order of investigation in accordance with which we may advance from the simple, definite, and primary principles of economic theory to the more complex and derived principles and problems.<sup>1</sup>

In urging the value of economics as a college and university study it must be remembered that economics is not an exact science; that it must be placed among the inexact or probable sciences. Personality and mathematics, it may be urged, are not harmonious. Though the will of man is in the main controlled by motives according to an order—that is, in this sense according to laws—yet there is in the very nature of will an arbitrary element which may from time to time assert itself. President Andrews says:

It is perverse to limit science to exact science. Equally as to suppose the best education attainable by drill in the exact sciences alone. That is important, but often carried relatively too far. Not only do action, conduct, life, all lie in the domain of inexact science, making training in this indispensable to every educated person, but even looking from the point of view of an exclusively liberal education, it is a higher attainment, a finer feat of mind, to be expert in the inexact than in the exact sciences.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. sec. 33 of *Foundations of Economics*.

<sup>2</sup> *Institutes of Economics*, p. 16, noted. I quote further: "In fitness for place in an educational curriculum, economics perhaps surpasses all other studies through the remarkable combination which it involves of mental discipline with practical utility. Each of its propositions requires careful thought, while certain of its reasonings

The study of economics affords an unusual opportunity for discipline in the art of inductive logic. It fixes attention on those problems which meet us in everyday life, problems which must be met, not by any rule of thumb, but by practical judgment. In all lines of activity "the principle of choice is always the same, namely, the relative worth of the two courses of action. The analysis of this process of choice has been worked out by the economists more fully than by any other body of scientists."<sup>1</sup>

The study of economics, like the stern contact with the problems of the actual world, does foster the calculating habit of mind. But the calculating habit of mind does not presumptively forbid or preclude ethical conduct. It does tend to take up often a re-examination of merely traditional views and opinions. For its disregard of ethical considerations Carlyle and Ruskin heaped their scorn upon the old classical political economy of their day. But the old classical economy was not by any means wholly unethical or non-ethical in the effects of its teachings. It tended to develop a large faith in the utility of prudent and farsighted conduct; this position taken by itself is not necessarily construed as positively ethical. The new economics, however, directs attention more and more to the general welfare, and undertakes to show that progressive and continuous individual welfare is conditioned upon the recognition and the guarding of the interest of the social whole, just as in biology in the ultimate analysis the life of the individual must be subordinated to the survival of the species. The words ethic and ethnic are from the same root, meaning custom. The desire for a knowledge of the phenomena of the industrial world

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challenge the highest powers of mind. On the other hand, though it is a science, not an art, its truths touch every human life. Among a great deal else of obvious importance which acquaintance with economics incidentally makes clear, may be mentioned: (1) the fallacy of many prevalent notions about wealth; (2) the failure and even positive cruelty of much intended charity; (3) the sure and widespread effects of waste; (4) the inevitable interdependence of individuals, classes, and nations; and (5) striking evidence of intelligence and beneficent law as reigning in the universe. A time comes in the history of every cultivated people when social comfort, to say nothing of social progress, depends absolutely upon knowledge of economic principles. Europe is at this point already; we shall soon be" (p. 28).

<sup>1</sup> See Sidney Sherwood, "The Philosophic Basis of Economics," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, X, No. 2.



is universal. Campaign literature, the newspapers, and other popular attempts to give an account of things industrial, and what measures and policies will promote and guard the interest of society as a social whole, the only ethically sound economic ends, perchance are, or may possibly be, as far removed from economic science as astrology from astronomy. The school should always endeavor to furnish the genuine article. But the schools must be re-enforced by practical tests, experimentation, and the actual experiences of life in a real world, or instructors and professors alike will be mere Chinese mandarins for the guidance of man.

3. *Division III: Applied economics.*—This division of economics includes a group of economic subsiences which arise from an application of principles of economic theory, or pure economics, to administration, finance, social economy, and social politics. These semi-independent sciences lie in the borderland between pure economics and pure politics. Applied economics, considered as economic policies, and socio-politico-economic principles of social legislation, as applied in public administration and public finance, have been in existence since the foundation of states. But they were not formally developed until the rise of the modern mercantilist and cameralist schools of economics. Anticipations of these subdivisions of applied economics had, however, come even much earlier, as for example, in Xenophon's *Economist*, or management of an estate, and in Xenophon's pamphlet on *Athenian Revenues*.

a) Administration: In Germany and Austria, under the name of *Verwaltung*, administration appears as a division, or subdivision, of economics in all the great handbooks (*Lese-Bücher für Studierende*); there, long before the nineteenth century, the science of administration was studied assiduously by the cameralists, who were students both of governments and of economic life. By them the latter was undifferentiated from politics. The cameralists deserve to be better understood.<sup>1</sup> Contemporary economists should give, and are giving, both the cameralists and the historical economists a revaluation.

<sup>1</sup> The recent essay on *The Cameralists* by Albion W. Small makes this a more easily discharged obligation.

Since the later decades of the nineteenth century the activity of a new group of writers of all advanced states has given a new significance and a new impulse to the science of administration. This new class of writers and students includes both university and non-university men who are profoundly interested in broadening the scope of economic inquiry and economic investigation by bringing the entire field of commerce and industry under the sway of a scientifically proved and tested body of economic principles. With this movement and its scientific grounding the science of administration is now in a new era of cultivation and development by the economists. Harvard University recognized the worthiness and significance of this new movement in economics by organizing a graduate school of business administration in 1906.<sup>1</sup> In case anyone should undertake to deny that this new movement sustains any relation to the older science of administration (*Verwaltung*), he will have to take the untenable position that private business and public business rest upon different premises and on a different set of underlying principles. This unfortunately too often has been the assumption of the so-called practical politicians from Aristophanes<sup>2</sup> to our day.

The practical and substantial identity in the scientific principles of public and private business administration may be assumed.

<sup>1</sup> The Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania was founded in 1881. The pioneer college in America which organized on similar lines was Dartmouth in its foundation of the Amos Tuck School of Administration and Finance. Specialization in the Tuck School could from the first begin in the Senior year of Dartmouth College, but preparation for socialization could begin earlier. This preparation has worked downward so that now a considerable degree of preparation for specialization in many American universities can begin very much downward; but carrying down this preparation and specialization too far will simply result in the establishment of specialized secondary schools of commerce and industry by the side of the *Gymnasium* or high school. Even if such a course is denominated a university course, it does not follow that the name is given correctly; it may be simply a secondary- or high-school course, although offered in a university. In distinguishing between university or higher education and secondary education, the *Gymnasium* or high school, it is well to remember that the proper dividing line by European standards falls between the Sophomore and Junior year of a fully standard American liberal-arts college. Too much cannot be said in favor of yielding not more than the Senior year from the liberal-arts course for the beginning of professional and higher technical training.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my *Economic History: Foundations of Economics*, sec. 20, a citation from Aristophanes.

In a recent paper submitted to the American Economic Association<sup>1</sup> for discussion of the principles of administration I said:

I believe, however, that we must regard administration as a branch of economics. We should, moreover, make the twofold distinction between administration as public and private, just as we distinguish between public finance and private finance. The great principles underlying public and private finance on the one hand and public and private administration on the other hand are the same in each case. When public officers get too far away from those common principles underlying both public and private finance and administration, signs of corruption or perversion of the functions of public office appear; political incompetence and inefficiency displace or replace economic competence and efficiency.

Administration is undoubtedly a branch of economic science and a part of the historical development of economics. For the first broad recognition of this fact we must turn to the cameralists. In the writings of Justi and Sonnenfels, for example, we may find principles of administration elaborated, as well as principles of finance. Wherever we have a high degree of economic organization in public or private economy, there we have a theory and an art of administration. A scientific study of economic history will demonstrate this proposition.

Administration must be related to economics both in its generalized and specialized aspects. In its general aspects administration must be related to economics both through a course in general economic history and through the course which we usually describe as the course in principles. Through these two courses the student should acquire that knowledge of—that is, a general introduction to—the general principles of administration. . . . In its specialized aspects administration may be given as a separate course. In this aspect the study of administration may be offered in the Junior or Senior year, after the courses above noted have been set up as prerequisites. These prerequisite courses should be supplemented as far as possible by general courses in history, mathematics, and science, and the incidental knowledge of biography and history which the various literary courses of the high school and earlier years of the college offer. When the student enters upon the formal study of administration, he should enter upon it as a specialized branch of economic science. . . . I would venture to urge that in seeking the bases of efficiency we must add to the physical factors which give us the mechanics of administration a study of the mental and moral factors which will give us the dynamics of administration. And in this search for the bases of efficiency I would insist on the necessity of two side studies, two corrective disciplines—methods we should perhaps call them rather than sciences. (Logical methods we must regard as themselves parts of every concrete science.) These two methods or disciplines which cannot be ignored or dispensed with in any thoroughgoing system of administration are: (1) accounting or accountancy, (2) statistics.

<sup>1</sup> *American Economic Review*, Supplement, March, 1915.

The latter of these items in the form of managerial statistics must lie at the basis of any system of cost accounting which must invariably be made the basis of any workable system of efficient administration.

b) Finance, or Public Finance: So absolutely imperative were the demands of European princes in the dawning modern period to be financed on a basis which would comport with the growing respect for the decency of an honorable business relation with their subjects that as early as the fifteenth century the formal beginnings were made of a scientific public finance in its three branches or parts, namely, public expenditure (in distinction from the private expenditure of princes), public loans, and taxation. During the next three centuries this subdivision of applied economics received an altogether estimable stage of development at the hands of mercantilist and cameralist economics.<sup>1</sup>

c) Social Economy and Social Politics: The economic policy of every state must be worked out concretely in some form and in some measure with respect to both of these topics. An absolute *laissez faire* on these subjects is impossible. This was seen by Adam Smith, and the radical advocates of economic freedom in the Smithian sense have also accepted certain limitations set up by Smith himself to the policy of non-interference on the part of the state. Nevertheless the value of the maxim of *laissez faire* in the development of economic theory has been invaluable because it has held economic theory to the task of finding the reason, or stating a reason, for every state function that was, or was to be, exercised.

The present tendency in the use of the terms social economy, social legislation, and social politics is in the direction of bringing the term social economy into service as the name of a specialized discipline or branch of sociology which deals with the problems of charities and correction, problems which are somewhat removed from, or somewhat indirectly related to, the problems of the immediate workaday business world. But the latter is now urged to keep in hand, or immediately and forthwith take in hand, through

<sup>1</sup> For a brief notice of the literature of public finance during the formative period and after see Bullock, *Selected Readings in Public Finance*, chap. i.

directive and positive control, problems of social insurance, the question of the minimum wage, and the state's function in the control of monopoly and the maintenance of an accepted and acceptable plane of economic competition. These latter problems have been, since about 1870, very widely and generally recognized as coming directly and completely within a discipline or branch of applied economics to which the name or term social politics (*Socialpolitik*) since then has been given with growing unanimity. The term social legislation may continue to be used as referring equally to either of the two fields thus differentiated.

The problem of social economy and of social politics is, How shall the state, or how may the state, establish, sustain, or raise the plane of competitive action? That problem is a problem of public economy; it is a problem in applied economics and applied politics at the same time. The answer of a scientific applied economics can be co-ordinated with a scientific applied sociology. "A large part of the failures and miscarriages chargeable to the so-called 'practical' sociologists is attributable to a faulty equipment of knowledge of pure sociology, or to a neglect to use the knowledge possessed."<sup>1</sup> However useful the distinction between economics and politics, or between economics and sociology, may be for purposes of a professional and scholastic division of labor, these several sciences cannot be so sharply marked off from one another that they can be placed in wholly separate and water-tight compartments. This, however, is a task which many have audaciously undertaken.

<sup>1</sup> Fairchild, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

## HISTORICAL IDEALS AND THE GREAT WAR

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In the universal recasting of values attendant upon a catastrophe which is reshaping the entire world, the student of history is summoned to take stock, not so much of where he stands, as of whither he is drifting, or, if he be a particularly hardy soul, even to forecast his path of leadership. In the process some idols of gold may reveal their tinsel, while the stone rejected of the builder may furnish the foundation for a new edifice. Particularly does the economic school of history encounter the challenge which confronts all things German. And the entire question of whether the historian may cherish any purpose beyond the colorless truth of the annalist is reopened. Is truth alone, however irrelevant it may appear to the issues of the moment, by its very nature predestined to set us free? Hence is it of and for itself a sufficient object for the historian? Again, is a human being so scientifically detached from the currents of the life about him as to be able to center his whole mind on a dispassionate tabulation of historical facts really entitled to call himself a historian? In other words, can the historical scholar safely ignore the passions of men and, fixing his eyes upon the dead past, like another Joshua cause the sun to stand still while he numbers the tribes of Israel? Is it certain that monographs and special researches really photograph human life at given periods, or does not the doubt insinuate itself that these periods are themselves unintelligible even to the most specialized of scholars, save as viewed through the passions of living men, and even then with allowance for dynamic forces which have modified man's outlook during the centuries that history has kept watch?

The present paper is rather a question than an answer, but it approaches the issues with a threefold bias: first, that the economic school of historians is too completely in the saddle; secondly, that

if he gives due recognition to the pros and cons, the historian having adorned the tale is as much entitled as other men to point the moral; and thirdly, that it is not inconsistent with a monastic and celibate search for, and adoration of, truth to admit the glow of patriotism. Indeed it well may be the historian's war mission to dignify and rationalize the temper of the community. When men of redder blood rush to arms for the preservation of the age-long heritage, may not the scholar also say, "I am the heir of the monk who saved antiquity from the brand of the spoiler. I also serve"? In the white heat of conflict, as in less troubled times, may it not prove true that "they also serve who only stand and wait"?

Yet here the enthusiast is called to account by the economic historian. The latter is close to the traditional ideals of cloistered calm when he subordinates the claims of patriotism to an imagined cosmopolitanism wherein, with predetermined unity of theme, he views his own as only one of many peoples obedient to purely economic motivation, engaged in a series of vain struggles which mark the rise and fall of conflicting economic systems and empires. This seeming breadth of vision is of course illusory. Though he includes cosmos in his scope, the economic historian is as restricted in his field as he who applies a more human compass to a narrower radius. But within his self-appointed limitations the economic historian is entitled to the respect which inheres in orthodoxy, and the scholar who seeks a more liberal explanation of human conduct is undoubtedly on the defensive as against the dominant economic school.

Nevertheless, not even the least emotional of scholars can wholly escape the glory of the time. In hours of crisis Truth looms larger, and as she rides upon the storm like a mighty wind and with the noise of many waters the historian scorns a purely platonic quest and seeks to grasp her whole. History thus threatens to become the biography of a vision with startling effect upon so sedate a muse. The objective point of view, so indispensable to orthodox scholarship, is sacrificed to a rose-colored portrayal of neither history nor prophecy, but of what at best is the higher morality of our day. Thus history is prostituted to ethics. The whole sweep of the past is evoked to prove that the world has been guided by

an ever watchful Providence to an increasingly apparent goal of universal democracy as the curative for all the major social ills. If one chooses to forget long periods when important sections of the human race were not wholly unhappy under a system which was manifestly designed to promote the welfare of man by excluding him from self-government, this democratic hypothesis is not incredible. But is it properly the function of the historian to glorify democracy? May that not more legitimately be the province of the publicist or the statesman? And is the historical scholar *ipso facto* entitled to count himself in the latter class? Moreover, is there not a very real danger that his war-born excess of fervor may lead the historian into suppressions and exaggerations which would stagger his calmer self? True patriotism allies with reason in urging, not fanaticism, but a quiet appreciation of those factors which have made for a national honor. It decries a flamboyant eagle-spreading which would be as ridiculous in us as it is in the Germans.

Our enemies furnish us a horrible object-lesson in this connection. Ever since the appearance of Mommsen's *History of Rome* the self-glorifying German scholarship has gained momentum at the expense of the truth ideal. Mommsen's belittling of the republican period and his emphasis upon the empire as the heyday of Rome have produced appalling reflexes among more recent historians in a veneration for imperial Germany in contrast with the liberal and cultural glories of the erstwhile states. Mommsen's deification of Caesar has an even more obvious counter in the Hohenzollern cult so assiduously fostered by an educational system completely subservient to imperial and dynastic glorification. Nor have the votaries at this shrine of an imperialized and truth-denatured history been without their reward. The alliance between scholarly and official Germany has been profitable to both, and German historical scholars have obtained dignities and prizes unknown in democracies. But by making unto itself friends with the Mammon of Unrighteousness recent German nationalistic scholarship is revealed in all its nakedness as bankrupt of the truth ideal as the German government is of the moral.

American historical scholarship and teaching are open to no such indictment. The self-satisfaction of our earlier textbooks was



rather the harmless cackle of an egg-layer than the shriek of a war eagle. And if our children until recently maintained that our national policies have been invariably blameless and our successes in peace and war alike uninterrupted, they do so no more. The spirit of muckraking has transferred itself from the popular magazines into the soberer domain of history. To be strictly modern, the textbook must inoculate our youth with cynicism as a counter-irritant against patriotism. And lo! the sane Fourth is upon us.

Yet are we not without blame, for as citizens we are incapable of a pure objectivity toward our country's past. Tossed between the Scylla of tale-adorning and the Charybdis of moral-pointing, we succumb to both and feed our hungry sheep on morsels of intrigue and warnings against the crafts of national banks, the cruelties of slavery, the corruptions of Tweed *et al.*, the ruthlessness of business exploitation, and all the sins of the world, the flesh, and the devil. Verily our sin is ever before us. Small wonder that some of us sigh for a more cheerful gospel, or else for the plain truth, at present concealed in the happy valley which lies somewhere between hypochondria and braggadocio.

It is in this chastened mood that we approach the Great War. And as the nation calls upon every man to do his duty, no scholar can avoid a dialogue with a conscience which will persist in putting personal questions not unlike the following: Can you serve two masters, truth and your country? Or can you honestly hold that your country monopolizes truth and that your allegiance is therefore undivided? Can you in decency sacrifice truth to patriotism or patriotism to truth? Or if your path of investigation happens to be innocuous, is it fair to pursue favorite researches into Mesopotamian tablets or the origin of Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals when your country calls for just such talents as you possess for an exposition of her own historical evolution which made the war inevitable?

In a mind trained to historical criticism and wedded to truth for truth's sake, questions of the sort enumerated provoke a moral conflict. Is it conceivable that our country could demand intellectual dishonesty? And if so, does not a loftier duty compel refusal? The answer is fortunately far simpler than the question.

Our country is too surely the "ark then of freedom's foundation" ever to require sophistry in her scholars. And however erring the course of deluded men may seem to a critic of both past and present, he is no true observer of life who bases its grandest deeds and ideals upon the shoals of falsehood. There is that in American history which, viewed largely, must lift a man of soul far above the analysis of petty deeds and greedy motives into a higher tableland where the destiny of man is marching toward fulfilment. When the trumpet calls the hero to die for the highest that he knows, it should arouse the recluse to a larger vision and a more generous interpretation. He may be aware that his countrymen are mortal, that their deeds are imperfect, and that they have not risen to the fulness of that stature which God intended. But the greatness of the hour should lift him above the pride of scholarship into a vision of that sacrifice and self-devotion which made even imperfection possible, and which in some mysterious way are shaping the world toward new ends.

To take this high ground one must rid himself of the economic bogey. In economic science the automaton of the hedonistic calculus was long ago discredited as an impossible fiction, but historians of the new economic and geographic school have resuscitated him, not as an individual, but as a whole nation. It is easy to recognize in the individual a multitude of interests only slightly dependent upon economic foundations. He is a creature of impulses, passions, and ideals far beyond the capacity of mouth and stomach to gratify. Yet when we analyze his political and social relations, which afford the individual full range for the larger emotional existence, we are prone, perhaps from dismay at the complexity of the situation, to rest our explanation upon only one of his many avenues of interest, and in an economic interpretation of history to resolve a complex which inevitably defies a single solution. There does exist a legitimate sphere of economic interpretation, but its very simplicity should give warning of its incompleteness and compel a broader approach.

Economic malcontents and opponents of our war policy expose themselves to a twofold refutation, and truth and patriotism alike admonish the scholar to enter the lists. First, the socialists and

other "antis," by proclaiming this a capitalists' war, ignore the very obvious fact just noted that a purely economic interpretation is inadequate on general grounds, owing to individual and mass response to higher and varied appeals. Secondly, they are narrow and biased when they ignore the equally obvious fact that, however vast the economic significance of the struggle, our own financial magnates did not precipitate the Great War. The really sincere enemies of capitalism as an economic system belong in the ranks of the plain people of our National Army who are now in Europe fighting the plans of German capitalism and Junkerdom, for these, according to the socialist creed itself, are the sponsors of the war.

This method of upholding our national aims does not restrict the student. He merely points out that while the economic interpretation is insufficient, it is as available in the hands of our friends as in those of our foes. And the young people can be readily taught the distinction between an economic factor in history, which is altogether undeniable, and the economic interpretation of history, which of and by itself is wholly untenable. In a war which involves so many billions of treasure and such oceans of blood, young people, and the public generally, are entitled to a sympathetic version of the country's history which will admit the economic, but stress the idealistic, forces underlying our development.

The charge of casuistry would at once blast any attempt to ignore the economic thread in American history. It thrusts itself forward most brazenly from bargaining with Indians to coal profiteering in 1917. But that is not the whole story. It is the shell rather than the spirit of our history. Overcurious researches may yet discover that excessive crowding in old England did more than religious zeal to populate New England. But plain Americans know that persecution is intolerable, and the perpetuity of religious toleration, yes the very growth of Roman Catholicism in the republic, is proof abundant that toleration received an impetus in the seventeenth century which has made it a permanent value in American life.

Old ledgers and tax schedules, invoices and court files, not to speak of the slogan, "Taxation without representation is tyranny,"

may be adduced to support the contention that Revolutionary patriots were but tax dodgers who wanted a free hand and a new slate. But the doctrine that government derives its sole sanction from the consent of the governed lifts the issue from the sordid to the majestic and introduces a formula world-wide in its appeal, whose challenge in the violation of Servia and Belgium calls millions to the sword.

Land hunger and a chance at fortune drove multitudes over the Alleghanies. Yet within a generation the newer West stood forth as the nursery of freedom when Jacksonian democracy arose to displace a bank-corrupted East. In this same new West canals and railroads, speculation and speculation, brought scandal and ruin to many. They served their generation, none the less, by opening up a home for a vast and relatively homogeneous population capable of moral reactions sufficiently well defined to constitute an American spirit.

The crisis of the sixties brought two economically distinct civilizations into conflict. The outcome was decisive and one of them disappeared. But he is wrong who bounds his horizon of the war by slavery, or tariffs, or any other consideration purely economic. An intellectual gulf arising from two radically divergent theories of constitutional interpretation precipitated the struggle which forever settled the question of whether ours was a nation or a confederation. The period following the war saw us a united people. And if our unity is today disturbed by a huge population not in harmony with our national purposes, that is due once more, and most emphatically, not to a radical divergence of economic views, but to the call of blood, to latent hostility toward some of our Allies, uneradicated by a century of peace, and to a conviction perhaps that Germany is the victim and not the aggressor.

The period of the seventies to the end of the century is in some respects the most shameful in our history. Yet he is mistaken who would abandon us wholly to the lust for gold consequent upon the huge inflation of the war and the years immediately following. The plutocracy, however, is seldom the guardian of a nation's ideals, and the Granger movement, the trades-union movement, and the large increase in educational enthusiasm and opportunities,

while not devoid of a material side, were sincere steps toward a social amelioration distinctly idealistic in purpose.

The twentieth century unleashed mighty forces of altruism, and the invincible march of prohibition, of suffrage, of vice control and prevention, of prison reform, of missions, social settlements, and philanthropies is a more accurate gauge of American life than census estimates on population and wealth per capita could possibly furnish. Thousands of Americans acknowledge but one creed, namely, the motto "I serve," and the economic historian with his automaton is but a poor interpreter of the heaven which these devoted persons have introduced into the national life.

The preceding paragraphs are but hints toward the point of view which should characterize a patriotic truth-seeker in war time. Numerous illustrations from American history will at once occur to anyone who cares to support the thesis that nations possess, or can at least foster, idealism. To cull from recent events only, if our seizure of Panama was not blameless and if the Philippines are morally a liability rather than an asset, nevertheless our treatment of Cuba since 1898 and our attitude toward China after the Boxer rebellion are shining landmarks in a magnanimous world-policy. And, be it noted, both have been not without their reward. In a world then of such infinite contradictions, is that scholar who refuses to regard all facts as of equal importance, and who deliberately establishes the development of a nation's soul as a more important field of investigation than an enumeration of its financial achievements or reverses, to be condemned as a casuist seeking to whitewash the past? Is he not rather the scientific historian, intent upon his country's evolution toward a larger morality?

It is apparent that discrimination is equally important in the history of our Allies. He who would exaggerate the abuses of British sea power anteceding the war of 1812, who would, for example, dilate upon the Chesapeake affair to the disregard of a century of peace with honor, or who would magnify the Venezuela incident to the minimizing of British assistance in guaranteeing our Monroe Doctrine, is rather a soap-box orator than a historian.

Chancelleries are more cold-blooded than the people they serve, and one does not need to go far back into the history of our Allies

to find their governments almost as remote from popular influence as that of Germany is today. Particularly is this true of France. The monarchy of America's liberator, Louis XVI, was as despotic as that of the Grand Turk, and researches into the motives which animated the royal government in lending assistance to our Revolution all point to a thoroughly selfish policy of humbling England in order to restore Bourbon prestige among the courts of Europe.<sup>1</sup> It happened nevertheless, in this instance, that government and people were in accord, the one for dynastic, the other for liberal, reasons, and when the present ambassador from France<sup>2</sup> stresses the latter by extolling the unanimous sympathy of his eighteenth-century countrymen for our democratic aspirations, he is fully as true to history as is the archivist who explores memoirs addressed to the king upon the state of his interests and the limits of the exchequer. More than that, he is reconciling truth with the laudable purpose of deepening the sense of mutual dependence between two great peoples.

In the one hundred and thirty-nine years of Franco-American friendship, barring our troubles with the Directory, we have never had a misunderstanding with free France. The tyrannies of Napoleon I and the chicaneries of his nephew clouded the atmosphere. But they were tyrants, and their deeds are upon their own heads. No American need blush at the past record of our heroic Ally.

With Russia emancipation is so recent that, historically, our relations have been with an autocracy. Yet even the Romanoffs struck more than once a blow for freedom. Russian serfs were liberated while slavery still blotted our page. Russian warships served as pledges of friendship when an aristocratic clique in England and a court cabal in France, both in violation of their people's wishes, would have joined the South in dismembering the Union. The practical gift of Alaska, which next to the Mississippi Valley has proved to be our richest continental area, was not exactly evidence of ill will. Moreover, if one glances at the more general foreign policy of the czars he will recognize therein a

<sup>1</sup> E. S. Corwin, *French Policy and the American Alliance*.

<sup>2</sup> J. J. Jusserand, "Our First Alliance," *National Geographic Magazine*, June, 1917.

patronage of smaller slavic states which, had it not been blocked by Bismarck at the Congress of Berlin, might have settled the Balkans on so just a basis as to have averted the recent wars which have now ignited the entire world.<sup>1</sup>

Our Allies and friends constitute the greater part of the civilized world. Each has had its moments of glory; if one searches far enough it may be of dishonor also. And merely as the record of all that has happened, history would take account of good and bad alike, indifferent to the moral equation, in a cold tabulation of facts. But by so doing it would fall short of its mission. In the absence throughout our great democracy of government pressure upon history teaching, it should be the pride of the historical profession to contribute toward a point of view which, without sacrifice of truth, shall enable our young people and the public at large to evaluate those contributions which we and our Allies have made to civilization. The Germans have used their *Kultur* as a justification for subjugating the whole world to its beneficent effects. No doubt many a Pan-German esteems himself a veritable missionary, converting the world to *Kultur* by the same time-honored method which Karl the Great employed in convincing the Saxons of their Druidical errors. Shall a mock modesty or a hypercritical exaggeration of our faults debar us then from a portrayal of those achievements in arts and sciences which entitle the Entente to at least an equality with the Central Powers, and of that political experience and wisdom in which the heirs of Magna Charta so brilliantly surpass the benighted mediaevalists under William's bloody yoke?

The years since August, 1914, have of a truth made history. But he is no fit teacher who explains it all by one little economic hypothesis, or who is so lost among the trees of isolated events that he fails to behold the forest of conflict between right and wrong. The battle is eternal, the victory never final. But to us and to our Allies belong many crosses won in valiant service of the truth. And it is the mission of history to link these glories of the day with those of the ages. The process demands a proper selection for

<sup>1</sup> Hazen, Thayer, Lord, and Coolidge, *Three Peace Congresses of the XIXth Century and Claimants to Constantinople*.

emphasis, and though the historian retains an undiminished freedom to delve into the muck of past iniquity, a decent respect for the opinion of mankind bids him hold equally in view the achievements of national honor and integrity. With the entire community activity modified by war conditions, it is not unreasonable that historians should share the inspiration of their contemporaries and, by so much as their view of the past is more embracing, should orientate the present as a pivot-point for the future. He who charts the seas becomes thereby the better pilot. And if the grandeur of the tempest and the sight of port affect the helmsman more profoundly than they do the untraveled passenger, this larger vision merely verifies the former's mastery of his craft. Emphatically the war duty of the historian is not to gloss over the past, not to bury unpleasant secrets, not to indulge in hypocritical assertions that our country has always been white in a world mostly black, but rather the constructive task of demonstrating that ours is a great people with a record worth maintaining, among whom recent and present trends indicate even a further movement forward as the logical outgrowth from deep and worthy roots in an honorable past.



## NEWS AND NOTES

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### THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The general subject of the next meeting will be the relation of sociology to education, with especial reference to the war and to social development after the war.

It seems clear that there is to be a new epoch, one of rapid advance we may hope, and that we must rely largely upon a socialized education to guide the coming changes. A large social and democratic spirit will certainly be in control, and in directing this sociologists and social workers should be able to exert no small influence, especially if their own views are clear and well grounded. It is likely that the meeting will be largely a consultation over strategical aspects of the situation.

The following papers have been promised: E. A. Ross, "The National Spirit in Education"; L. M. Bristol, "Education and the National Ideal"; H. A. Miller, "The Army as an Educational Institution for the Immigrant"; Robert Park, "Racial Assimilation as an Educational Process"; Anna Garlin Spencer, "Ideals and Methods in the Social Education of Women"; W. W. Stuart, "The Institutional Approach to Economic Problems" (Professor Stuart is an economist who has developed a broad social approach in the teaching of his subject); John Collier, "Social Education through the Community Center"; C. C. North, "Extension Teaching of Sociology in Communities"; John Phelan, "The Social Education of Rural People"; J. M. Gillette, "The Sociological Background of the Vocational Concept"; W. R. Smith, "Social Education in the Schools through Group Activities"; F. R. Clow, "Sociology in the Education of Teachers"; Round Table on Teaching of Sociology to Undergraduates, led by A. J. Todd. The president's address will also deal with some general aspect of the educational question.

The meeting will be held December 28, 29, 30, and 31 at Richmond, Va. Cleveland was originally selected, but to accommodate members doing war service in Washington it has been decided to hold the meeting nearer the Capital than Cleveland.

## COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Mr. Le Roy E. Bowman, who is associate director of the Department of Personnel of the War Camp Community Service, is scheduled to give a course in "Community Organization" next year continuing through the two semesters. For the last two months Mr. Bowman has been acting director of the Department of Personnel.

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## DE PAUW UNIVERSITY

Mr. Frederic M. Thrasher, formerly instructor in economics and sociology, Ohio State University, has accepted the appointment of acting professor of sociology. Professor William M. Hudson, of the department of sociology, of this University, becomes professor of economics. Professor Hudson formerly taught economics at Clark University.

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## FLORIDA STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

Dr. Raymond Bellamy, professor of sociology at McKendrick College, has been appointed professor of sociology and political science.

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## UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Mr. E. B. Reuter, of the University of Chicago, has accepted a position in the department of sociology.

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## LOUISIANA UNIVERSITY

Professor William O. Scroggs taught in the first term of the University of Texas summer school.

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## NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE COLLEGE

During the summer Professor E. R. Groves gave a two weeks' course in rural sociology at country-life conferences held at the Ontario Agricultural College and at Macdonald College, Quebec.

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## OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Assistant Professor Cecil C. North, of the department of economics and sociology, has been promoted to a professorship. During the past year Dr. North was on leave of absence from the University for work with the War Camp Community Recreation Service.

Miss Mary Louise Mark has been advanced from the rank of instructor to that of assistant professor of economics and sociology. During

the summer Miss Mark has been directing a health survey of Ohio for the Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission.

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## OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Professor John H. Ashworth, of the department of economics and political science of Pennsylvania College, has been appointed professor of sociology.

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## PITTSBURGH UNIVERSITY

During the last semester Mr. David Terry gave a course of lectures on child welfare in the School of Economics.

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## UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Professor George Elliott Howard, of the University of Nebraska, has given two courses in sociology in the summer session; Professor Louise Stanley of the University of Missouri has offered courses in household economics.

"Problems in Americanization" is the title of a new course in sociology that has been given this summer by Professor Emory S. Bogardus.

Miss Mary Chaffee, A.M., is the author of the current, or ninth, monograph published by the Sociological Society; the study is entitled *Social Service Positions in Los Angeles*.

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## TEXAS UNIVERSITY

Professor Max Handman has been engaged for the summer in research in New York City for the Carnegie Corporation.

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## UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Professor W. G. Ogburn is serving as statistician for the National War Labor Board at Washington.

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## WILLIAM JEWELL COLLEGE

Professor E. H. Sutherland is the faculty member of the Student Army Training Corps camp at Fort Sheridan.

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## YALE UNIVERSITY

Assistant Professor Henry P. Fairchild has accepted a position in the Department of Personnel of the War Camp Community Service.

## REVIEWS

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*The Process of History.* By FREDERICK J. TEGGART. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918. Pp. ix+162. \$1.25.

This little book is decidedly worth while. It illustrates the truth that when a historian seeks explanations in the scientific spirit he becomes a sociologist.

The author proposes "a strict application of the method of science to the facts of history" and at the same time that students of history "do all that lies within their power to make their inquiries contributory to the well-being of their fellow-men." History should seek to explain "how men came to be as they are" at different times and places, to explain "the actual content of life" which "cannot be summed up or expressed in terms of organization" but includes all the various "ways" and "ideas" which are mutually adjusted into "idea-systems" by the process which in sociology is called "accommodation" and the establishment of "a natural social order."

Such "a theory of how man came to be as he is must be applicable to all human groups 'backward' as well as 'advanced,'" and must apply to the experience of the individual in the world today, the process being operative in our several individual lives so that the accuracy of the description may be tested by each investigation from the resources of his own personal observation. Such explanation, we are warned, is not to be found in instincts that are common to men and beasts. *Human* life is a product of human association. Neither is the rich, incongruous variety of human life to be explained by propensities of human nature that are common to all races of man, nor are there such inborn differences between races of man as to account for these wide differences in the character and content of human life from place to place and from age to age. And the explanation is not to be found in mere narration of the succession of those events which "enlist the interest" of the narrator. All of this might be taken from a standard textbook or lecture course in sociology.

To this problem Mr. Teggart proposes two clues: first, variations in geographic environment; second, "releases" of individual initiative. The main questions to be asked are: What are the effects of geographic conditions and when and why do these releases of initiative take place?

This statement of the author omits from view the momentous effects of the variable artificial physical environment, the existing forms and distribution of wealth and also largely, though by no means wholly, the forms of conditioning of social activities by each other which are the most effective determinants of stagnation or change. However, so far as they go these proposals correspond exactly with the program of sociology.

He seems to misuse the word "process," as some sociologists do, employing it, not as a designation for the social reality itself functionally considered—the process of social life—nor for the evolution of that life, but for the *conditioning* of that life by a given geographic environment or social contact.

He holds that migration, at any rate among primitive peoples, is not caused by natural increase of population, nor by a spirit of enterprise and adventure, but that population increases when means of subsistence increases, remains stationary when means of subsistence remains stationary, and migrates under compulsion when the food supply diminishes.

So long as a people remains in its age-old habitat the group bond is one of blood; after migration and resettlement the group bond is territorial. In the blood-bond society the group and its traditional ways and ideas have "unquestioned and unremitting dominance over the individual." In the territorial society the despotism of custom is broken up and individual initiative is released. This takes place *when* physical changes reducing food supply force migration and *where* migration brings groups into collision and conflict at those geographic points which form the termini of routes.

The cardinal point is that the conflict, in breaking up the older organization, liberated the individual man, if but for a moment, from the dominance of the group, its observances, its formulae, and its ideas. Briefly, a situation was created, in which the old rites and ceremonies could not be performed, one in which the old rules of action were manifestly inadequate, and hence one in which the individual became, in some measure, a law unto himself. This, at bottom, is the fact upon which all history turns. This is precisely the sociological doctrine of crisis.

Individual self-assertion historically takes the form of "the assumption of sovereign ownership" over the occupied territory, with "subjection of a subordinate population of which little is heard"; and "later history is, primarily, the record of unceasing efforts of kings to extend what they regard as their personal possessions." The results of this personal self-assertion become the nationalization of the people within

the occupied territory. "Thus, throughout the past, we are presented with the anomaly of men fighting to maintain the institutionalized vestiges of the self-assertion of aggressive individuals on the occasions of long past upheavals."

It is the spirit of self-assertion arising from time to time within the subordinated elements that gives us constitutional development.

E. C. HAYES

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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*The Philosophical Basis of Education.* By ROLLAND MERRITT SHREVES, PH.D., A.M., A.B. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1918. Pp. xvi+290. \$1.50.

This book, by the publisher's announcement, professes to give "the sum and substance of philosophy and of education."

The author declares,

there is probably no field in which a greater amount of shallow literature has been perpetrated upon the reading public than in that of education, unless it be in the cheap novel class of literature. The whole educational issue has been so befogged for so many generations that it seems that clear thinking in this field is next to impossible. . . . If there is any one field of experience where the real issues involved are less clearly defined than in any other, it must be in education. If there is any field in which facts and laws are not clearly distinguished from purposes and ideals, again I say it must be in education (p. 218).

And again, "Clear, pure, deep, philosophical thinking is the only salvation for education, at the present time and for all time to come." The aim of the book is nothing less than by "clear, pure, deep, philosophic thinking" to clear up this confusion in education. It assumes the task of setting forth the nature, scope, and aims of science and philosophy, their relations to each other and the contributions of each to education, and particularly to trace the educational implications of "Voluntaristic Ethics."

The book is divided into five parts. These are: "The Aims, Scope and Methods of Science"; "The Aims, Scope and Methods of Philosophy"; "The General Relationship of Science and Philosophy"; "The Relation of Philosophy and Education"; and "The Educational Implications of the Ethics of Idealism." The distinction between science and philosophy is drawn on the usual and familiar lines. The function of science is "to render a complete and accurate descriptive

and explanatory account of the worth of human experience; that of philosophy, to show the deep meaning and value of human experience dealing as philosophy does with the world of ideals, purposes and values." The author lays great stress on the importance of this distinction. It is absolutely essential, he says, to clear away the confusion in modern educational thought. Philosophy is concerned with the aims of life; science, with the means.

This distinction being made, the author proceeds to discuss educational experience from the viewpoint of philosophy, and since philosophy includes metaphysics, epistemology, logic, aesthetics, and ethics, education is considered in each of these philosophical aspects with special attention to the last.

The conclusions reached are that the aim of life and necessarily of education, as determined by the idealistic philosophy, is self-realization, that science provides the necessary means for self-realization, and that therefore the educator, clearly perceiving the proper functions of science and philosophy and their relations to education, should utilize both in educational thinking and practice.

Readers with a metaphysical turn of mind will enjoy reading this book, as it is clearly written and enlightening with respect to the standpoints and teachings of the various systems of philosophy. To those who doubt the utility of metaphysical thinking and are skeptical with respect to its pretended depth and clarity it will be tedious.

The author makes a careful and proper distinction between descriptive and normative science, and then claims the whole of normative science for philosophy. It would be shallow thinking indeed to deny the necessity of ideals. This necessity appears to be accepted by the author as a justification of metaphysical philosophy. It does not follow, however, that because of the value of ideals the philosophical claim to the explanation of the "meaning of all life" and to the presentation of "a standard of all values" is warranted. Metaphysics began with the early Greeks to explain the ultimate nature of things before it knew anything about the immediate nature of things. It assumed the possibility of such explanation and disregarded the means. It was then, and is now, an intellectual discipline interesting to some minds but largely futile. We know now just as much and just as little of the ultimate nature of things, of being and reality, as did the Greeks. Normative science has its justification, but it is doubtful whether it can be or should be divorced from descriptive science. It is useless to try to confine the scientist to the descriptive aspects of his subject. He may and should

keep them separate in his own mind, but to assert the importance of normative science as a sufficient ground for, and justification of, the extravagant claims of metaphysics reminds one a little of the solicitous attempt on the part of the acquaintances of a waning respectability to secure for him a prominent place on the platform with the principal speakers. It is easy to overestimate the importance of metaphysics and epistemology to education.

I. W. HOWERTH

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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*Personality and Conduct.* By MAURICE PARMELEE. New York: Moffatt, Yard & Co., 1918. Pp. vii+283. \$2.00 net.

The task of the reviewer in the present instance is simplified by the fact that the book presents views upon which people are divided into two sharply defined and antagonistic schools of thought. It is therefore necessary to do little more than indicate the author's conclusions. Aside from two brief introductory chapters and an equally brief chapter of conclusion the book is devoted to three practical problems of social control, alcohol and drugs, gambling, and sex problems. The first two are treated in a rather perfunctory manner, and, with the exception of a somewhat dogmatic rejection of the principle of prohibitory legislation, call for little notice. One gets the impression that these subjects are introduced largely as curtain-raisers to the real drama of sex problems. The fundamental contribution of the book is a clear enunciation of the distinction between invasive and non-invasive conduct. This is an original and useful piece of terminology which is worthy of general adoption. It carries us to the heart of the social control problem, for the ultimate issue both in social theory and legislation lies in the social bearing of individual conduct; in other words, in the relations of personality and sociality, which the older thought summed up in the concepts of vice and crime. It need hardly be said that Dr. Parmelee believes in the maximum of individual self-direction as against coercive control. His disdain for anything that smacks of Puritanism is reiterated on every possible occasion. His theory of the play function of sex, tentatively presented in his *Poverty and Social Progress in 1916*, is here elaborated. He advocates trial marriages, finds prostitution on the whole to be necessary and useful, has a good word even for the pimp, and when he has occasion to refer to the social hygiene movement invariably uses the quotation marks of contempt. He would tolerate only a meager mini-



num of restriction in sex matters, depending on sex education to eliminate their evils. Dr. Parmelee's scholarly proficiency in social evolution forbids us to class him with that group of amateur Bohemians who, because they are not quite sure of themselves, resort to vehement utterance on sex matters, but his unreticent treatment of the more material aspects of the problem leads us to suspect that he has consciously adopted the Shavian program of "shocking civilization into common sense." Although his own knowledge of Freudian ideas is ample, he is likely to be accepted and quoted chiefly by those persons who illustrate the principle that, like learning, a little Freudianism is a dangerous thing. For most of these the need is not more liberty but more control. That much of the coercive control which society at present exercises is unintelligent and even brutal is not to be denied, and Dr. Parmelee has presented this side of the subject with striking force. Like other "advanced" thinkers on sex problems, he is convinced that a radical economic readjustment would make a larger degree of liberty not only innocuous but beneficial. But, like others too, he neglects to notice the disintegration which occurs among primitive groups and among the special classes in advanced societies where economic and social pressure is relaxed.

The radical fault of the book is that it emphasizes the degree rather than the spirit and purpose of control.

U. G. WEATHERLY

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

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*The Secret of Personality.* By GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. ix+287. \$1.50.

Four preceding volumes of Professor Ladd forming a series in which he discussed the problems of knowledge, duty, faith, and hope are followed by this fifth book, in which the search is continued for some scientific assurance for the existence of a metaphysical soul and for some scientific information concerning the nature of it. There is no break with the point of view set forth in the other four books from which numerous quotations are cited. The effort is rather to elaborate the same argument from a slightly different point of view. That there is a soul is held to be proved by the social character of our thought, by the witness of language, by the fact of will and character, and by the evidence furnished by the tendency to reason, to follow conscience, and to love beauty. There is no doubt, therefore, of the existence of the soul.

Concerning the nature of the soul, however, neither science nor philosophy has any helpful word. Faith in immortality offers the only clue (p. 275). The modern social psychology as set forth by Dewey and Mead is ignored in the argument.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

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*The Psychology of Marriage.* By WALTER M. GALLICHAN. (England.) New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1918. Pp. xi+300.

This work is not a *scientific* discussion of marriage from a psychological standpoint. It is rather a summary of present teachings respecting sex passion and sex relationships. The justification of the title in the author's mind doubtless would lie in his assertion that the passion of sex love "is not solely the stimulus to love between the sexes and to the continuance of the race. It is the source of socialized living, the origin of most moral codes, the basis of altruism, the motor-force of the highest human activities, and the spring of exalted conduct."

With this thought in mind, the author, basing his conclusions on the study and experience of many years, discusses in nine chapters the problems of sex education, adolescence, courtship, and marriage; the evils of prostitution and sex diseases; and the social dangers arising from improvident marriages, high birth-rates accompanied by heavy death-rates and maternal ignorance.

The work as a whole is not intended as a textbook nor is it in any sense an original contribution to the psychology or the sociology of marriage, but it is full of sound advice and is well worth reading for general information.

J. Q. DEALEY

BROWN UNIVERSITY

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*The School and Other Educators.* By JOHN CLARKE. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. x+228. \$1.75 net.

The "other educators" considered are family, companions, "society at large," and church, but the "main theme is the compulsory minimum, as it is, and as it ought to be." Moral and cultural values stand foremost. Chapter x is on "The Place of the Classics." "To be acquainted with literature and art is preferable to knowledge of bookkeeping or commercial arithmetic." Contrary to Rousseau, "the poor man is the

one who just does need education . . . even though he remain a 'hand' all his life, his life must be rendered humane and contented." The distinctive feature of this book is its attempt to bring this older view into harmony with the unfolding interests of the young:

The essential and permanent things of life are late in coming. The body takes precedence of the spirit in growth, development, and decay. Education has to observe and wait upon function. High moral truth is quite beyond the child's grasp, information bearing directly upon occupation is for the most part in the same category. . . . The succession of development is the base line along which the educator works. An old head cannot be put on young shoulders. Knowledge of infinite value must yet wait its turn; meantime the foundation is being laid on which it can be securely built (pp. 113-15).

F. R. CLOW

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL  
OSHKOSH, WIS.

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*The Control of the Drink Trade.* By HENRY CARTER. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. 304. \$2.50.

This book presents a responsible study of the liquor question in England from the beginning of the war. Its author is a member of the Central Control Board which came into being in the summer of 1915, after the proposal of drastic regulation or possible prohibition through government purchase had been defeated by a group of extremists who could not countenance official complicity in the sale of liquor.

It carries an undercurrent of appeal against that curious attitude of so many of these who are pledged to economic reform—whether from the point of view of labor or of the intellectuals—of indifference and even hostility to any effectual measures for restricting a vast social waste. The author, however, is not conscious of the approaches which are being made to complete proof of the absolutely injurious effect upon the human system of alcohol as a beverage, and of its damaging effect on the germ cell out of which the new generation must get whatever life may mean to it. He is, so far as ultimate measures are concerned, inclined to make allowance for "legitimate" business interests and "reasonable enjoyment."

It is clear that very marked gains in administrative method, in the reduction of drunkenness, in the enhanced efficiency of labor, and in the advance of public sentiment have been secured through the policy of the Control Board. The sale of liquor for consumption both on and off the premises has been limited to from four and a half to five

and a half hours daily, including the first half of the afternoon and the evening up to 9:30 P.M. The stronger drinks are required to be diluted, and treating is forbidden. In one large munition-making district the Board has taken over the business entirely. It has provided some seven hundred industrial canteens, nearly all offering only temperance drinks.

The decrease in convictions for drunkenness fell by 28 per cent in 1915, by 56 per cent in 1916, and by 66 per cent for the first quarter of 1917. After all other influences are given due consideration, there remains a highly important result of regulative method and one that places England in a much more creditable place than has ordinarily been allowed her in this country in discussions of the war-time bearings of the liquor question. It is an interesting fact that every carefully considered restriction seems to get its proportionate result.

Some light is thrown upon what is the one resultant obstacle to war-time prohibition in this country—the presumed likelihood of some sort of revolt among workingmen if deprived of liquor. There seems to have been no serious complaint against any of the regulations and restrictions of the Board; but in some parts of the country the reduction in the amount of beer required by the Food Administration was mildly resented. On the whole, actual American experience, showing that even in a great industrial center like Detroit prohibition comes in as quietly as morning succeeds night, is confirmed in England.

The upshot of the work of the Board is that it is now at last an established part of the fabric of English common sense that men can be made sober by an act of parliament. So much ground having been gained, the English reconstruction program cannot but be considerably affected by the manifold and decisive economic gains and the broad popular approval which follow the advancing prohibition tide in the United States.

ROBERT A. WOODS

BOSTON, MASS.

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*Child Behavior.* By FLORENCE MATEER. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1918. Pp. 236. \$2.00.

This little book deals with "child behavior," not in the general sense, but in that used by the "behavioristic" school of psychologists, to mean, that is, the reaction of the organism regarded as a machine, upon appropriate stimulus. It is mainly a report of a careful and intelligent series of experiments carried out by the author upon the comparative

reaction of normal and of weak-minded children to a conditioned stimulus—a reaction, that is, which follows not on its natural stimulus, but on one that has been artificially associated with the natural one. Thus the Russian physician, Krasnogorski, reported in 1907-8 a series of experiments with young children, by which he satisfied himself that reflexes naturally following on the sight of food, such as swallowing or opening the mouth, could be excited by some stimulus that had been associated with the food, as the sound of a pipe, the touch of a camel's-hair brush. The clinical value of the experiment would consist in the establishment of a difference in this respect between the normal child and one with latent abnormality. Dr. Mateer, who is psychologist of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-Minded, repeated the experiments very fully, and believes that the test may be useful as supplementing others now in use.

A notable trait of her book is the clear perception of the need of personal understanding and good, sympathetic handling of the child in all such experimentation, a matter important not only to the child, but to the success of the experiment

NILES, CALIFORNIA

MELICENT W. SHINN

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*Fatigue Study.* By F. B. GILBRETH and L. M. GILBRETH, PH.D.  
New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1916. Pp. 159. \$1.50.

Socialized interpretations of even industrial processes are illustrated in this simple, brief manual. By ingenious educational methods (home libraries, fatigue museums, and surveys) the Gilbreths would influence industrial groups to think in terms of fatigue elimination. They would develop social attitudes in the workers toward cutting out fatigue affecting any member of the group in any way.

Their fatigue study is made scientific by a remarkable series of measurement devices. As consulting engineers the Gilbreths have developed motion study to a high efficiency and treat unnecessary fatigue as waste motion.

Their aim is to increase "happiness minutes" by adjusting the working group to work. This adjustment involves anti-fatigue devices, habits operating with least fatigue, and the proper distribution of fatigue-recovery periods, made attractive by rest and lunch rooms, recreation under a staff of betterment workers, and increased wage. The book asks that the public demand such fatigue prevention.

PROVIDENCE, R.I.

WILLIAM L. DEALEY

*Elementary Social Science.* By FRANK M. LEAVITT and EDITH BROWN. New York: Macmillan, 1917. Pp. vii+142.

The primary purpose of the book is to furnish instruction for "that large group of pupils who leave school and enter upon their occupations without completing a four-year high-school course." That is, the studies are to be made in the grades. Six chapters are devoted to matters primarily economic, four to problems commonly called "social," and one to a "few facts of political science." The subject-matter is interesting, the language simple.

The real question is whether the authors have selected matter both of vital public concern and within the purview of students in elementary schools. The reviewer answers "yes." The chapters on economics stress conditions of making a living, a matter that appeals easily and directly to the youth in the grades. The real human questions of economics are emphasized. The "social" matters considered are public education, promotion of public health, promotion of morality, each a theme vitally interesting and easily understood. The one chapter on "Political Science" treats functionally such subjects as constitutional rights, administration, taxation.

A scientist may quarrel with the apparently subordinate position of sociology and the separation of "social" from economic, but for the purposes of the book this matter is of no importance.

Of the following two sentences the first should be omitted for three reasons: (1) it seems cynical, (2) it is not true, (3) the needed statement is fully made in the second sentence. "It seems to be human nature for a man to get more than his share of good things if he can. History shows that there are almost always individuals in any community who will usurp the rights of others unless they are held back."

The reviewer believes in this book. It is another sign of the breakdown of the educational priesthood that would regard all social knowledge as occult and therefore not for the people. We predict a growing appreciation of the work and an increase in publications of this type.

J. T. HOUSE

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL  
WAYNE, NEBRASKA

# RECENT LITERATURE

## NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**New Codes for Old.**—When Mr. Wong finished his engineering works on the Yangtse River in China, he decided to build a city for the employees according to Western models. He found it necessary, however, to invite the leading men among the employees into his own modern home in order to arouse the interest among the employees to use the houses as they should be used. This indirect way of substituting the new codes for the old is the best method to use among the Asiatics. Mr. Hatano in Japan found a similar system successful in his silk filature. Modern industry is developing very rapidly in the East and the industrial revolution promises even worse conditions for the employees than was true in the Western world during the industrial revolution there. A modifying influence is the Christian religion and the Christian missionaries. They do not take an active part in social reform but the converts do. In India it is found that this indirect influence of Christianity is very powerful for reform. "There are no less than a dozen active agencies for social reform, which can be traced directly to the influence of the missionaries," though some of them are really anti-Christian. The Indian is a philosopher and adopts Christianity because its philosophy appeals to him; the Chinese because they believe they can better serve their country. The reform that will be under the greatest stress for the next twenty-five years is the relation of the sexes. Polygamy and prostitution are being attacked, and as girls, especially those educated in Western ways, are married they contract for the marriage only on the basis of monogamy. Tyler Dennet.—*Journal of the American Asiatic Association*, August, 1918. A. G.

**The Fundamentals of a Socialized Educational Program.**—In view of the fact that individuals, groups, and social forces are constantly becoming more interrelated, education should become more socialized to meet these changed conditions. The formation of adaptability, social-mindedness, and social intelligence is as fundamental as individualistic training. Educational aims should be formulated in harmony with social aims, educational principles stated in social terms, and educational practice should be permeated with the social spirit. The individual should be trained to helpful membership in the various groups necessary to social health and progress. This is not to be confused with industrial, vocational, or even practical education. It aims at cultural appreciation, social activity, and civic helpfulness. This would make necessary changes in administration, greater emphasis upon social studies, better adaptation of remaining studies to social life, more knowledge of current events, socialization of teaching methods, fostering of school spirit and student activities, mutual co-operation between educational and other institutions.—W. R. Smith, *School and Society*, July 13, 1918. E. G.

**The Application of Organized Knowledge to National Welfare.**—Especially in a time of crisis like the present, national welfare depends upon the greatest possible development and utilization of all its resources, particularly those of strength and skill. New experts should be constantly selected and trained. All the highest expert knowledge should be at the service of the nation for directing the best development, utilization, and conservation of all national resources, material, intellectual, manual, and financial. Organizations and individuals, as well as the nation as a whole, should have the help of systematic expert knowledge in bringing them up to their possibilities. A general and well-ordered application of the results of scientific research to the problems of the individual, the organization, the nation, and of the world would have incalculable effects. We are only beginning to apply organized knowledge in an organized way, but the desirability of increasingly doing this in the near future is urged.—P. G. Nutting, *Science Monthly*, May, 1918. E. G.

**Recent Eugenic and Social Legislation in America.**—The first Board of Eugenics, composed of certain officials from the State Board of Health, superintendents of the State Hospital, the State Institution for Feeble-Minded, and the State Penitentiary, has been established in the state of Oregon. Its chief function is to prevent the procreation of feeble-minded and insane, epileptics, habitual criminals, moral degenerates, and sexual perverts in institutions under charge of the Board members. The method used is some form of sterilization after a thorough physical and mental examination. Similar legislation exists in Indiana, California, Kansas, Minnesota, New Hampshire, and South Dakota. Many states require certificates showing exemption from venereal disease before marriage is permitted. Every state provides that subsequent marriage between parents of illegitimate children shall legitimate such children. North Dakota has a law that all children shall be deemed legitimate. Laws in grant of mothers' pension are in effect in many states. A recent law of Indiana for the prevention and control of tuberculosis is indicative of the preventive and curative measures being generally adopted to stop the progress of the disease. Physicians and chief officers of hospitals are required to report cases to the Board of Health within five days after the case comes to their knowledge. Premises must be disinfected and investigation made for preventing and restricting the disease and results published. In Washington divorce is granted where parties have become estranged and lived apart for eight years or more.—R. Newton Crane, *The Eugenics Review*, April, 1918. F. O. D.

**The Bases of Social Co-operation.**—The motives under which men co-operate are various and complicated. Men co-operate because of instinctive impulses, both self-regarding and other-regarding; men co-operate from habit; men co-operate because a leader interprets them to themselves and binds their separate purposes together; men co-operate rationally. The following co-operative enterprises show certain tendencies that, more fully developed, might make a positive contribution to democracy: (1) Steel trusts: (a) the wage-earners are moved largely by the impulse to feed and the impulse to grab, reinforced by the instinct to care for offspring; (b) those who get the profits are bound primarily by community of interest in this getting. A class springs up and meeting no resistance develops into custom. Here are only faint traces of motives that found a democracy. (2) City government: the chief motive here is the social impulse aided by social knowledge through means of communication and social authority in the use of the ballot. (3) Union labor movement: the primary motive was to get food. It is developing now into socially motivated groups which promise to become great motives for the increase of democracy. (4) The modern missionary movement: here motives are mixed, partly impulsive, partly discriminative, but on the whole broadly humanitarian. In political international consciousness some growth toward an inclusive humanitarianism is evident, but here more light is needed as to the constructive social motives of men.—Geo. A. Coe, *Religious Education*, June, 1918. F. O. D.

**The Higher Direction of Industry.**—Three problems will confront England at the close of the war which can be met only by increased production of industry, viz., (1) national revenue, (2) the national debt, and (3) a rise in the standards of living. Increased production can be brought about only through a proper organization of trades. The Joint Standing Industrial Councils in all well-organized trades, already advised by the Whitley Committee, should become the instrument for the higher control of industry in the separate trades without, however, interfering with the liberty of the individual or of the special unions or associations which already exist. The fields open to these Joint Industrial Councils would be: (1) Reconstruction work after the war, which would include: (a) problems involved in the removal of war restrictions; (b) the rationing of raw materials, which must continue for a while after the war; (c) consideration of war pledges; (d) problems and plans of demobilization, studied within each industry; (e) the disposal of government stores of raw material; (f) apprenticeship for those who have left school or work to enter the war. (2) Work of a general and permanent nature in peace, which would include the organization of (a) a department of scientific industrial research; (b) trade statistics; (c) technical education; and (d) export trade. This problem cannot be undertaken without the co-operation of capital and labor. A proper organization of commerce would mean production sufficient for all.—Ernest J. P. Benn, *Contemporary Review*, June, 1918. F. O. D.



**The New Place of Labor.**—At Washington one finds the leaders of organized labor, called there not merely to advise but actively to administer; and the rank and file of workers have secured concessions in the principles and terms of labor adjustment for which they have struggled unsuccessfully for a decade. The Wilson administration has proved sympathetic with organized labor. The Adjustment Board is nominally determining shipyard labor standards. In reality it is profoundly influencing all labor standards on a nation-wide scale. The same might be said of the work of the Railroad Wage Commission and other agencies called into existence to solve the labor problem. The President's Mediation Commission has demonstrated a significant attitude toward labor, forwarding the eight-hour day and approving collective bargaining. The Commission left behind it in each of the districts which it investigated agencies for the joint control and determination of controverted issues. In Chicago it resulted in Judge Altschuler's far-reaching decision, awarding workers a basic eight-hour day, increasing wages, and the right to organize; and it has declared that minimum wages shall be based upon the actual cost of living. The Taft-Walsh Board in determining the national labor policy recommended to Congress—and the government accepted in their entirety—these same basic labor principles. These things point to a new day for labor in the reconstruction day just ahead. The Inter-Allied Labor Conference, in the statement of its war aims, insists that "Within each country the government must for some time to come maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation . . . to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community." The new place of labor seems to require the extension of representative government, not only into politics, but into industry.—Ordney Tead, *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1918. C. W. C.

**Some Considerations Affecting the Replacement of Men by Women Workers.**—The war has enormously increased the number of women in industry in the United States as well as in European countries. While women have shown their ability to perform untried and difficult tasks, and have thus removed some of the prejudice against women's holding responsible positions, careful supervision is urgently needed or grave physical and moral injury to the women themselves, to the future generation, and to society as a whole may result. Such injury has been seen in several places abroad. Medical inspection, equal wages to insure a proper standard of living, and additional legislation against heavy lifting, long hours, night work, would do much to prevent such a disaster. Reasonable, wholesome, accessible lunchrooms, sanitary provisions, and free clinics for the early discovery and treatment of industrial diseases are some of the specific measures needed.—Josephine Goldmark, *American Journal of Public Health*, April, 1918. E. G.

**Physical Welfare of Employed Children.**—The number of child workers is being rapidly increased by the war, due to scarcity of labor, high wages, and increased cost of living. This demands protective measures. The federal report shows that boys between sixteen and nineteen who make up one-sixth of all the male workers in the cotton mills have a death rate nearly twice as high as the non-operative population of the same age. Approximately one in every two deaths of operatives between fifteen and forty-four is due to tuberculosis. A recent study in Massachusetts by the United States Public Health Service shows that the average fourteen-year-old mill boy was decidedly below standard in height and weight. The sixteen-year-old boys did not show a normal gain over the fifteen-year-old boys in height and decreased  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pounds in average weight. The printing trade leads to illness through exposure to lead dust and fumes, yet many states do not have even fourteen years as a limit for this industry, and very few class it dangerous for sixteen and eighteen years. Out of about fifteen hundred factory children over fourteen years of age examined in Baltimore nearly one hundred diseases and defects due to occupation were isolated. The only existing legislation is that in New York which requires only that "all children between fourteen and sixteen years of age employed in *factories* shall submit to a physical examination *whenever required* by a medical inspector of the state department of labor." Most states require a medical permit at the time the children go to work but no supervision after. The great need is for follow-up work by a force of medical inspectors attached to the labor department working under the supervision of the state board of health.—Florence I. Taylor, *Child Labor Bulletin*, February, 1918. F. O. D.

**The Child and the Cinema.**—The Cinema Commission's report has called attention to the pernicious effect of the cinema on the morals of young people. However, "quite apart from the question of incitement to crime, and to more or less serious misconduct as a result of seeing the pictures, the subject of the psychological effect on the child's mind is of importance in itself, and not as seen in conduct easily and logically traced to the films." For good or for evil the cinema is helping to form the minds of practically all the children. This formation is in reference to the tastes and manners, as well as the morals, of the children. School and home training are affected by the fact that parents and teachers give their approval to attendance upon pictures where the children "are tickled with the smartness of vulgar slang. Not words only—they are bad enough, illiterate, coarse, and ugly—but deeds, tricks, attitudes, frequently degrading, and the more dangerous when amusing. The outlook of life, so material, so amusing and smart, so destructive of domestic virtues, the non-British methods of police and court proceedings, the underworld rowdiness and worse, and all the possible situations depicted in some of the most beautifully produced films," would all pass a state censor. Yet we ought to look after the mental and moral health of the children as well as the physical. The cinema offers an opportunity to give good material for development, but it is not probable that this will be done until the presentation of the cinema is given for proper recreational and educational purposes instead of for economic gain.—Mary Horne, *The Child*, July, 1918. A. G.

**Essentials of Case Treatment with Delinquent Children.**—The freedom from rules of the chancery court makes that court a good one for the treatment of juvenile delinquents. While the Roman law, the penal code of France, and the English common law arranged for a variation of the punishment of juvenile offenders, graded somewhat according to age, yet the underlying conception of criminal law, that the state must vindicate by punishing, has handicapped the courts "where public opinion toward juvenile delinquents has not yet become formulated in chancery law and in judicial practice for children's courts." It is also necessary that "public opinion, formulated in law and judicial procedure," should make "it possible that adults who are responsible for the neglect and delinquency of children can be reached either directly by the juvenile court, or by another court on the initiative of the juvenile court." When a complaint is made, an order for a hearing should be issued to all concerned. Pending that hearing, a probation officer should investigate thoroughly all the facts and present them to the judge, who at the trial should vary the treatment to meet all the conditions of the case, though that may mean that several offenders tried for the same offense may receive different treatment. The enforcement of the decision should be left to the probation officer, who should supervise both the probationer and the adults upon whom he is dependent. The chief end of the treatment should be to keep the child occupied happily in work and play. The probation officer should be a voice in his community urging the removal "of causes and conditions which make for delinquency and also urging with still greater earnestness the provision of adequate facilities and agencies that make for wholesome juvenile life and education."—Henry W. Thurston, *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1918. A. G.

**The Value of Mental, Physical, and Social Studies of Delinquent Women.**—A study of eight cases of delinquent women shows certain definite psychological and social needs. Of these cases two were cases of mental disease; the third, one of mental defect; the fourth, one of psychoneurosis; the fifth, a pathological liar, was a neuro-path; the sixth, a maniac-depressive temperament, showed much immaturity; the seventh, a colored girl with much emotional instability, and in whom racial primitiveness was a dominant characteristic; the eighth demonstrated environmental influence in the case of a woman with no abnormal mental characteristics. The greatest needs as shown by these cases are: (1) clearing houses, or laboratories in courts and penal institutions where psychologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, and other specialists may make complete studies of all cases; (2) institutions for feeble-minded, or suitable colonies in every state; (3) psychopathic hospitals in all large cities; (4) increased facilities for supervision on probation so that institutions may be the last resort; (5) increased facilities for supervision on parole so that the individual coming from an institution will not be plunged into an unprotected environment; (6) increased

resources in institutions for re-education along academic, domestic, and industrial lines as well as for the treatment of physical disease and abnormal mental conditions. The greatest need at present is the support of the public in these measures of reform.—Edith R. Spaulding, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, May, 1918.

F. O. D.

**The Soldiers' and Sailors' Families.**—"The Home Service of the American Red Cross reaches both the men, wherever they may be, and their loved ones at home." By being a connecting link with the home, the Home Service serves to keep up the morale of the army. "The greatest opportunity of Home Service lies in conserving human resources in the families left behind." A second opportunity is relief in emergencies. A third is the giving of allowances to the families of those who have no claim upon the government, as in the case of those who are serving in the armies of our allies. A fourth opportunity is the co-operation with the government in the care and rehabilitation of the wounded and crippled. A fifth is the service of giving information concerning enlisted men to their relatives. A sixth "is to help families to keep pace, in ambition and achievement, with the man who is surrounded, often, with new chances for education and advancement." The Home Service has a separate department in each local Red Cross chapter and has a Consultation Committee of representative men of the community which serves to consider difficult problems and to co-ordinate the Home Service with the other charitable agencies of the community. Not much money relief is given as usually the government allowance and the soldiers' allotment is sufficient. The plan is to keep the families intact and the mother at home when she is needed. Workers are trained as rapidly as possible.—W. F. Persons, *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1918.

A. G.

**Eliminating Vice from Camp Cities.**—The recreation program of the Commission on Training Camp Activities runs the gamut from athletic coaches and liberty theaters inside the camps to recreation and social opportunities in the communities outside the camps. This program is based on the principle that soldiers prefer clean, red-blooded, wholesome recreation to the other things which have usually in the past contributed to their inefficiency. Venereal diseases in the past have been the greatest single cause of much loss of man power, and hence of inefficiency in the army. On this question the United States government has taken the following stand, unique in world-history: the Council of National Defense unanimously decided that continence for the armies and navies of the United States was a perfectly practical program and the only sure preventative against venereal disease. That pronouncement is revolutionary. It marks an epoch in the history of the governments of the world.

A recent report from one of the two camp cities having the highest venereal-disease rate among their troops shows by October a decline from 200 per thousand to 167 per thousand, following the going into effect of the recreation program. By making prostitutes inaccessible by a vigorous law-enforcing and public-health campaign, the rate of exposures to these diseases dropped from 826 in October to 497 in November, showing conclusively that the amount of exposure to venereal disease among troops varies directly as the accessibility of prostitutes to them. Open vice has gone from all cities or towns within five miles of an army or navy station where bodies of men are in training.—Major Bascom Johnson, *Annals of the American Academy*, July, 1918.

C. W. C.

**Modern Penal Methods in Our Army.**—In order to keep down the number of those convicted and dishonorably discharged and to save as many fighting men as possible, a reorganization of the penal methods of the army should be made. Every man who commits an offense should have a thorough mental and physical examination, and as much of his previous history as possible should be learned through correspondence. With the exception of the small number of those convicted of major offenses, the greater part of those found to be normal physically and mentally should be sent to a disciplinary battalion. At the end of three months the officers, who will subject the men to close observation while in their charge, will determine whether or not the men shall be returned to the regular organization. Another medical examination

will be given at this time. Any attempt to escape military service by committing offenses will be discouraged. By compelling those under guard-house sentences to do hard drilling, it will not be as now a detriment to the army. By these methods the number of fighting men lost to the army through convictions will be reduced by about one-half.—J. H. Wigmore, *Journal of American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, August, 1918. E. G.

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## THE ETHICS OF LUXURY AND LEISURE

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There is an old cynicism which divides mankind into beasts of burden and beasts of prey. It used to be popular with agitators so different as the intellectual English Fabians on the one hand and the quite unintellectual but very zealous Industrial Workers of the World in the United States on the other. And even the man who is as far removed from the spirit of agitation as the Mr. Britling of Mr. Wells's charming novel has been shaken up by the war until he recognizes that the contrast is real, and that the opposition must somehow be healed. Sentiment on the matter has necessarily a longer and more sharply marked history in the Old World than in the New World, and the last hundred years of English thought, both explicit and implicit, have seen striking changes within this field. Let us note a few of them.

### I

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century Englishmen were wont to discuss the luxurious and leisured life in a style which makes the reader of the present day, especially in America, stare with astonishment. Such writers as De Quincey and Coleridge, and even Sydney Smith, exhausted themselves in extolling the social value of that part of the community which we should call idle.

The idea is put forward that these persons are socially valuable, not for what they do, but rather for what they are. Those whom Sydney Smith quaintly described as "the lower and middling classes" are bidden to give thanks daily for that pattern of cultured refinement which those above them are fitted both by nature and by circumstance to display, a pattern which it is, of course, impossible for the common man to imitate, but by the mere sight of which the poor day laborer will be redeemed from his native animalism and the sordid merchant will be transfigured. The members of the landed gentry are spoken of as a sort of ideal figures, like the statues upon the Athenian Acropolis, which the working folk may look at, especially in church and at the coming-of-age celebrations of the feudal heir, so that they may be kept relatively civilized.

Nothing is more significant of this point of view than the debates in England a hundred years ago on the subject of the game laws. Each disputant begins by recognizing as the cardinal principle in that matter that every effort must be put forth to keep the squire and his family, with their benign influence, resident upon the land. The awful example of French absenteeism is quoted, and the suggestion is made that but for this want of habitual contact between the orders the horror at Paris in 1793 might never have taken place. How then shall the Great House be kept occupied by its owner? Plainly through making country life attractive to him, and the feature that attracts him most is known to be sport.<sup>1</sup> But what landlord can endure a poacher? At all costs the poacher must be suppressed, or the allurements of foreign dissipation will take the squire abroad, and the exquisite balance of English society, so superior to anything on the anarchic Continent, will be disturbed. If the only effective war against poachers is by setting man traps

<sup>1</sup> It was not only held that the Manor House must be occupied, so that, as Mrs. Cadwallader says in *Middlemarch*, the country may be saved from "farmers without landlords—monsters like buffaloes or bisons"—but the occupant must be no mere rich parvenu; he must be one of the ancient stock. Hence even so sturdy a Radical as Cobbett speaks with disgust (*Rural Rides*) of the people being ruled by butchers, bakers, bottle-corkers, and old-clothes men, and of capital as "nothing more than money taken from the labouring classes which being given to army tailors and such like enables them to keep fox-hounds, and trace their descent from the Normans." Cf. the significant provision in the game laws that no one might shoot on preserves unless he had a minimum income *derived from land*.

and spring guns, which will protect the life of a partridge or a hare at the expense of the lives of men, women, and children, it was argued that even so regrettable a measure was worth while. It was of social advantage, for the old family must not be invaded by rural ennui to such an extent that it will leave the Manor House shut up and the peasantry, in consequence, uninspired. Sydney Smith pleaded that a milder measure than placing automatic machines which might shoot the farmer's truant children would serve the purpose. In his merry mood he suggested in preference the stationing of a gamekeeper with a rifle, who should be authorized to shoot trespassers at sight. For, he said, a piece of mechanism cannot distinguish one from another, and might even take the life of a friend of the administration! In his more serious temper he said plainly that a squire who wanted, or would use, such means of bloodthirsty suppression was the sort of man who had much better be an absentee.

But Sydney Smith himself had no doubt of the ennobling influence upon the public which might be expected from a resident landlord, however his best nature might revolt against the existing dominance of squire and parsons which he humorously entitled "squarson" rule.<sup>1</sup> Dickens came closer to realities in his picture of the "fine old country gentleman" in *Barnaby Rudge*, about whom everyone said that the disappearance of such a type was sending England to rack and ruin. He could write his name almost legibly, was very severe with poachers, could drink more strong wine, go to bed every night more drunk and get up more sober than any man in the county. "In knowledge of horseflesh he was almost equal to a farrier, in stable learning he surpassed his own head groom, and in gluttony not a pig on his estate was a match for him. He had no seat in Parliament himself, but he was extremely patriotic, and usually drove his voters up to the poll with his own hands. He was warmly attached to the Church, and never appointed to the living in his gift any but a three-bottle man and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his article on the game laws in the *Edinburgh Review* (1819). He writes: "A great man returning from London to spend his summer in the country diffuses intelligence, improves manners, restrains the extreme violence of subordinate politicians, and makes the middling and lower classes better acquainted with, and more attached to, their natural leaders."

a first-rate fox hunter."<sup>1</sup> In the first quarter of the century, however, the time for such satire had not come. Shelley, indeed, used to break forth about

Those gilded flies  
That, basking in the sunshine of a court,  
Fatten on its corruption. . . .  
The drones of the community.<sup>2</sup>

Godwin used to declare that until the institution of property was abolished the moral nature of man could never get a chance.<sup>3</sup> But Shelley and Godwin were looked upon as outcasts. A Lake poet was the true champion of social orthodoxy. If one of the leisured class turned out to be even more than an unconscious model of high culture, to exhibit in addition some of the common human sympathies, such littérateurs would hail the thing as a portent. For it was not only the virtue proper to that special rank. It was supererogative virtue. Coleridge, for example, went into ecstasies over the Duchess of Devonshire. Her Grace was a poetess in spare time, and on a tour over Mount Gothard had written some lines in admiration of William Tell. Here was a moral indeed, which must by no means be left unpointed for the lower and middling classes. To think of an exalted lady who could write so! The genius of the duchess had broken all bonds of environment. By birth, by education, by caste prejudice, she might surely have been expected to sympathize with the elegant diversions of Gessler and to look upon Tell's resentment at having to shoot an apple off his child's head as the sullen contumacy of a peasant. But no—

Light as a dream your days their circlets ran  
From all that teaches brotherhood to Man  
Far, far removed!

. . . . .  
And yet, free Nature's uncorrupted child,  
You hailed the chapel and the platform wild  
Where once the Austrian fell  
Beneath the shaft of Tell!  
O Lady, nursed in pomp and pleasure!  
Whence learned you that heroic measure?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Barnaby Rudge*, chap. xlvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Political Justice*.

<sup>2</sup> *Queen Mab*.

<sup>4</sup> "Ode to Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire."



Those good old days passed away, and a new tone came into English literature. A demand began to be made upon the aristocracy that their conduct should be judged by the usual moral standards. The *ancien régime* was openly ridiculed. And the blundering attempt of the privileged order to placate the new democratic spirit by feigning an aristocratic interest in the commonalty was ridiculed most viciously of all. Lady Bowley in *The Chimes* is depicted as having introduced the evening amusement of pinking and eyelet-holing for the villagers, and as having set to music these edifying lines which the men and boys might sing as they carried it on:

O let us love our occupations,  
Bless the squire and his relations,  
Live upon our daily rations,  
And always keep our proper stations.<sup>1</sup>

Anthony Trollope in *Framley Parsonage* makes Mr. Harold Smith, when on the stump for votes, begin a speech by explaining that the special British characteristic of that period was the willingness of the highly placed to put their time and knowledge without fee or reward at the disposal of the poor, and proceeds to illustrate this by a sort of university-extension lecture to the farm laborers upon the state of the South Sea Islands. But there was a real change, the sort of change that Thackeray speaks of when he sets in contrast the Lady Lorraine of the days of the Prince Regent and the Lady Lorraine of the middle nineteenth century. The former had been magnificent in diamonds and velvet, daring in rouge, with the wits of the world at her feet. The latter was dressed like a governess, talked astronomy and laboring classes and emigration, and went to church at eight o'clock in the morning. The Great House, once a center of conviviality, had come to permit only two glasses of wine after dinner, and half the guests were country curates "whose talk is about Polly Higson's progress at school or widow Watkins's lumbago."<sup>2</sup> And Charles Kingsley, whose crusade might naturally have led him to the opposite sort of exaggeration, makes Alton Locke declare that visiting the sick and

<sup>1</sup> *The Chimes*.

<sup>2</sup> *Pendennis*, chap. lxvii.

teaching in the schools have become matters of course in the families of most squires and noblemen who reside on their estates.<sup>1</sup>

Probably no writer of the time did so much to further this reform as did Thomas Carlyle. In 1843 appeared *Past and Present* with its mordant chapter "Unworking Aristocracy." No less a critic than Mr. R. H. Hutton has bidden us mark there the beginning of an epoch, a period during which it would be no longer possible in anything like the old degree to apologize for—still less to vindicate—the claim of anyone to be idle. "A man with £200,000 a year," wrote Carlyle in his journal, "eats the whole fruit of 6,666 men's labour through a year; for you can get a stout spademan to work and maintain himself for the sum of £30. Thus we have private individuals whose wages are equal to the wages of seven or eight thousand other individuals. What do these highly beneficed individuals *do* to society for their wages? *Kill partridges*. Can this last? No, by the soul that is in man it cannot, and will not, and shall not." What he wrote in his private journal Carlyle preached in season and out of season through his published books. The same tale was taken up by Ruskin in his gospel of work. Mill prefaced his chapter on the laboring classes<sup>2</sup> by a declaration that no state of society is just in which there is any class which is not laboring, except those who are unable to labor, or who have fairly earned rest by previous toil. The men who proclaimed this message of a universal obligation to be economical and industrious did not address their words, like a fashionable sermon, to those who least needed the reproof. They spoke to those who needed it most.

Just at present, in the stress of war necessities, everyone is talking in a similar strain. The form which the question now takes is not so much whether anyone is entitled to an income from the

<sup>1</sup> *Alton Locke*, chap. xxv. But compare the anecdote related by J. A. Froude in his lecture "On the Uses of a Landed Gentry" (1876), an anecdote of all the more significance, because it told against the point its narrator was trying to make. In the year before the Irish famine Froude was staying at a large house in Connaught where more than a hundred gentlemen of the county sat down to lunch on the lawn. Froude's neighbor at table said to him: "In all the number there may be one, at the most two, who believe that the Almighty put them into this world for any purpose but to shoot grouse, race, gamble, drink, or break their necks in the hunting-field."

<sup>2</sup> *Political Economy*, Book IV, chap. vii.

public which neither he nor his ancestors have genuinely earned. It is rather to what extent he may dispose at his arbitrary choice, for purely personal or family purposes, of that surplus of money which has, by whatever means, come into his possession. It is the problem we get in the newspapers under the title "Shall Wealth as Well as Men Be Conscribed?" But this is not merely a war problem; it is a peace problem as well. The underlying principles for solving it must be the same, and at bottom it is one with the old issue of labor and sloth. In each case we have individual "right" versus social good. As no little confusion of thought has revealed itself among the disputants, it is perhaps worth while to subject the matter to a careful scrutiny. We must carry it back to first principles.

## II

Aristotle once declared that the way in which a man means to spend his money should be reckoned among the grave *moral* decisions of life. By this he intended no such truism as that money, like everything else, is an instrument of conduct capable of being used for purposes good, bad, or indifferent. If this had been all that was in his mind he might as well have recognized a separate virtue in the fitting use of the eye or the hand. It is plain that he saw in wealth some special characteristic or opportunity which made it worth ethical treatment by itself. The distinctions which he proceeded to draw were to prove significant beyond what he could have guessed, and in circumstances which he could not have foreseen.

But to many persons his foundation principle, so far from being a trite commonplace—as by this time it surely ought to be—will seem rather a strained and unnatural paradox. They will hesitate, on patriotic grounds, to say so just now, but their efforts to evade its consequences will often spring from a real doubt of its truth. In ages of prosperous commercialism the use of money is likely to be regarded as a matter of individual whim. It appears so to the very rich more than to the poor, and it was rich men, relatively speaking, that Aristotle had before him. To those whose struggle is for a subsistence the employment of each dollar is a problem sufficiently solemn to dispense with any emphasizing by

a moralist. The disposal of superfluities is something which they know only by hearsay, and they tend to look with sardonic mirth upon the casuistry of millionaire finance. The millionaire in turn is often impatient if other people have "views" as to what he should do with his own. For what, he asks, is the use of acquiring a fortune if I may not please myself in the object to which I apply it? Granted that it has been justly obtained—that it is the product of my exertions and skill, or has been bequeathed to me by someone who in turn secured it by legitimate means—who dares question my right to spend it at my free choice, so long as I do no injury with it to my neighbor? Whose business is it to interfere with my luxuries or to criticize me for being idle? If I have made money in trade, may I not consult my taste as to whether I build a hospital or start a racing-stud? And though the moralist may perhaps admire me if I do the former, and ignore, while he envies, me if I do the latter, surely I am at least entitled to be free from his impertinent comments.

Now this doctrine of the rich man's immunity from any criticism of his style of living is precisely what Aristotle seems to deny. He advances instead the startling theory that no man can speak of "doing what he will with his own," just because there is nothing that is our "own" apart from moral responsibility for the way we employ it. For example, if there is anything over which we might claim such unfettered control, it is surely our bodies. Yet no one has ever justified the poor man who debases himself with liquor, provided only he does not make himself a nuisance on the street and keeps so far above the point of destitution that he will not become chargeable for support upon the rates. He has, no doubt, a legal right in most countries to be as drunk as he chooses at his own cost and within his own home. But the spendthrift millionaire who plumes himself upon his freedom from such sins of the flesh will be the first to pronounce judgment upon the alcoholic artisan and will not hesitate to do so even if no starving family can be pointed out as a reproach to the sensual parent. Quite apart from the wrong done to anyone else, our millionaire will dwell, according to his secular or his religious way of expressing himself, upon the offense against "self-respect" or upon "defacing the image of God." And

if this principle be sound, as it surely is, we must press it to its last inference. It may turn out that the life of idiotic ostentation makes humanity quite as despicable as the life of a drunkard, and that the image of God is less defaced in a saloon of the Bowery than in those jeweled birthday parties for dogs with which the New York Four Hundred disgust all civilized mankind.

We may, if we choose, draw a sharp distinction between a man's "private life" and his "public obligations." We may say that some of his acts, because they are such as affect others, must be scrutinized and judged, but that there is a little circle of conduct which concerns only himself, and upon which criticism from his neighbor is presumptuous. But this, as has been shown over and over again, is a distinction of a legal and not of a moral kind. It is of use to tell us which acts, morally bad, the state should endeavor to restrain, and which, despite their badness, the state had best ignore. Even for this purpose the criterion of self-regarding and other-regarding has been found less and less satisfactory, as in recent times the positive function of law in stimulating goodness of life has asserted itself against the old negative idea of merely keeping order. And though the distinction were fully admitted, the use of money is very plainly among the acts by which the individual influences his surroundings. Once we realize that this is a moral and not a legal question the last plausibility for ruling it out of order disappears.

But while we have here just as reasonable a province for moral criticism as anything in conduct can be, there is an obvious ground why such criticism must be specially cautious. For we are dealing with acts which cannot be sharply contrasted as "right" and "wrong." We have to do with those which, as Aristotle would say, get their moral quality from time and place and extent and accompanying circumstances. The amount a man should spend each year, and the objects to which his expenditure should be devoted, depend for the most part on facts which are very imperfectly known to any outsider, and some of which can be known only by himself. The reproachful names of miser and spendthrift are thrown about with appalling rashness. One's means, one's liabilities, the number and needs of those for whom one is responsible,

one's own capacity for using and enjoying as distinct from mere desire for plutocratic display—these and many other items enter into the calculus. What is extravagant in this person may well be parsimonious in that, not only because the one is rich and the other poor, or because the one has dependents and the other has none, but because a higher scale of living may be of genuine social advantage in some cases and of social disadvantage in others, or because that which is in one person an added refinement of life may be in another a piece of vulgar ostentation. The man whose children have shown aptitudes which call for unusual expenditure on their training should limit his personal luxuries in a way which would not be imperative if such latent powers had not discovered themselves, and in a way which would merit only contempt if he were aiming to be able to boast, like Mr. Bounderby about his wife, that a son or a daughter had “lots of expensive knowledge.” The artist who is able to appreciate great pictures, and the antiquarian whose soul is genuinely in the past, may surely indulge such tastes more than the retired brewer who buys merely to exhibit how little his purse is affected by the longest price. The President of the United States often maintains a simpler household than the president of a trust, but most of us probably believe that this is an inversion of what is socially expedient, and that good reasons are producible for what would elsewhere be extravagant ostentation when the dignity of the national head is to be sustained. But while common sense recognizes that a confident judgment upon our neighbor is, in this province, seldom possible, it should also recognize that each man should for that very reason scrutinize himself with all the greater strictness. What he is doing is, quite definitely, right or wrong. Just in proportion as he can get little help from the public conscience or the current conventions he must erect a standard for his own guidance with the more scrupulous care.

Let me now indicate the kind of considerations which appeal to my own mind as relevant to this issue.

### III

To begin with, the legitimacy of the leisured and luxurious life can never be admitted in any sense which would conceal the eternal

principle that some form of useful, strenuous, even exhausting work is both the duty and the privilege of every man and woman in good physical and mental health.

This is a principle which ought to seem obvious, and if it is worth while to reassert it, this is not because, like so many other acknowledged truths, it is widely ignored in practice. It is because in so many quarters, at least in time of peace, it is unblushingly denied in theory. So far from work being accepted as the privilege of all men and all women, it is not seldom spoken of as a grievous burden which most of them have to bear, which a few have the luck to avoid altogether, and from which all must be expected to make good their escape as quickly as possible. Men speak of those careers as specially advantageous in which enough can be saved to permit retirement from active duty at an early age. The heir to a large property is described as a favorite of Fortune, because he is dispensed from the compulsion to work for a livelihood. "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread" is looked upon as the primitive *curse* upon mankind, and in defiance of what we read about Adam being placed in the garden "to till it and to dress it," the idea seems to be either that his place in Paradise was one of unbroken leisure, or that labor was not at that blessed era followed by its now familiar physical exhaustion.

But the extent to which the principle of work is, in one's secret heart, denied becomes most obvious of all when we confront it with the sentiments of women in what are called the higher social ranks. I need hardly say that I do not here speak of these ranks as a class. No one can judge to what proportion these remarks will apply, but I am sure that it is quite large enough to be appreciable and even important. That anyone should be unchivalrous enough to say that "society women" should be compelled to work will be learned by not a few with astonishment. Perhaps among the female sex there are not many except those in the ranks of feminism and suffragism who are really willing to indorse the law of equal exertion in all its fulness. There are circles in which incapacity for all strenuous effort, whether of body or of mind, is accepted, equally with anemic pallor of face, as a token of gentle birth and refined upbringing. There are wider circles in which women who as a

matter of fact obey the wholesome instinct to make themselves useful in their own homes are careful to conceal such a vulgar trait from their friends, so ashamed are they to be thought of as having fallen below the genteel level where idleness and dissipation are the whole function of womanhood. They speak indeed of their "social duties," but to those who know their habits this is a term *pour rire*, and it is impossible to suppose that they seem even to themselves to be fulfilling any purpose of social utility. The idea of either becoming mothers or facing the self-denial which the charge of a nursery would involve is being treated more and more in a fashion which makes eugenisists despair. The assumption is that the wife of a carpenter, a chauffeur, or a small storekeeper must recognize these and many other obligations, but that wives who are above such *canaille* are persons to be worked for and catered to. Hence the baffling problem in so many wealthy homes of finding some means by which the tedious hours may be made to pass, some method of filling in without insufferable ennui the time that must elapse between a late breakfast and an early lunch or between the afternoon and the evening bridge. Hence the unspeakable idea that delicate refinement will be shown by procuring from the chemist some drug or paste which produces a hue suggestive of disease, and the equally degrading notion that it lowers a woman to admit herself capable, far less eager, of assisting her servants in case of need. The fault, of course, is not wholly theirs. The old-time chivalry of men has degenerated into the new-time sentimentality, and the idea has been sedulously fostered that marriage is or should be an end to the working days of every woman who "marries well"; in other words, that every woman whose husband is not insolvent should regard herself as ornamental, a heroine of romance for whom mere men should be proud to be martyred. This is the creed of the modern, no less than of the mediaeval, squire of dames. "How," asks the Countess of Croye in *Quentin Durward*, "How should a high-born lady be known from a sunburnt milkmaid, save that spears are broken for the one and only hazel-poles shattered for the other?" *Mutatis mutandis* the question is still unanswerable to a large number in our century.



The suffrage agitation has been a splendid rebuff to those who drivel in this way about womanhood. Socrates once compared an argument which leaves one's opponent speechless to the shock given by the torpedo fish. That formidable creature benumbed by its very touch all that came in contact with it. The maudlin worshiper of ornamental women has been allowed to know just what intelligent women think of him and his worship, so that those who would talk like a knight of chivalry in one of Scott's novels have at length had the nonsense frozen upon their lips. Whether the leaders of feminism are right or wrong about the vote, they deserve immense gratitude for having risen in disgust against a view of their sex which would exclude it from all the dignities, all the interests, all the enthusiasms which ennoble humanity through work. It is a sure instinct which has told them that that honor rooted in dishonor stands, and that not in complaint but in pride should one say, "We only toil who are the first of things." Perhaps in the coming age even novelists will find some more urgent question about women than whether the beauty that is *petite* is better than the beauty that is willowy. If so, we shall have escaped in some measure from the oriental, perhaps even the sensual, standpoint. And it will be the robust resentment of Mrs. Pankhurst and her like that will have effected the reform.

But is the principle of universal labor fatal to luxury in every sense? Carlyle seems to have longed, as for a kind of millennium, for the day when all human beings would be compelled to be industrious under the penalty of being starved. "If any man will not work according to his ability, let him perish according to his necessity; there is no juster law than that." There is an obvious hindrance to our making this effective. However we may deplore an idle life, we cannot prevent it without interfering in a very dangerous way with the right of accumulating wealth and with the freedom of bequest. So long as a person is permitted to store his savings, no one can forbid him to retire and rest upon his past as soon as he thinks he has secured enough, even though it would be immensely better both for himself and for others that he should continue in active exertion. As long as a rich father is allowed to endow his lazy son, what stimulus to effort will be of any avail?

Clearly any measure which would restrict thrift must be socially disastrous, both in removing a motive for energy and in providing a temptation to wasteful extravagance. It is perhaps not so clear that to limit bequest would have bad effects, although it would be very difficult to prevent evasions of such a law by timely gifts made during the life of the testator. Such points are, however, of legal rather than of moral significance. But in addition one must recognize that some degree both of luxury and of leisure serves an important social purpose.

#### IV

Only from the standpoint of asceticism, or extreme Puritanism, can one deny the value of maintaining a standard of life above the level of bare physical necessities. Nor can it be doubted that the desire to secure this is a powerful impulse to exertion, and that in its absence very many of those who are now strenuous in their daily callings would recede to that minimum beyond which they would see no object to be secured. The artisan who seeks for some modest adornment for his home may be said to be aiming at luxury, and as I write these lines the evening newspaper brings me the news that according to a professor in Harvard every person who spends more than twelve cents a day on food is just now to be called luxurious. But it is the prospect of something beyond this which commonly makes the artisan a better workman, and if he wishes to obtain it not merely for himself but for his wife and children, he is moved by a feeling which deserves all the encouragement we can give it. One recalls *Enoch Arden*:

Thus earn'd a scanty living for himself;  
Yet since he did but labour for himself,  
Work without hope, there was not life in it  
Whereby the man could live.

Objects of aesthetic enjoyment, whether they be, on one level, a cottage piano, or, on another, a rare and wonderful painting, may be looked upon as luxuries. But they are so only in that sense in which Providence has made the earth luxurious. They cannot be condemned without reflecting on those lilies of the field which have

no utilitarian function, and which as a means to the development of man's highest faculties are, even in a strict sense, useful. No doubt a very urgent question arises as to how far one part of mankind is entitled to indulge in such adornments of life while other parts are still unprovided with necessities. It has been pertinently asked by one of our leading moralists<sup>1</sup> whether the existence of Egyptian slavery can be defended on the ground that without it the pyramids would probably have no place in the itinerary of the modern globe-trotter. Those who pinch themselves in order to give more today to the Red Cross fund are choosing between values, and their choice is beyond all criticism. But the alternative is present in quite as real, though in a less spectacular, form in all the piping times of peace. Some day, let us hope, greater success will be reached in establishing an equitable distribution, not only of what is needed to sustain life, but of what is effective for embellishing it. But it seems equally apparent that as the world is at present constituted certain advantages, if they are to be at the disposal of anyone at all, must be restricted to a minority, and that the effort to equalize would result in the serious curtailing, if not the destruction, of that which we are aiming to share.

Moreover, it is plain that not in every calling can the community exact an audit from the worker which will prove that he gives back in production an equivalent for what he receives in wages. It is desirable perhaps to pay a poet laureate. But few would suggest that he must turn out a fixed quota of poetry per year. There is no class of higher social importance than the scientists who are engaged in original research, but to expect them to exhibit discoveries with the regularity with which Mr. Henry Ford turns out cars would not facilitate the purpose we have in view. Querulous persons often ask why a university professor should work only six months in the year, forgetful of the fact, not only that his salary is so inconsiderable, but that if you work him much beyond this limit his activities in self-culture will stop, that as he ceases to learn himself his power as a teacher will decline, and that all hope of his advancing his subject by original research will have to be abandoned. It is nature's law that the labor which is mechanical

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hastings Rashdall in *The Theory of Good and Evil*.

can be sustained for longer periods at a stretch than the labor which is inventive. Hence for certain professions it is recognized that some degree of leisure, of unscrutinized freedom, of pecuniary security beyond what is in strictness "earned," must be conceded. No doubt these allowances may suffer abuse. Your poet, your investigator, your academic teacher, may be simply slothful when he pretends to be fulfilling the functions of originality. But in that case the mistake was in appointing the wrong man. A certain proportion of such appointments will fall to wrong men, but this is a chance which must be taken if you would get for such vocations at the current rates of salary any men at all who will *not* be wrong ones.

Again, while the argument of Sydney Smith and Coleridge about a refining influence in the cultured rich was pushed to a ridiculous extreme, our present danger appears to be the converse one of failing to see any force in such considerations at all. Inequalities of rank arise of necessity in even the most democratic system. Higher and lower modes of life exist side by side. The day laborer and the millionaire cannot be equalized, except in formulas which, as we know, are in the main conspicuous only when the millionaire wants the day laborer's vote. If anyone supposes that feudal arrogance is confined to an old country, the Industrial Workers of the World will be prepared to enlighten him. And amid the obvious social evils of such caste difference only prejudice and class hatred will deny that it has also social advantages. The reaction, even at a distance, of a more cultivated type upon a less cultivated has effects which are better than the dull average, where each has managed to obliterate by contact what was distinctively good in the other. If the "democratic" workman is more independent, he is also less polite; if he does not cringe to a superior man, he is also disposed to deny reverence to anything as superior; if he asserts the brotherhood of the race, he is likely to construe this as depriving of all value that in which any part of the race excels himself. Are any of us quite without misgivings, for example, of the extent to which learning, art, and poetry, the things in which nature has made men unequal and which no law can equalize, would be fostered under a régime in which democracy would meet with no counter-

vailing checks? The guardianship of these things is a contribution which, in fairness, we must recognize as that of the less democratic countries to the common treasury of mankind.

One principle, however, is obvious. The luxuries in which we may indulge ourselves and the sort of leisure we pronounce legitimate are never to be determined simply by the length of our purse. They must be such as genuinely minister in some way to the higher activities of the spirit, and this rule will at a stroke abolish an immense quantity of the prevalent expenditure. That much of this is, in the face of the world's needs, an enormity for which all defense is mere shamelessness no conscientious person will deny. The multiplication of mere sensuous comforts, especially when dictated, as it so commonly is, by rivalry in display with our neighbor, means a vulgarizing of life for which no apology is possible. Through observance of this elementary principle what a saving would be effected in jewelry bills, in bills for restless, unintelligent foreign travel, in bills for new houses and fresh decorations dictated by the mere whim of fashion, in bills for exclusive designs, and creations, and *chic* millinery! Take the advertisement of a present-day "millionaire's hotel," with the assurance it gives of "the very last word in sumptuousness." Is not this one of the features of our time upon which we all trust that a wiser age will look back, not only with condemnation, but with a sense of nausea? For of all the freaks which make modern society despicable there is none more fit to be despised than this competitive ostentation. To say that it is unworthy of a Christian epoch is to say little. That which our world cannot abjure at the call of the Golden Rule Greek and Roman culture refused to admit from a mere sense of decorum. Aristotle poured scorn on *βαναυσία καὶ ἀπειροκαλία καὶ ὅσαι τοιαῦται*.<sup>1</sup> They were un-Hellenic, oriental, semibarbarous. What a world of meaning there is in that tale of Plutarch about Alexander being surprised at Susa by Greek ambassadors when he thought himself far enough from home to indulge for a little in Persian luxuriousness! At the sight of a Greek wallowing in Eastern vulgarity the ambassadors laughed loud and long, and Alexander so understood that laugh that he could not forgive it. It was only in the decay of

<sup>1</sup> *Nic. Eth.* iv. 2.

the early imperial centuries at Rome that the satirist could draw a picture of wealthy freedmen boasting of the expensiveness of the wines with which they entertained their guests in a strain that reminds us of a "ten-thousand-dollar dinner" in the press reports of today.

Moralizings of this general and somewhat abstract kind seldom come home to the masses of the people. They are ignored by some as pulpit commonplaces, resented by others who "hate to be preached at," put out of sight most thoroughly of all by a feigned cordiality toward the principle, joined with a resolve to ward off all particular applications. Some great idea, some concrete purpose, must grip and thrill the collective imagination if men are to be really driven back to think upon the fundamental things. The excesses of individual luxury have today a new heinousness in every nation whose public spirit has been tried and tempered in the war. If one had in view the national morale of England or France, simply as this has been revealed during the last three years, much in the foregoing pages would have to be condemned as exaggeration and unfairness. Everyone knows the immense self-sacrifice of the men, the transfigured character of the women, the almost universal spirit of seeking not one's own. None can doubt that the United States will show a like solidarity. Thank God for those forces long latent which have burst above the surface and made us realize that the public is better at heart than it allowed anyone to know. But it is just these forces which we should try to prevent from sinking into latency again. A war peril is not the only summons to effort. Is what we have seen and welcomed to prove itself after all a mere passing wave? Or is it to mean a great and permanent rise in social character? The cynic professes to know as a historical induction that such enthusiasms must quickly spend themselves. At times he is prepared to say that the recoil is proportioned in every case to the advance, for are not action and reaction equal and opposite? By such gnomic saws and by the plausible foolishness of such metaphors from physics the hope of social reformers is too easily damped. If enthusiasm dies away this is commonly because no means are taken to keep its flame alive. What history really teaches is that progress of the permanent sort is from age

to age effected and secured. An upward movement lasting in its results is no more impossible in morals than in industry. Why should not the change we have seen in this special department of civic behavior be seized and fixed? Why may not its foundation principle be sought out, proclaimed, enforced to consequences far beyond the sphere in which it was first laid down? The thrill and the challenge of a new time are upon us. I for one do not think it chimerical to hope, and I am sure that it is cowardly to take for granted that we may not hope, for a day when what is now the rare virtue of our best shall be the commonplace achievement of our average, when the civic self-denial which we are proud to have shown in any degree everyone will be ashamed to have failed to show in a far higher degree. What can we do to hasten its coming?

# THE SUPERVISION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

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## INTRODUCTION

A comprehensive view of the social order may contribute toward a better understanding of the problems involved in the supervision of that order.

In the accompanying chart the entire social order is divided into its objective and its subjective parts. The objective part, that is, the social machinery, consists of the eight major social institutions with their equipments of buildings, tools, and machinery, and the organizations of workers who use these equipments. The subjective side consists of the social values, ideas, and ideals which serve the community in its efforts to direct the eight social-service machines.

Recall the view of a city and the surrounding country as seen from a high point, or study the photograph of a city taken from an aëroplane high above it. One could, after painstaking search, find the characteristic buildings and equipment of each of the major institutions of the city. The buildings and other equipment employed in each of these organized forms of activity in the community, if our cities were planned, would be grouped into zones, and each physical plant would be placed in proper spatial relation to the others. The different kinds of organized activity that take place in the social order would be more apparent in such a planned city, for the equipment of machinery, buildings, and workers would be visible to the eye in a clear-cut manner. In our unscientifically built cities all this machinery is so jumbled together that the various operations of a city are scarcely discernible. One can pick out the school plant from among the factories, stores, houses, and livery stables; the government buildings near the bakery and the tombstone works; the homes behind the store or over the saloon that



stands by the gas works; the hospital and playground near the railroad switch yards. The fact that these major social-service

## SOCIAL ORDER

## SOCIETAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

	Industrial System	Hygienal System	Educational System	Governmental System	Communicational System	Social System	Aesthical System	Recreational System
HISTORY	Hunting Nomadic Manorial Domestic Factory	Magic Scientific	Legendary Dogmatic Dialectic Investigative	Trilal Monarchical Republican	Oral Ideographic Alphabetical Printing Messenger Mechanical carrier Electrical transportation	Patriarchal Polyarchal Communal Castes hereditary Social classes	Senecal Excitement Intellectual Art for Dis- tinction Art for enjoy- ment	Unorganised Organized
STRUCTURE	Farms Factories Railroads Stores Medium of exchange, etc.	Hospitals Sanitariums Sanitation, etc.	Schools Forums Libraries, etc.	Political parties Legislatures Courts, etc.	Languages Codes Mail, etc.	Families, clubs, nei- ghborhoods, castes, classes, etc.	Theaters, parks, galleries, sports, liter- ature, etc.	Playgrounds, gymnasiums, bathing beaches, etc.
PROCESS	Extractive Manufacturing Transporting Marketing	Prophylactic Therapeutic	Research Informing Drilling Testing	Elective Legislative Executive	Speaking Writing Transmitting	Social intercourse	Composing Designing Entertaining	Playing Dancing, etc.
FUNCTION	Supply physical equipments of institutions	Safeguard health	Equip society with craftsman- ship, tastes, ideals needed to run social order efficiently	Supervise social order	Facilitate communication	Promote whole- some social experience and enrich enjoy- ments of fruits of social order	Supply whole- some intellec- tual and sensory pleasures	Wholesome bodily pleasures
EFFICIENCY	40	20	20	90	50	25	10	5
PROGRAMS	Scientific organi- zation, etc.	Organization Adequate equipment, etc.	Social aims, etc.	Selection by efficiency standards, etc.	Phonetic spelling, etc.	Freer social intercourse, etc.	City beautiful, etc.	Adequate equipment, etc.

Intersocietal  
institutions

A SYSTEM OF SOCIETAL INSTITUTIONS  
through  
'SOCIETY SERVING' ITSELF  
guided by  
A SYSTEM OF SOCIETAL CONVENTIONS

International  
ideals and ideals

IDEALS	Highest, fullest life content	Social justice	Social will	100 per cent
REFORMS	Prohibition Social evil Censorship of amusements	Graft Profiteering	Woman suffrage Representation of labor and consumer in industry	Displacement of superstition by tech- nologies, exploitation by teamwork
FUNCTION	Govern choice of human experiences	Govern division of services and service	Govern participation in control	Govern social achievement
CONTENT	Respectable pleasures Sympathy	Ethical code	Partial suffrage Public opinion	Pseudo-science Curbed <i>laissez faire</i>
	Welfare	Ethics	Democracy	Efficiency

SOCIETAL VALUES, IDEAS, AND IDEALS

machines upon which the well-being of the community depends are not planned but grow up in a confused mass, crowding, partly

crushing and destroying each other, has retarded the recognition of the social order with its major social institutions.

But the study of these organized ways of promoting human well-being is progressing. Each of these institutions is becoming the field of a special social science, such as political science, public hygiene, economics, sociology, aesthetics, etc. The history of the growth of each of these major social organizations is being written. We have now the history of the educational systems, the industrial systems, the governmental systems, family life and social intercourse, the arts—both the liberal and the fine arts—and possibly the history of organized recreation and public hygiene and communication.

These institutions are studied with regard to their structure. Elaborate statistical data are being gathered concerning the equipments of these institutions. We count the school buildings, even enumerate the details of their equipment; we take a census of the banks, miles of railroads, factories, art galleries, playgrounds, etc. The organizations of the forces of workers who use these tools are described as a part of the work of the social scientist.

Their processes are also described by the social scientist. This is a more difficult task. Describe a watch or a school system standing still, enumerate its parts and describe their relation, and its structure is being presented. Set the watch or the school system going, then describe how it works, and the process is being presented.

What the several functions of these eight institutions are is still a matter of heated debate. This is particularly true of the governmental system, the educational system, and the social system, i.e., the family and other forms of social intercourse. It is probably too late to try to avoid confusion in the use of the term social, in both a wider and a narrower meaning, by substituting the term societal for the wider meaning and restricting the term social to the narrower meaning. Just what the specific work of each of these institutions is among the whole group of social institutions is not quite clear. The industrial system, of course, has as its function the producing, marketing, and delivering the physical goods that serve the needs of the people of the community and also the physical equipment

of buildings and tools needed in the school system, the recreational system, the governmental system, the hygienal system, etc. The function of the system of public hygiene, composed of the altogether too loosely organized system of hospitals, doctors, sanitary boards, etc., is to safeguard and promote the health of the people of the community. The function of the recreational system is to afford and promote wholesome recreation for the community.

The function of the educational system—and now we enter upon much-disputed ground—is to fit the members of society to take efficiently some part in the forms of social team work in the eight institutions of society and thus earn a living, i.e., gain a right to a share of the benefits of these institutions. It also should fit the members of society to participate in the control of the social order by acquainting them with the social values, ideas, and ideals which serve society in directing its social machinery; namely, social welfare, social justice, social democracy, and social efficiency. This part of its function—its civic function—the school system dodges. Courses in ethics are given, but no catalogue of any university in the United States advertises a course in democracy. It has the further function of fitting the members of society to realize more benefits from the fruits of the organized endeavor in the social order by cultivating their tastes. They thus gain more enjoyment from its products—the amusements, artistic creations, recreation, social intercourse, etc. This is the cultural phase of the function of an educational system as a part of a social order.

The function of the system of social intercourse, i.e., the family and other forms of social intercourse, such as that between friends and acquaintances, in clubs, in associations, etc., is to enable us to gratify the desire for love, affection, and sympathy and to secure enjoyment of the finer qualities of human nature. It has the further function of increasing, even doubling, the enjoyment of the fruits of the institutions of the social order. The enjoyment of pictures, drama, music, conversation, outings, recreation, etc., is greatly enhanced by the company of enthusiastic friends. It is team work in the bearing of our sorrows and the enjoyment of our pleasures and affections. It diminishes the one and magnifies and enriches the other.

The purpose of the governmental organization in this system of institutions is to act as the machinery through which the whole system of social-service institutions is supervised. This supervision is to be carried out according to the social values and ideas of the community—ideas upon welfare, ethics, democracy, and efficiency. It is sometimes urged that it is the function of the governmental system to protect the individual. I can find no instance of it. It is the social order with its forms of organized endeavor that is protected by the government against violence and disruption. The individual who does not conform to the various forms of organized activity in the several institutions over which the government watches will feel the coercion of the government, not its protection. The government of a society is set up, not to be in opposition to the very social-service machines which society builds up to serve its well-being, but to preserve their orderly growth and safeguard them against those unsocialized persons who tend by their acts to harm these institutions. When a government does set itself against the improvement of these institutions and the rendering of efficient service by them in an effort to protect the interests of special classes and individuals, it may be displaced by one that will carry out its proper rôle in the social order.

The social sciences are apparently too young to undertake to set up standards and rate the efficiencies of the institutions of the social order; to rate, for instance, the industrial system as 40 per cent efficient, the hygienal system as 10 per cent, the recreational system as 5 per cent, the governmental system as 90 per cent, etc. Many data have been collected which would be of service in making such efficiency ratings. For example, we have many statistical data upon poverty, excessive hours of work, industrial accidents, child labor, illiteracy, divorce, crime, etc. All these data indicate the shortcomings of one or another of these institutions in fulfilling its standard services to the community.

Another interesting phase of study in the social sciences is the cataloguing of the reform movements of all sorts and varieties and noting just which social institution or institutions the reform is conceived to improve. My students have compiled interesting lists of these reform movements. The probability of the effective-

ness of the proposed reform is also an interesting field of study and speculation.

The social scientists now realize that they have a field of study apart from that of physics and chemistry and Hegelian philosophy which requires methods of study very different from those employed in such fields. They now more clearly realize that they are studying the efficiencies, structures, processes, functions, and improvements of the several kinds of organized endeavor humanly devised into the social order for the purpose of effectually serving human community needs. There is a world of difference between the study of functionless activity and functionful activity, the study of natural processes and social processes. The one is a study of what happens; the other is a study of the group uses of this information in the service of human needs. A fire department, to use, for example, a minor form of organized activity, is an organization of human beings working with a physical equipment for the purpose of putting out fires. We can write the history of its growth, describe its structure, enumerate its equipment and personnel, describe its processes, and set up a standard or standards of service which it is to attain. We can collect data on the costs of the service and the extent of damage done by fires and thus rate its efficiency. The social scientist, also, as a constructive student of these humanly devised organizations working with physical plants for human purposes, may point out inadequacies in physical equipment and conceive and suggest methods of organizing the working forces in these institutions which would increase their efficiency.

This cursory view of the social order with its systems of social-service machines and conventions of regulating ideas and values may serve to focus attention upon the social machinery the supervision of which we propose to study.

#### ETHICS

The social machines which society has gradually built up are not automatic, self-running, self-directing social devices. They must be guided and supervised by society. Society is only partly conscious of its power over this social machinery, of its actual power

so to direct the social machines that they will be great engines in the service of human welfare. The ideas which serve society in its efforts to direct the social machinery are not clear-cut but seem to be in the background of the social consciousness. These groups of ideas are folk ideas—the customary thought and opinion of the members of a society. They are inherited with more or less modification by each succeeding generation. They are transmitted to the rising generation for the most part in its early youth before it is capable of reflection and critical examination. Later the rising generation forgets when and how it acquired such ideas and values. They become second nature, a sort of instinctive knowledge. Further, like instincts, they serve, not to stimulate the thought and investigation which would otherwise naturally arise in the hunt for solutions to social situations, but, on the contrary, to displace such thought and investigation, seeming themselves to be the appropriate ideas and feelings for reactions in such situations. Thus the people of a society direct their social machinery in a half-blind manner by sets of ideas not clearly apprehended and not developed under critical examination.

Sociologists have been calling attention to this crudeness in society, urging that such ideas are not what under the circumstances of their transmission they almost seem to be, the nature- or God-given eternal truths sacred from investigation, but merely the working ideas which have been slowly evolved by peoples to serve them in their social task of directing the machinery of society. It remains to be seen whether man cannot or actually can rise to that height where he will, in full consciousness, knowingly direct his great major social machines by means of well-thought-out ideas and ideals.

The groups of folk ideas above mentioned have been evolved as the solutions of four major social problems which arise in the running and supervision of the institutions of society. Thus when man congregates into great societies and builds up vast social organizations and machinery to promote his interests, he thereby unfolds four persistent major social problems, for the working solutions of which he evolves four sets of social customary or folk ideas and ideals. With the supersedence of isolated effort by

socially organized efforts there comes the displacement of isolated opinion by social ideas and ideals.

When groups of people engage in team work they are first of all confronted by the social problem of what they want to have done. If an individual is by himself in the forest he may follow his own impulses. He need consult no one else. But when two or more people, or a great community of people, propose to work together they must have relatively common ends in view. Human impulses do not always run in the same direction. In both small and large groups the solution of the problem of conflicting aims is a serious and difficult one. In answer to this need a group of folk ideas upon social welfare has gradually to be evolved.

The people of a society also have to face the problem of how to secure the results they want, and of what methods and processes shall be employed to attain their desired ends. The problems centering about the question "How?" are the great technical problems in the solution of which modern science has so markedly aided society.

The third major social problem that arises in the process of supervising the social order is the division of the labor, the sacrifices, the burdens, entailed in the running of the great institutions of society; also the distribution of the valuable services of these institutions. When people work together there is no escaping the question of the division of the necessary work and the fruits of that work, the distribution of the burdens and the blessings.

The fourth social problem is: Who is to participate in the deciding of these social questions? When a man works apart from others he alone directs his work, but when he joins his labor as a part of a social organization, engaging in team work with others, the question of the distribution of participation in the control over this team work demands a solution. A group of customary opinions or ideas has slowly arisen as the answer to this social question of who should have a voice in the control of the organized activities in the social order.

These four major problems are: (1) What is the social machinery to produce? (2) How is the social effort to be organized to produce it efficiently? (3) How is this product and the work entailed

in its production to be distributed? (4) Who is to have a voice in deciding upon answers to these problems? These social questions may be more briefly stated as: (1) What to do? (2) How to do it? (3) What division of service and services? (4) What participation in control? Or, in terms of the goal or ideal: (1) social welfare, (2) social efficiency, (3) social justice, and (4) social democracy.

It is the purpose of this article to discuss the relation of such social ideas and ideals to the third of the social problems—that of the division of service and services.

The function of the group of ideas, conceptions, and values known as ethics has been left in considerable obscurity by the philosophers in their discussions of ethics. This seeming obscurity of function is hardly real or necessary, however, for the working ethical ideas of societies are not aimless creations but have apparently been evolved to serve a definite purpose. The purpose of the moral codes is to govern the division of the give-and-take which results from the organization of endeavor in the social order. Let us picture the many burdens, the drains upon man's time and energy, that are required in the processes of operating such social machinery as government, education, family life, entertainment, industry, and we may grasp the magnitude and importance of the problem of dividing among the members of a society the burdens of running this social machinery. Further, the fruits of all this organized effort must be distributed. Such distribution includes much more than the apportionment of the wealth produced by the industrial organization; there are seven other forms of organized activity in the the social order, the fruits of which also must be distributed.

In the absence of a ready-made orderly scheme of distribution there naturally arose among the members of society a struggle to gain the valuable services and to avoid the assumption of the heavier burdens. The disagreeable tasks were pushed upon the shoulders of others. The severity of this struggle may be appreciated when it is realized that one's very life and the poverty or richness of its content depended upon the share of service and services one could avoid or command. This struggle often became one for existence. Take away the blessings of social intercourse of family and friends; take away the products and services of the



industrial system; take away the pleasures gained through the social equipment for recreation, amusement, and culture; and life, if it survived at all, would be empty and void. The distribution of these shares has been the theater of a struggle which is being slowly displaced by an orderly process of division as the growth of the group of regulating social ideas and ideals proceeds.

This group of social ideas does not constitute a positive scheme of distribution. Society was not and seemingly is not at present capable of such an ethical achievement. In seeking the solution of the social problem of dividing the burdens and benefits of the social order, society proceeded along the evolutionary path and evolved a group of ethical ideals, namely, the moral codes to guide the process of division. These moral codes are built up in negative form, a set of thou-shalt-nots, as the means of gradually displacing the struggle basis of distribution by a social or ethical basis. Our moral code of thou-shalt-nots has been developed along two lines: one set of prohibitions was directed against underhanded methods, the other against upperhanded methods.

The ethical codes in their infancy, that is, the codes of a tribe of nature people, comprised but a few thou-shalt-nots, which in turn seemingly consisted entirely of prohibition against underhanded methods; that is, prohibitions against stealing within the tribe, arson, poisoning, incendiarism, seduction, etc. The institutions of society, education, government, and industry were only juveniles then. But the growth of these organizations and the increase in their complexity afforded more varied opportunities in later periods for the employment of new underhanded methods. To meet these the code was extended until it is now so large that it is difficult to catalogue all the thou-shalt-nots it contains.

The ethical codes, as nearly all else in the social order, have been developed under the predominant influence of the relatively stronger groups in the societies as against the influence of the relatively weaker. The underhanded methods are naturally those of the relatively weak. The weak cannot openly take what they want; those of superior power can; but the weak must resort to secret, sneaking, underhanded ways. Thus in the juvenile stage of organized life the strong set up prohibitions against these

methods, whereas their methods, the upperhanded ones, were practically unrestricted.

According to one interpretation of Nietzsche's words, the moral code was set up by the weak to curb the power of the strong, to restrain them from pushing what was burdensome upon the weak, and grasping a lion's share of what was desirable. And since the strong really ought to take what they want, obedience to such a restraining code was not morality but immorality. The strong, however, did not need a Nietzsche to teach them to take a lion's share.

The influence of the strong over the development of the ethical code is still evident. Note the ethical opprobrium attached to sneaking, behind-your-back, underhanded methods as compared with upperhanded, coercive methods. As you read these words does not one sound distinctly more immoral and low than the other? Yet in their departure from social justice upperhanded methods are as bad as underhanded ones. This difference in feeling is partly due to circumstances, but it was strengthened by cultivation and with a purpose. Again, note how many thou-shalt-nots against underhanded methods you can recall offhand compared with the number of restrictions against upperhanded practices. Try it.

Dr. Thomas in his *Social Origins* has given us a picture of the give-and-take in tribal society. The strong appropriated the more pleasant tasks of hunting and fighting and thrust upon the weak the drudgery; the strong appropriated the better food, almost monopolized the gratification of the sex appetite, and took what places of social distinction the tribal organization afforded. However, at that stage the discrepancies in strength or power between the weak and the strong were not great. The power of the strong consisted in muscular strength and skill; also control over the imagination of the weak, who bowed to the prestige of age, to the distinction of position, to the repositories and defenders of the traditions of the tribe, and to the manipulators of the superstitions—the men of magic.

These sources of power seem feeble compared with those of the strong classes in mediaeval society. By the time manorial

society was reached the muscles had been greatly strengthened and protected by means of armaments and castles, and the strong controlled this mighty form of physical power in organized armies. The subjective forces which could be used to exercise a control over the weak expanded perhaps even more. A vast and elaborate machine for the control of the superstitious imaginings of the weak masses had been evolved, and those who controlled this engine of power had an overwhelming influence upon the weak as compared with the primitive magic men. Further, the influence of prestige and social position over the imagination had been greatly extended. Belief in titles and ideas of mysterious superiority of blood had been developed and fostered among the people.

The arts of dress, architecture, interior decoration, trappings, and court etiquette had reached a high stage of development, though with an eye not so much to sheer beauty as to display and impressiveness. And all these arts were employed with an unrestrained lavishness to give a background of grandeur and magnificence which should overawe the weak and obscure masses. When I saw in a museum in Paris the almost marvelously decorated ducal carriages, I could more clearly see how this effect was produced. I could not but think, when this wonder of gorgeousness rumbled swiftly past some poor wretch standing aside in the gutter, how he would be overawed and feel that the occupant surely somehow was of a superior order of human being and as a matter of course should not be called upon to bear any of the drudgery of the world's work but should have only the most choice and valued products bestowed upon him. The strong also exercised a control over education, another engine of power, and also in large measure over the means of communication by using a language different from the dialects of the masses. Moreover, industrially man had passed from the nomadic and hunting stage to the agricultural stage. This advance permitted an increase of population, since more could be fed, but it also increased the need for a relatively permanent control over the land in order to plant, grow, and harvest crops. It follows that those who could control access to the needed land could dictate the division of the work and the product. Further, the code against the methods of the weak, the underhanded practices,

had been elaborated and enforced with a terrible rigor. Petty underhanded methods were even punished by death.

As these engines of power, offensive and defensive, grew greater and greater they gave such a leverage in control over the weak, who were protected from aggression by probably not one ethical prohibition against the use of this power in upperhanded methods, that a small group was able to dominate almost completely the weak masses and control the division of give-and-take in that social order. It is probable that this period represents the climax of injustice in the history of Western civilization. The distribution of the labors and burdens of society and the fruits thereof probably then departed farther from a just division than before or since. Certainly the engines of power over the body and mind had grown to huge proportions, and their control was concentrated in the hands of a small, ruthless class, the members of which became magnified by this external power seemingly into supermen. This class employed these engines of power to exact by upperhanded methods, unrestrained by moral prohibitions, a superman's share of the choice fruits of social effort and pushed upon the backs of the weak the burdens, drudgery, and long, hard labor necessary to maintain such a social order. The picture of these exploited masses, enslaved, led to the slaughter in battles of mere conquest, the long hours of drudgery and hardship, their utter poverty of mental life, is one not pleasant to draw.

This period marks the turning-point in the development of the ethical code. For at last there began to grow prohibitions against the upperhanded methods as well as against the underhanded ones. The moral prohibition that you shall not enslave your fellow-man was gradually set up and enforced. As the people freed themselves from this upperhanded practice, the strong then levied tribute in the disguise of taxes and tithes collected by the power of superstition and the gendarmes.

Another addition to the ethical code was established during the hard struggle of the French Revolution. Thou shalt not exact tribute at the point of the bayonet; thou shalt not use the might of violence, of gunpowder, and of the army to collect tribute within a society, was written into the moral code. The popular phrasing

of this prohibition is, "Might does not make right." This is the latest great prohibition against upperhanded methods to be established in the moral code. It will be followed by others, for there yet remain powerful upperhanded practices. There are other thou-shalt-nots against upperhanded methods to be added to this, the grand code. The evolution of this code has not reached a final stage.

"Might does not make right" is a loose phrasing of the latest prohibition against upperhanded methods, for it implies more than it means. It means only that the might of violence, of gunpowder, does not make right. Our ethical code does not contain a prohibition against the use of the might of circumstances as a power in determining the distribution of give-and-take in the modern team work of organized society. The prohibition against the employment of violence as a force in distribution is quite well established. Public opinion is against disorder. We suppress mob violence, the use of brickbats and arms, and the destruction of property as methods of influencing the distribution of the burdens and benefits of the organized effort in our social order; but the widespread use of the might of circumstances as a force to influence this distribution is socially condoned. If this prohibition that the might of circumstances does not make right—this prohibition that thou shalt not take advantage of the circumstances of thy neighbor to exact an undue share in the exchange of give-and-take—is added to the grand right wing of the ethical code, it will probably be added, not by this generation, but by some future generation of greater ethical virility. The comparatively weak ethical interests of the present generation are mostly focused upon the left wing, the prohibitions against underhanded methods, and the new ones that are being added here are thought to be quite an ethical achievement.

The question of extending the grand code has not reached the stage of popular discussion. The discussion is still confined to the advanced thinkers in ethical matters, and many of these, particularly among the economists, contend against this possible addition to the ethical code upholding the proposition that the might of circumstances does make right.

Let us analyze the present status of the discussion. The products of the industrial system and the services of organized recreation, amusements, entertainment, and arts are subject to a monetary scheme of distribution. These services are for sale, and a person can command much or little according to his monetary income. Incomes are distributed on what is called a competitive basis; that is, according to the circumstances of manipulated supply and demand. As far as ethical considerations are concerned, it is not of fundamental importance whether the circumstances of the market are manipulated or not; but as a matter of fact the general market is always subject to manipulation and is always actually manipulated by at least some groups within it. Income measured in terms of either money or services is a matter of the circumstances of supply and demand. If the circumstances are favorable, one may command a large, even a colossal, share of the services of those social organizations the labor and services of which are distributed through the medium of money; if unfavorable, then one can command only a niggardly share of the services and must accept a heavy portion of the labor. It would seem quite clear that if the might of circumstances does not make right, then the division of the burdens entailed in these organized forms of effort and the services rendered by them is unethical. It is not in the direction of social justice.

The team work which takes place in these organizations of the social order is on so vast a scale that the process of distribution of the burdens and benefits is obscured. The division through a monetary medium instead of the direct exchange of service for service which in reality does ultimately take place increases this obscurity. For example, when people buy articles in stores they often have little appreciation of the manifold kinds of service required far away in factory, farm, and mine to produce them. A person knows the kind of service he is contributing, but he is apparently exchanging the service for money and then for articles. He does not realize that he is really exchanging his services for other kinds of service, because he does not see the labor and burdens assumed by the others in the making of the articles he receives. But whatever the reasons, we have had little analysis of the

actual contribution in services given by each in the social team work.

Attention has been focused, not upon the content of the service, but upon the setting of that service in the market, the circumstance which may place others at great disadvantage. The resulting advantage may be used as a powerful lever to exact much in return for service rendered in the social team work. There are then two factors which influence the value of a service: first, the service itself; and second, the circumstances surrounding that service. Both of these factors play a rôle in the process of give-and-take. This brings into sharp relief the unavoidable ethical question involved when the power of circumstances in addition to the service given is permitted to play a rôle in the process of distribution in the social order.

Ultimately the question is one of give-and-take. Now what does a person give when, instead of working by himself, isolated from society, he joins his efforts in common with others, taking part in the organized team work that will serve their common ends? It is not difficult to analyze the content of the services he contributes in the team work. He gives part of himself, part of the span of his life—as we say, part of his time. He puts forth his energy, bears certain disagreeable burdens, and sacrifices certain pleasures and opportunities when he joins in the team work. This is unmistakably his own contribution, to be measured as such against the similar contributions given by others, namely, part of their lives and life-content. This contribution is of the essence of his very being. No one else can lay claim to it. It is the service and its content, the part of his life, of his time, energy, feelings, and thought that he contributes. How can a person contribute anything but himself, the content of the given part of his life? Circumstances which may influence the need for his contribution are not part of what he himself contributes. They are something else.

Yet in the analysis of the give-and-take in our social order how often is the eye turned away from the service and its content to objective products that are claimed as the result of the service. People think that the social setting of a service is a part of the service rendered. They confuse the service with the services plus

their market value and the need for them. The settings of services consumed by society are the results of forces so broad as to be cosmic in nature. They are the results of the great forces of nature and the fruits of the long history of mankind. An individual laying claim to such results may as well lay claim to the universe. Such pretension hardly savors of the ethical.

Yet such pretensions are continually being made. An employer arguing before the Supreme Court against the Minimum Wage Law contended that he was not responsible for the needs of his employees and therefore should not be compelled to pay them a wage that would provide for such needs. Yet he claims as his right the value of the products of his factory when such products have enhanced value due to the needs of his customers. Why not argue then, "I have no right to that portion of the value of these products which is due to the needs of my customers, because I am not responsible for these needs either?" It is a clear case of the reasoning processes of privilege.

A man invents a stump puller which he makes to sell. These stump pullers are much needed by some settlers to clear the land for agricultural purposes. For this reason the invention is quite valuable, but did the inventor create the need for the stump puller? Nature by her processes, ages old, produced that land and the forest there instead of prairie, in which case stump pullers would not be needed. The settlers came there from other surroundings where other implements were needed. Society in its evolution gradually discovered agricultural processes; otherwise these settlers would have been hunters and would not have needed stump pullers. Furthermore it might have happened that much better stump pullers had already been perfected and were available, so that there would have been no need at all for his invention. Such instances frequently occur; someone invents a device which he thinks is wonderful, only to discover to his dismay that there is no need for it because a better device has already been invented. To claim that such workers bring about the circumstances which give rise to the need and value of their services is contrary to obvious facts. Of course a person can take advantage of such circumstantial need and exact much for his services. That, however, is using, not justice, but force to determine the reward for services.



Such claims are justified by alluring productivity theories, theories of effects or values produced by circumstances and the service rendered. They are put forth to establish claims upon larger shares in the process of give-and-take and to gain a leverage upon larger claims by dragging in the might of circumstances as an additional factor in the process of distribution. This additional factor may be a powerful force in the give-and-take of the social order, for circumstances may, as we have seen, be such that there is a great social need for certain services that are a part of the organized effort. Then such services are said to have great value. Certainly the persons who control these services can take advantage of their strategic position to exact an undue, even a colossal, share in return for their services.

The thought that has been expended upon the elaborate vindications of the might of circumstances as an ethical force, contending that it is just and proper for the members of society to take advantage of each other's circumstances, could have been better used otherwise. The circumstances or conditions which influence the extent of burdens incurred in doing the various kinds of work in the social order, and the greater or less value or need for these services, could be studied with different purposes in view: one, so to organize the social team work as to reduce its attendant burdens to a minimum; the other, so to direct this organized effort as to produce the maximum social utilities. Then divide the necessary burdens and benefits on an ethical basis instead of studying how the circumstances can be manipulated for the purpose of using the advantage to gain a larger share.

Even the value of a service as determined by the economic and other circumstances of society cannot be used as the measure of the contribution of service that is made when one joins the social team work. There is no direct connection between the magnitude of a service and its content and the degree of the social need for that service. A person by a mere shout of warning may save a human life. Compare the service given with its value under the circumstances. Again, one may labor for a decade upon an invention or a freak carving which is of little or no value to the members of society. Production is one thing; consumption is another. The group of circumstances which influence the burden of rendering any specific

service in the social team work is quite different from the group of conditions which influence the need or usefulness of the fruits of that service. How can utility or value in consumption be the measure of the burden in production when each of these is a quite different thing and the resultant of quite different groups of circumstances?

Thus, in any case, if the might of circumstances does not make right, then theories which focus the attention, not upon the services and their content, but upon effects or products, are essentially unsound ethically. The ratio of the give-and-take in our present social order is not on the basis of the services contributed but on the basis of the values of effects or products. These values, in part, are established according to manipulated circumstances. Consequently instead of being an exchange, or give-and-take, of the service of one for the equal service of another—such services contributed as a part of the organized effort of society—it is a trading of forced values for forced values, values upon products which are the result of historical, natural, and social forces and conditions. Already there is developing much ethical feeling against attempts to control the circumstances of the market and to manipulate these circumstances in such a way as to enhance their power and so compel higher values and consequently larger returns in the trading. But the moral objection cannot stop with ethical disapproval of merely manipulated circumstances. There is no reason for the moral judgment that circumstances constitute an ethically legitimate force provided no attempt is made to increase their power.

The growing feeling against manipulating circumstances is probably the entering wedge which will serve ultimately to make way for the extension of the grand code to include the repudiation of the might of circumstance as an ethical force along with the might of violence. When this is achieved, mankind will have taken a great step forward on the road toward the goal of social justice.

We have noted that the ethical code is in negative form, and that it does not consist of a fixed set of thou-shalt-nots but grows by a process of accumulation of prohibitions against the employment of underhanded and upperhanded methods to influence the division of give-and-take in the social order. The question arises,

Is this accumulation of prohibitions a real growth in some direction? Is the code itself its own final authority, or is there a test that can be applied to the value and permanence of new and debated additions to the code?

When the infallibility of conscience as a criterion of right and wrong could no longer be accepted, and, further, when the conception of evolution displaced static notions of fixed eternal truths, we were apparently left without ethical foundations other than a seemingly shifting group of prohibitions. Even now this view is widely current and manifests itself in such expressions as, "There are no permanent ethical values." People's ideas of right and wrong change from time to time; what we think is right now may by a later generation be regarded as immoral. We may know what is considered right today, and that suffices for us; tomorrow right and wrong will be different, but we cannot know in what way. But people living with not a fixed but a changing code cannot help speculating upon it. The very process of addition forces attention and discussion. It induces the search for a criterion to test the merit of a prohibition that is in process of being added to the code.

The academic procedure has been a hunt for a *summum bonum*; and such highest goods as pleasure, eudemonism, energism, self-realization, and perfectionism have been conceived as the criteria or ultimate purposes of moral conduct. This teleological conception regards the distributive process as a mere tool that is used as a more or less effective means of attaining a non-ethical end. The division of give-and-take in the social order is considered to be merely an instrument for the attainment of some prized end; and when the distribution is so ordered as to assure the gaining of this end the division is said to be ethical. In other words, the distribution among the members of society of the labor, burdens, and benefits of our social order is considered to be placed on an ethical basis when by offering large benefits or withholding services it is used as a force for coercing or persuading its members to labor in the interests of some supposedly supremely desired end, such as pleasure or happiness.

There is another avenue of approach in the search for the criterion to test the value of the various prohibitions new and old in

the moral code. The distribution of the burdens and benefits of the organized activity in the industrial system, the family, and other forms of social intercourse, education, public hygiene, government, etc., does not take place merely to serve some conceived end, but because it simply must occur. Distribution there must be in one form or another. Social team work means dividing the work and the benefits of that work. One way in which this division can take place is according to natural methods; the other, according to ethical methods. The natural way is to let the division be determined by impulse and feeling, impulses of love and sympathy and generosity, of selfishness and envy and hate. These feelings reflect our valuation of some fellow-being—some friend, acquaintance, or stranger. They are immediate, personal, and often momentary changing valuations, but they influence us in deciding how much we wish to give to and to take from others, according to whether we like or dislike them, whether we feel kindly and generous or selfish and callous toward them; in the one case we give freely of our services and take little in return, and in the other case we grasp what we can and yield only what we are compelled to give in return. In the partly socially regulated conduct of the family we often see the give-and-take among the members of the family governed by the momentary impulses and feelings of its members, now generous, and now selfish and exacting. In such cases there is no thought of a principle that should displace the sway of impulse and govern the give-and-take in the family.

It is possible for the division to rest upon a higher basis. We may rise above these natural impulses, these personal attitudes and valuations, to a higher, a social, valuation of the people of a society. In fact, when the small face-to-face groups become displaced by societies composed of large and widely distributed populations, when the exchange of give-and-take occurs between people who never see each other, and when such exchanges are made through third parties and over longer periods of time, there is less opportunity for personal feelings of favor to be aroused, and consequently the valuations that govern the give-and-take must become less personal and momentary and more impersonal and enduring. Thus the individual personal valuations of the face-to-face group

have been gradually displaced by an impersonal public or social valuation of the members who constitute a society.

You and I are subject to different valuations. We are valued for our characteristic qualities, the suitability of our working qualities, and also simply as human beings and fellow-members of a society. These values may be formed by the individual according to his own viewpoint, or they may be formed by society, the individual merely adopting such social valuations. The one then is a personal valuation; the other is a societal valuation of the different aspects of the individual. Let us contrast these two valuations. The one is a valuation of our habits, of our traits of character and personality; the other is a valuation of us as fellow human beings in society. The one is a valuation of the qualities of human nature, the other of the human being as such without regard to his personal qualities. There is a personal valuation of our qualities by our friends, neighbors, and acquaintances. There are valuations also by such groups as the church or political parties. One is liked or disliked; one may be a popular idol for a moment and then be hated. There is a personal reaction to personal qualities of like and dislike for them which is often transient and fickle. There is also a societal valuation of these qualities with regard to their bearing upon group welfare and survival. Society often places a high value upon such qualities as thrift, loyalty, courage, etc., because of the serviceability of these traits in promoting the well-being and security of the group.

There is also the societal evaluation of the members of society as human beings born upon this globe, born into a system of social machinery and among other people. Now all these—nature with its resources, the social order with its institutions, and the other people with their activity—surround each member. Each one may try to utilize nature, the social order, and the people about him with what force or favor he can muster. Society, however, places values upon its members, and according to these values recognizes claims and rights, rights of access to nature, to the social order, and of return from others for services rendered. These societal values tend to displace the individual attitude of fear and favor.

When the give-and-take is guided by personal responses to qualities, by attitudes of like and dislike, the distribution is not on an ethical basis. When the distribution in society is guided by the higher societal valuation of its members as human beings, giving a basis for rights or social claims, displacing the force of fear and favor upon the distributive process, then the distribution partakes of an ethical nature. If we wish to determine what is just and fair in case of a dispute, we resort to a third person who is not interested in either side and who, having no personal leanings, will be guided in his award, not by attitudes of like and dislike, but by the impersonal or social valuations of the persons involved. We indicate the ruling out of the personal feelings by blindfolding the symbolic figure of justice.

That distribution guided by personal response of like or dislike is not ethical is made more manifest by the study of distribution as it takes place in the animal world. The give-and-take among animals is governed by animal impulses. In the relations between man and animals the animals are governed solely by animal impulses. The dog's conduct toward children is governed by his like, dislike, or indifference. To speak of a dog being just is absurd; it is absurd because the dog can respond only according to his immediate impulses and cannot rise to a higher valuation which would inhibit these responses and thus place his conduct upon an ethical basis. Man's conduct, too, of course often does not rise above this plane.

What is the public or social valuation of the members of society? It is not a fixed thing. It has been subject to change, growth, and development. This social valuation which is ever displacing personal attitude toward qualities seems at present to be that human beings are equal. This is expressed in the popular phrases "free and equal," "liberty, equality, and fraternity," "equality before the law"; also in the religious conceptions of the infinite and hence equal value of human souls.

If nature, man, and the social machinery have been created for the benefit of man, then the social judgment is that they have been created equally for the benefit of all. However individuals may favor and disfavor each other in personal reaction, society can find

no ground for favoritism. A study of the conditions under which nature, man, and the social order were evolved establishes no basis for special claims upon these by the chosen or favored ones. A man by being born upon this globe has a right to the use of it, by being born into a social order he has a right to the use of its machinery, by being born among men he has a right to services from men in return for those accepted from him. These rights, since society as a whole may have no favorites, are equal. Society weeds out of the social order the force and favor employed by the unsocialized member and displaces such chaotic and jungle forces which influence distribution by an orderly process guided by social evaluations and principles.

When this social valuation of the members of society governs the distribution of give-and-take in the social order the division called for is a one-to-one division, equal service for equal service, the equilibrium of give-and-take. This division we know as social justice. It is popularly represented by a figure holding a pair of balanced scales symbolizing the equilibrium of give-and-take. This conception of justice is often manifested in children. A boy playfully strikes another; who then strikes back, but harder. The first then might exclaim, "That isn't fair; you hit me harder than I did you." Children are often quite sensitive to the division of give-and-take within the family, showing a keen sense of proportion and readily complaining against an unfair division. It is not that when we grow up we lose our sense of justice and turn our backs upon it as the rule of division, but that the fields of give-and-take of adult and child life are so different—one is complex and indirect, the other relatively simple and direct. Within the family and in the social intercourse between playmates the exchange of give-and-take is direct and comes under immediate observation; hence the persons, if ethically inclined, are fully aware of the division of give-and-take and are fairly satisfied with their judgment of whether or not what they give is balanced by what they take. But in the other organizations of the social order the multiform exchange of give-and-take is not made in a direct manner, one's services being exchanged directly for another's services, but these being exchanged through a monetary medium. Moreover, the process of

give-and-take does not come under immediate observation; we exchange services over a broad area, with people far away, and for services of the nature of which we may know very little. All this obscures the very basic fact of give-and-take and increases the difficulty of measuring such give-and-take according to the rule of justice.

In order to avoid the application of the rule of justice to the distribution of the burdens and blessings of the social order, powerful classes have set themselves apart, forming castes and claiming themselves to be of a superior order of human being. The exchange of services between such superior beings and the inferior classes naturally would not follow the just or one-to-one division but would be at a two-to-one, ten-to-one, or perhaps one-hundred-to-one ratio. The groups who did and do accept such a valuation of the members of society really do believe that the superior classes should bear little of the burdens and drudgery of life; that it is not their place to do so. They really think that the members of such castes should have leisure, should enjoy the choice fruits of the social order, and should be surrounded by its finest products. This valuation of inequality does not refer to differences in the qualities of human nature, of habits, personality, and character, but refers to differences in birth which are the bases of superior claims upon inferiors, upon nature, and upon the social order. It does not refer to inequality of ability or efficiency in taking part in the organized endeavor within the social order. The differences in this respect are too obvious and too clearly do not follow the caste lines. Nor does this presumed superiority refer to the content of human life, that is, the stream of human experiences, nor to the native physiological capacity for such experiences. We know there are among people such differences, even great ones, but the lines of demarcation of these differences do not follow the caste lines of cleavage among the members of society. This mysterious and undefinable superiority is called one of "blood" or "birth" for want of ability to point out some definite thing as the foundation of this valuation of the members of society into superior and inferior groups with corresponding inferior and superior claims upon nature, man, and the social machinery.



Justice, the one-to-one rule, the rule of the equilibrium of give-and-take, rests upon the denial that there is some mysterious quality in some of the members of society which sets them apart and gives a value to their services over and above the content of the service simply because they, the superior beings, render such services. If A, the superior being, contributes a service, and B, the inferior, gives an identical service, B must take less in return for the service rendered than A, simply because he is in some mysterious manner an inferior human being with a correspondingly inferior claim upon A. Deny this valuation of A and B, and society is undeceiving itself about such a valuation—and there are left only two bases upon which the division of the burdens and benefits of the organized activity in society may be ordered: personal attitude and impulse backed up by might, or the social valuation of the members as equal in rights. This latter valuation gives rise to the rule of justice in distribution. It must be service for service, a one-to-one ratio of exchange. It completely cuts the ground from under any justification of special privileges to special members in society. It is the social doctrine of rights and claims applied to distribution versus the jungle method of force, fear, and favor. The only contribution a human being can make in the social order is his service; all he can give is part of his time with its human content of burdens, pleasures, and sacrifices. This is all any other member can give in exchange for his services, and these services with their content are to be equalized in the give-and-take and nothing else dragged in to mar the balance of justice.

It is not an easy matter to measure these services, content against content. But at least society can aim in that direction, even if it cannot balance the scales of give-and-take to a hair's breadth. This is one of the several reasons why, when society was unable to set up a positive rule of justice to govern distribution in the social order, it developed an ethical code in negative form to modify the natural distribution determined by force and favor. This at least enabled society to go more progressively in the direction of social justice.

It is not that deception and underhanded and upperhanded methods are in themselves unethical. How could they be? Since

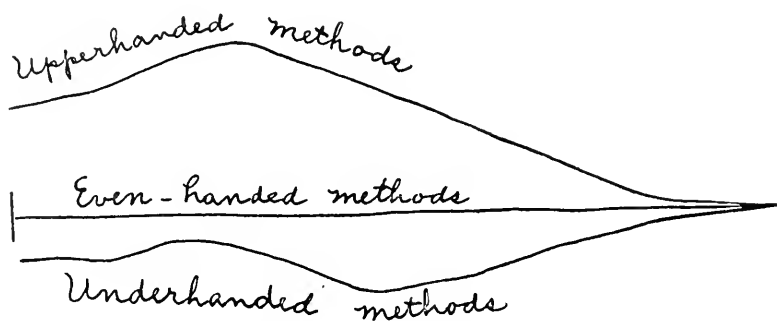
a positive scheme of distribution could not be set up by society, the problem then was to curb injustice. If people did not know how to weigh exact justice, they could nevertheless feel and feel keenly the more gross forms of injustice imposed upon them. They tried to curb this gross injustice by indirect means, by gradually enforcing prohibitions against those underhanded and upperhanded practices that produced the grossly unjust division of give-and-take in the social order.

The Christian religion unwittingly gave the ideal of justice a black eye by condemning the doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It failed to distinguish between retributive justice and distributive justice; it failed to caution that it condemned only the retributive justice. The ideal of social justice, that is, distributive justice, further suffered because it was long kept in the background, while retributive justice occupied the foreground, of attention. Society through its governmental agencies punished those who violated its laws. The spirit of this punishment was long one of revenge, of what was called retribution. The courts in which this retribution was meted out were called courts of justice. Everything seemed to conspire to cause people to think of justice solely in terms of retributive justice. When one reads the history of crime and punishment and reviews how society through its courts and penal institutions dealt with offenders, it may be readily appreciated why the ideal of social justice was obscured and people thought of justice so largely in terms of revenge, of retribution, and of enforced atonement for crimes committed.

We are slowly growing away from the practice of retributive justice. We do not have as strong a tendency as formerly toward revenge, toward "getting even." Society treats offenders less and less on the basis of revenge. However, it is not easy for some people to get away from the practice, so clearly does it appear to them to be only fair and right that they should get "even" when someone harms them. Such persons miss the drift of the newer conceptions. It is not that such acts are unfair, that it is not just to get even, to strike back, but that there should not be any harm, any striking at all. It is not the conception of justice that is changing here; it is the social ideals in another sphere of thought and feeling that are changing. It is in its conception of social welfare that society is

gaining newer and better ideals. The newer ideal is that we do not want any antisocial acts or strife to be committed and harmful things to be created in the social order and distributed, even if justly divided. We do not wish to recognize such negative products of our social life as fruits to be distributed at all. The newer conception is to rid the social order of such harmful, negative fruits, suppress them, and bend all our energies toward organizing and directing the activities of the members of society into co-operative forms of social endeavor to serve positive forms of human welfare and apply the rule of social or distributive justice to the division of this work and its benefits. Thus there is a place in the social order only for social or distributive justice.

The moral code does not consist of a mere rambling accumulation of prohibitions but is a growth in a definite direction. It grows in the direction of the goal of social justice. The growth of the code may be represented by the diagram below, in which the



space between the converging lines represents the relative extent of unjust distribution caused by the use of unprohibited underhanded and upperhanded methods. The converging lines and narrowing area represent the growth of the moral code, each new prohibition moving society nearer to the goal of social justice—the goal where there shall finally be established prohibitions against the use of all underhanded and upperhanded methods, leaving only even-handed methods. Then the burdens and benefits of the organized effort in the social order would be distributed according to the positive rule called justice, the equilibrium of give-and-take. The course of evolution is long, and hence seemingly slow of movement. The problem for man and society is not to reach the goal but to be sure

that they are traveling in the right direction. That means life and growth. There is room for the building up of the moral code by additional prohibitions through many, many centuries to come, during which society with a clearer vision of the goal of social justice and a richer moral code will ever be moving toward that goal.

In this ideal of social justice we have a criterion to test right and wrong, new and disputed thou-shalt-nots in the ethical code. Let us now further contrast this view with that of a *summum bonum* as a criterion. According to the latter view we have some ideal of human well-being which constitutes a supreme end, such as pleasure, energism, self-realization, perfectionism, happiness, loyalty, and so on. Now, so goes the argument, as this is what human beings should seek—what they live for—they should use every means to gain such supreme forms of human satisfaction. Of course, if a group of people co-operates to attain any of these conceived forms of welfare, there is labor to be performed and satisfactions to be enjoyed, and these must be distributed in some way. The question arises, Who is to assume the burdens and who is to enjoy the fruits? Shape then this very process of division in such a way as to promote the creation of this conceived highest good. In some cases withhold satisfactions in order to coerce the recalcitrant or indifferent members to bend their efforts in the cause of the highest good. In other cases hold out great shares of the fruits of the joint work of all as prizes to persuade the indifferent or obstinate members. If they, seeing these proffered shares and wanting still more, persist in withholding their especially needed services, then, to persuade them to put forth their efforts in the interest of the highest good, make the prizes greater, even colossal if need be. Such a scheme of distribution is ethical according to this *summum bonum* view. The very criterion of ethical rules of division is whether or not they so direct the process of distribution as to serve to the greatest extent the promotion of the *summum bonum*. The process of apportioning the burdens and blessings of the social order is subordinated to the process of producing the benefits.

(To be concluded)

## SOCIOLOGY AS ETHICS<sup>1</sup>

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A philosophy is almost as necessary to civilized society as a language. The philosophy that civilized society must have is an ethics—not this or that particular ethics but some ethics or other—that is to say, some generally accepted idea or ideas adapted to give direction and momentum to life.

The ethics of yesterday was largely based on legalistic religion, on the thought of divine law enforceable by rewards and punishments here and hereafter. Today the fear of hell and hope of heaven and belief in the intervention of “special providence” in behalf of the good man and in disfavor of the bad man play greatly diminished rôles in the control of life. Moreover, deeply as we may regret it, we cannot fail to observe that the sense of divine companionship which so refined and ennobled some lives and developed such staunch ethical reliability has tended to fade out of the social consciousness as anthropomorphic conceptions of God have been replaced by philosophic pantheism or agnosticism. Religious ethics was for a time reinforced by “moral philosophy”; but moral philosophy like that of Kant was unscientific and is now discredited and for most minds dead.

Look at Germany! Neither the religion of Luther nor the philosophy of Kant<sup>2</sup> guides her life. Her national policy exhibits a more than barbarous unmorality. And moral disintegration is by no means peculiar to Germany. A large part of our own popular fiction consists in the subtle advocacy of a pseudo-scientific unmorality. If a critic raises his voice in defense of the “mid-Victorian” decencies and sanctities he is greeted with a chorus

<sup>1</sup> Selections from the two opening chapters of a forthcoming book.

<sup>2</sup> Kant taught the absolutism of moral law, and Professor Dewey thinks that his influence has degenerated into a prop for the unmoral absolutism of Prussian government.

of scoffs and jeers. We are assured that nothing is wrong that is "natural," that in nature there is no higher and no lower, that altruism is only a form of selfishness, and that reason has no precedence over the instincts that we share with the beasts. Among "the intellectuals," "the emancipated," "the enlightened youth," the leaders and makers of our future, great numbers are moving rapidly and with gathering momentum toward an abyss not wholly unlike that into which Germany has fallen. That abyss is no less deep and dark and noisome because with us unmorality takes the form of private rather than national individualism.

Now if this doctrine of "the emancipated" is a true statement of the facts of human existence, and if the moral distinction between right and wrong is an old wives' nursery fable designed to scare a juvenile and timorous humanity, outgrown by the men of a scientific age, or if it is an invention devised and perpetuated in the interest of the many weak in order to bind the strong and is an insult to the right and might of supermen—if moral restraints are only an attempt to curb the "natural" current of full, free, and rich life, then we cannot hide the fact from an adult and scientific world, and we may as well plunge at once into the mêlée of ravening beasts and let nonsurvival take the hindmost.

But does that "doctrine of the emancipated" present a true or a false conception of human life? That is the sole question. Are ravening individualism and ruthless war of groups the method of survival for creatures capable of rational organization? Are the characteristic values of human experience obtainable by the unregulated operation of instincts which we share with animals that have not evolved to the level of gregarious life? Are those values obtainable by the operation of any instincts undirected by reason, or do instincts stimulated and guided by the conclusions of reason yield a richer life than irrational impulses do? If so what are the conclusions of adequately enlightened reason that afford the necessary guidance to instinctive promptings? Does the realization of the biggest net total of human values require the subordination of this or that particular instinct to the harmonious totality of experience? Does it even require the organization of the activities of individuals into a regulated system of co-operation? And is it

required by the nature of the situation that men and women, in order to be capable of the richest individual life and capable of social co-operation on which the greatest net total of individual good depends, must have developed personalities that are products not only of biological but also of social evolution? None of these questions can be finally answered by any kind of dogmatizing or conceptual philosophizing, but only by a genuinely unbiased study of the facts of life as it is lived by men in society.

Will the next generation have an ethics? It will not get its ethics by going backward to mid-Victorian dogmas and speculations. If it has an ethics fit for the demands of social order and progress it will discover it by going forward along the path of science—not along the path of a priori speculation or mystic faith, but along the path of science. And the only science that can equip us with an ethics is the scientific study of human life, that is to say of *social* life, for man's life becomes human in the significant and distinctive sense only in society and by the methods of causation involved in the cumulative effects of association. In other words sociology, whether called by that name or not, is our only hope for an adequate ethics.

The physicists tell us that the chair in which I am comfortably seated is a stable balance of ionic action, and that if this ionic action were released from the orderly system in which it proceeds it would blow me and my whole environment to less than atoms. Similarly the instinctive action of human individuals is correlated into a comfortable social order, and if the energies of instinctive action were released from orderly and systematic control society would pass into dissolution and decay or chaotic explosion. Primitive men could live together only in little hordes. Beyond the horde was war. The organized co-operation of millions is the supreme product of social evolution, an evolution that has been largely unplanned and uncomprehended. That evolution is not complete. The possibilities of social organization and of individual experience for the masses of mankind are as yet unrealized. In every age men of insight and deep human interest have declared the shortcoming of the society to which they belonged and assured us that we live only along the margin of the fields of realization that we might

enter. Even savages and barbarians have had their messianic hopes and prophecies. Unrealized good is always within view and barely beyond our reach. It is beyond us only because there is nowhere a society that has developed an adequate ethics.

Ethics is always founded on an understanding, a theory, or a faith. Change men's ideas and thereupon their sentiments and conduct change. As a man dozing by the fireside is roused to a fury of action if his wife announces that upstairs the attic is in a blaze, so an ambitionless idler may be converted into a zealot, or a stagnant and decadent society may arise to heights of achievement if sufficiently propulsive ideas are adopted. If *the sentiments* radiated throughout society rose from apprehension or even a remote approach toward apprehension of the human values at stake and of the way in which commonplace conduct fits into a scheme of things on which the realization or forfeiture of these values depends, men might be aroused to a joy in zestful endeavor and a constancy in sentiment and purpose known only to the most fortunate. We might have an enthusiasm of generous motive in time of peace not inferior to that evoked by war. An individual to be happy and powerful and a society to be progressive and constructive must have ideas that are both propulsive and exalted. If there are no such ideas that are true, then individuals and society are doomed to disappointment, disillusionment, and decay. If there are such ideas, then their discovery and promulgation till they are embodied in the common sense of the masses of mankind are the profoundest of all human needs.

The ideas by which individual and social life has been organized during the nineteenth century are fading out from men's minds. The mind of man will learn all that it can learn. That is inevitable and we must take the consequences. We cannot permanently protect faith by any ignorance that science can dispel. First the teachers and then the taught, gradually and increasingly, will discard all illusions and faiths that cannot survive in the presence of all the knowledge that we possess or can acquire. As yet many have neither received the existing knowledge that will ultimately become common property nor come under the influence of teachers who have received it; but this is only a temporary condition.



Others, who are among the enlightened, are so deeply under the influence of the teachings of their youth and the prestige of organized systems of thought that they are able to close their eyes to the implications of their scientific knowledge. A few boldly declare: "My science and my faith are incompatible, but I cannot live without my faith, so I retain it simply because I must and will."

To those who retain their faith in divine companionship for human endeavor the search for the guiding facts of social life will be nothing less than an attempt to discover the laws of God as revealed in the terms of the problem which he has set us. To those who feel no kindling of the moral flame at thought of any personality above mankind nor any consolation drawn from beyond the compass of the life we know, that search is the quest for the *rationale* of our existence, for the only source of guidance and motive by which our life can escape a *reductio ad absurdum*, and for the matter-of-fact method of individual endeavor and social co-operation which alone can disclose whatever of meaning and worth our life contains and afford guidance and zest, exaltation and power.

Such a transition as now is taking place presents two phases: the revision or rejection of old and the development of new views. The tendency is to remove the sills and timbers of the old structure of ideas before there is anything to put in their places. There are two ways in which men strive to escape from the resulting disturbance or destruction of their own life and that of society. The first way is to strive to perpetuate or re-establish the old. The second way is to strive to build the new and to press toward the views of human life that are disclosed by the light of fullest knowledge. This latter course appears to have been relatively little followed by men of the profoundest moral earnestness. It is time to realize that it is not by reluctant and grudging and timorous admissions that we can best approach the actual truth about life but by courageous and zealous search for the truth. The way out is not backward but forward; backward we cannot turn. The way to shorten the period of transition, disorganization, and lack of social agreement upon the fundamentals of a life-policy is cordially to accept the results and the methods of science and to push on toward more adequate comprehension. It is a tragedy if the men of greatest

moral earnestness, that is, the men of deepest interest in the human values at stake, are to hold back.

Sociology sprang from two roots, one in scientific the other in practical interest. As a scientific movement, its first great names are those of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. As a practical movement, its origin is represented by such names as those of John Ruskin, William Morris, Frederick Dennison Maurice, and Arnold Toynbee. Whatever may be thought of the fruits of their labors, the sociological movement has never been without adherents whose personal and intellectual qualities command respect. These two roots out of which sociology has sprung correspond to the two great changes that differentiate the modern mental outlook from that of the past. The first of these is the "scientific spirit," the second is the "social spirit."

The scientific spirit is the tendency and determination, in studying every division of reality, to replace mere speculation guided by prejudice and preference by the patient investigation of facts through the application of the experimental or the comparative method, and by the interpretation of facts in accordance with the hypothesis that among them all there is a universal causal interrelationship.<sup>1</sup>

The second great difference between the present and the past is the social spirit. The social spirit is the sense that the normal goal of human endeavor is the realization of life's possibilities of good, not by a few whose welfare rests upon the bent backs of the mass but by all normal human beings in proportion as they are endowed with the possibilities of good experience.

Given the advent of the scientific spirit and of the social spirit, the coming of sociology was just as inevitable as any other step in evolution when the antecedent conditions are fulfilled. Sociology in one of its aspects is an intellectual movement which consists in carrying the scientific attitude into the study of human life. In its other aspect sociology consists in turning our minds to the great

<sup>1</sup> To common sense the expressions "facts" and "causal interrelationship" are perfectly intelligible, but speculative skepticism, while groping for solutions, has surrounded them with a smother of obscurity. I must use these and similar expressions with the meanings which we are obliged to give to them in everyday practical life and in science.

task to which humanity in general has thus far never set itself, the necessarily co-operative task of the comprehensive realization of life's possibilities of good experience.

Obviously these two aspects of sociology, if successfully carried out, would be related to each other as any science is related to its applications. And, as obviously, science must come before the applications of science. The greatest danger of sociology is that eagerness for application will divert men from the strictly scientific pursuit upon which both comprehension and application ultimately depend. Preoccupation with practical aims may even obscure the fact that sociology has a distinctive scientific task. Practical aims cannot be expected to define the field of a science. Such aims are likely to call, not for the application, still less for the creation, of a single science, but rather for the application of any number of sciences. Thus scientific agriculture is not itself a science but a combination of applications of zöology, botany, chemistry, physics, and even economics. And scientific medicine is the application of numerous sciences, including physiology, bacteriology, chemistry, psychology, and physics (with its trusses, splints, bone-splicing, radium and Röntgen rays). Likewise, the solution of concrete problems of social welfare may require the application of many sciences. Successful practice requires the combination of knowledge drawn from all the sciences that apply to the purpose in hand, and there is no absurdity when the agriculturist combines knowledge drawn from biology, chemistry, and economics, or when the physician combines knowledge drawn from physiology, bacteriology, chemistry, and physics, or when the social worker, together with the application of his knowledge about customs, organizations, and other social facts, combines application of knowledge about tenement architecture, sanitary engineering, and of any applicable physical science. One may believe that sociology is becoming a "practical science" in the sense in which agriculture and medicine are "practical sciences" and still doubt whether it can ever be a truly fundamental science. I am not employing the name "sociology" to designate merely the effort to concentrate all possible light upon certain pressing practical problems. I assume that to be a perfectly normal exercise of intelligence. But there are distinctly

social facts and there should be distinctly social science. The only question is how many social sciences should there be. The word "sociology" at the head of this paper does not refer merely, nor mainly, to "social economics" nor "social technology," considered as the art of applying all pertinent knowledge to the problems of general welfare, but rather to sociology as a specific fundamental science, that is, as an effort to analyze, evaluate, and account for the content of human life, in terms applicable to all its divisions, economic, political, ethical, and whatever else, in so far as the content of human life is made up of ideas, sentiments, and practices that are not peculiar to individuals but are the common property of groups and that have resulted from a social evolution.

Now ethics also, like sociology, has both a practical and a theoretical side. Ethics in its practical, as distinguished from its scientific, aspect is the sum total of those requirements of wisdom and knowledge which at one juncture or another may become the "duty" of a good man. And ethics of this practical sort, if adequately informed, would be closely related to "practical" sociology if not identical with it. The distinction between the two would be that hitherto practical ethics has emphasized the individual aspect and practical sociology the social aspect of life, which is after all one life having both aspects. As a result of this difference of emphasis sociology has given more attention to detailed information about the opportunities and requirements of co-operative service than has practical ethics. But all would agree that these requirements of co-operative service are properly within the scope of practical ethics. It is equally true, though not so obvious, that the most private and personal moral endeavor is based on judgments and sentiments that have been developed through social experience and spread by social contacts.

Furthermore the theoretical or fundamental aspects of ethics and of sociology coincide as truly as do their practical aspects. Ethics in its more fundamental aspect is a set of general questions about life with tentative or final answers to these questions. The thesis of this essay is that sociology as a science, or at least as an attempt to carry on a study of life in a scientific spirit, *cannot escape those very questions which are the problems of ethics*, and furthermore

*that the only intellectually satisfying method of seeking the answers to those questions is to be found, not in a priori speculation, which has been the historical method in ethics, but rather in that investigation of the facts of human life which is the work of sociology.*

However, the title "Sociology as Ethics" is not intended to mean that sociology is ethics and nothing else. Sociology is the attempt to study in a truly scientific spirit and by a broadly comparative method that conscious life of man which is also the life of society and which can evolve as it does only in society and as the life of society. It must seek to give an objectively true description of all the general traits of that life, of the forms of determining relationship between that life and its material environment, and between the various parts included in that life itself. It is a sufficiently huge claim for sociology to say that sociology is ethics. But one cannot look upon the task just stated without seeing that sociology of this fundamental sort, if it is anything valid, must be scientific ethics *and also much more besides*. The descriptive analysis of social life and of the types of interrelationship by which its content is determined apply to the elucidation, not only of those differences in human experience considered as an end which are designated by the terms "good" and "evil," not only to these and to the evolution of those judgments and sentiments as to human conduct considered as a means which constitute the varying conscience codes of different peoples, but they apply also to the evolution of languages, religions, governments and laws, economic wants and practices, aesthetic arts, and plays and ceremonies.

The Australian's code for dividing a kangaroo with his relatives, American football and baseball, trial by jury, monogamy, baptism by immersion, a vocabulary, or any other social reality, and even the separate strands of idea, sentiment, and overt practice that are woven into such social realities have all had a social evolution to which the same principles of explanation are applicable. Geographic conditions mold religion and morality as well as government and language. The psychophysical traits of a population have similar bearing on all divisions of their life. The invention of the spinning jenny or the printing press has moral and political as well as economic consequences. Imitation is as potent

in shaping religious rites as in determining the pronunciation of words. Tastes for art and games radiate just as moral sentiments do. Suggestion, imitation, and sympathetic radiation, whether in the political, economic, religious, artistic, linguistic, or ethical realm, depend for growth or decline of their efficiency upon competition between the prestige of the venerable and prestige of the novel, prestige of the mob and prestige of the élite, and prestige of half a score of types familiar to the sociologist. Social elements of every sort adjust themselves to the pre-existing social order or reconstruct it according to the same recognized methods of assimilation and accommodation and survive or disappear by virtue of the same selective and eliminating agencies. There are fickle fashions in religion, popular science, language, morals, and politics as well as in dress and furniture. The stubbornness of unreasoning custom is explicable by the same analysis in one of these fields as in another. And if in one of these fields there is more of custom and in another more of fashion and in another more of rational institution, these differences are problems for explanation and exhibit variations in the application of constant principles that hold good for all social phenomena.

If geography develops "social geography" until the conditioning relations of natural physical environment to social life are thoroughly explored; if psychology develops social psychology until it brings within its purview prevalent opinions, social valuations—economic, aesthetic, and ethical—and such typical social concretes as fashions, customs, and institutions and analyzes them into their essential and characteristic psychic elements, and traces in detail the types of conditioning relations between the activities of associates; if economics becomes more psychological as well as more historical and if it extends the study of consumption so far as to observe the social effects of the different forms, amounts, and distribution of wealth; if political science also becomes far more psychological and adequately studies the rise and play of interests which is the soul of political movements and studies the correlation between political opinions, sentiments, and activities and all the *other* elements in social life; if history avails itself of the results achieved by the completer social psychology and social

geography as well as those of physical anthropology; and if each of these social sciences observes how far *the very types of conditioning which operate within its field of inquiry operate in all the others*, then it may be that all the things of which sociologists feel the need will have been done, *except one*, and there will remain no task for sociology, except the task of a scientific, as contrasted with a merely speculative, ethics. There will still be as real a need of ethics as of economics or of political science or of history, and by that time all of the enlightened world will realize that the ethics needed must be a study of objective reality—of the facts of social life.

By the time that sociology can be ethics and nothing else every social scientist will have become a sociologist; that is to say, he will be on guard against the perversion or inadequacy in his descriptions that might result from the narrowing kind of specialization, and he will take account of those general principles of analysis and explanation which apply to all social realities. For the present sociology aims, first, to develop and emphasize those essential principles of description and explanation which are common to all the subdivisions of social reality but which students engrossed with the special aspects of a single subdivision of social reality have largely overlooked, though they are essential to the explanation of every social reality, economic, political, ethical, religious, artistic, or linguistic; and, second, sociology aims to extend the scientific spirit to that particular division of social reality which is the field of ethics.

Thus sociology, in its more fundamental or scientific aspect, deals with two classes of problems: one general, a search for those principles of explanation and evolution which apply to all divisions of social life; the other specific and applying only to ethics. Speaking figuratively of these two classes of problems we may say that the first relates to the *terminus ab quo* and the second to the *terminus ad quem* of the life man lives in society. The first, in other words, asks how are the social realities caused, the second, in what good or evil do they issue. Adequate study of either of these two sets of problems involves the other. Description of human life for purposes of causal explanation would leave out the most distinctive facts if it omitted reference to good and evil, joy and pain, as features

in the description; and ethics, the specific study of good and evil, becomes scientific only as a result of knowledge concerning the causation of good and evil.

The fundamental problem of ethics: "What is good?" can be answered only by an inductive study of actual human experience. The other fundamental question: "What is right?" can be answered only by investigation of the effects of different forms of social conduct on human experience. The supplementary question: "What is the nature and origin of the different moral codes?" is wholly a problem in social evolution.

The study of ethics here discussed is neither sentiment nor a priori speculation. It is a matter-of-fact research. Nothing here contained is intended to voice the absurd claim that sociologists are more ethical than other men, nor to admit the imputation that sociologists are more sentimental than other scientists. What is meant is this: that sociologists are to study human life in its broadest and most fundamental aspects, and that the facts pertaining to human life contain the only satisfactory answers to the problems of ethics. One by one the sciences have gone over from the realm of preknowledge, the realm of philosophy and metaphysics in the bad a priori sense, to the realm of philosophy in the good sense of ever-widening interpretative correlation of facts. Before the beginning of the intellectual movement, which is identified with the names of Comte and Spencer, the study of human life, most of all in its religious and ethical aspects, had been mainly of the bad a priori kind. The work of Comte was the great original<sup>1</sup> protest against the assumption that the philosopher had no need of facts beyond those which chanced to come within the compass of his knowledge. The work of Spencer, tentative and largely erroneous as it was, at least set the example of reliance upon an extensive and carefully gathered body of facts about the life of people in every continent and in every stage of progress.

Spencer<sup>2</sup> further pointed out that thought about human life does not escape from perverting "biases" without the most deter-

<sup>1</sup> "Original" is a relative term, as "great" is.

<sup>2</sup> *The Study of Sociology*, chaps. viii-xii; cf. also P. G. Hammerton, *The Intellectual Life*, Part II, Letter 3, on "The Supreme Virtue for the Intellectual Life."



mined loyalty to facts. Until men derive their views of life from wide knowledge of facts, as a rule they cannot do otherwise than adopt such notions as are furnished by the groups to which they belong and as suit their own bent and interest. The result of this is the antithesis of scientific.

The bias that has most seriously and most constantly perverted thought about life is not one of those which Spencer specifically enumerates. It is bias in favor of the thinker's adopted life-policy. Life itself is guided by thoughts about life. We depend not only for guidance but also for motive and power upon a few concepts and valuations. These are our most indispensable practical possessions. Moreover, the serious and right-minded person prizes his world-view not alone for the sake of the guidance, motive, and sense of worth which it gives to his own life; he prizes it also as being equally important to society.

A man can more easily see any other ideas called in question than those which compose his world-view or life-policy. As to whether light is a substance or a mode of motion, he has no preference to outweigh his desire to know the truth. He might even bear to find that his political party was in the wrong and its traditional opponent in the right, or that his section or country had been guilty of bigotry and misguided zeal, but he clings to his world-view. It is the foundation upon which his life and being are built. His eyes cannot see nor his mind appraise facts that call it in question, unless indeed he has an honesty and courage that outride any tempest of doubt and despair.

But although all serious-minded men may equally cherish the different opinions that form the foundations of their life-policies, yet not all have been equally right in these opinions. Men can live and even live nobly by a false theory and may be willing nobly to die for it. A theory that is incongruous with facts is a perilous basis on which to found our valuations and our purposes—a foundation likely at any moment to be destroyed and to leave the believer bereft and engulfed.

To attack either the general causal problems or the specific ethical problems of life in a scientific spirit threatens the world-view of most persons. To attack the problems of the causation of

human life implies that life is part of the realm of cause and effect instead of belonging to a separate realm of "freedom" lying outside the otherwise universal nexus of causation. And the adopted conceptions of freedom and responsibility must be called in question and perhaps reformulated or even abandoned, as the results of investigation may determine.

At this point is illustrated the truth that the intellectual movement called sociology may produce significant results, not only in so far as it brings to light new facts or recondite principles, but by merely looking at familiar facts in a scientific spirit, for we have winced from viewing many of the most familiar facts of life in that open-minded way. If the principles of causation or conditioning which apply to individual and social life should prove in their main outline to be rather simple and obvious as soon as we are willing to look for them, yet to learn to look at them as true principles of causation and to adjust our system of thought and action accordingly may be both theoretically and practically one of the most momentous of all results of the scientific spirit and method.

If investigation of sociology's general problem, the problem of social causation, seems to threaten destruction of the accepted world-view, there already is promise that investigation of the special problems of ethics by the sociological method will prove to be reconstructive of a modified world-view not less adapted to afford guidance, motive, and worth to life, and having the incalculable advantage over the old world-view of being impregnable to any attacks by incongruous facts, and requiring no blinking of the clear eyes of intellectual honesty.

## RURAL SOCIOLOGY: STANDARDIZATION OF RESEARCH<sup>1</sup>

### CO-OPERATIVE PLAN OF NATIONAL RURAL RESEARCH

#### I. DEFINITIONS

1. *Rural sociology*.—It is recommended that the co-operative research in rural sociology be directed primarily to the social problems of farm populations. This limitation, however, is not to be construed as shutting out treatment of the relations of farm populations either to village populations or to city populations.

2. *Rural*.—Usage has established many meanings in connection with the term rural—often vague, sometimes contradictory. It is recommended, therefore, that the term rural be discontinued in statistical calculations and that there be substituted the more specific terms country, farm, village, small city—as the case may be. The term rural should be reserved for very general reference to country and village conditions and relations, or used in the sense defined by the United States Census,<sup>2</sup> or else should be carefully defined.

3. *Country*.—It is recommended that the term country, when used in a rural sense, apply to the areas outside the limits of villages and cities incorporated or unincorporated.

4. *Farm*.—It is recommended that the term farm be used according to the definition of the United States Census.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society in Philadelphia in 1917 a few persons interested in rural sociology held an informal conference and appointed the Committee on Standardization which has prepared this report.

<sup>2</sup> "The Census Bureau, for purposes of discussion, has defined urban population as that residing in cities and other incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more, and rural population as that residing outside such incorporated places."—Thirteenth Census, 1910, Bulletin.

<sup>3</sup> "A farm, for census purposes, is all the land which is directly farmed by one person managing and conducting agricultural operations, either by his own labor alone, or with the assistance of members of his household, or hired employees. . . . Any tract of 3 or more acres used for agricultural operations and all tracts containing less than 3 acres which either produced at least \$250 worth of farm products in 1900 or required for their agricultural operations the continuous services of at least one person" are designated as farms.—Thirteenth Census, 1910.

5. *Village*.—It is recommended that the term village be used to designate the small type of commercial and residential cluster, whether it be incorporated as a "village" or unincorporated. It seems premature to set a numerical population standard, however, for the village.

6. *Small city*.—It is recommended that the term small city be used to apply to commercial clusters larger than the village, but still small enough to have decided immediate relations to farm populations.

7. *Country neighborhood*.—It is recommended that the term neighborhood be employed to refer to a geographical group of farm families having some distinct local social cohesion.

8. *Community*.—It is recommended that the term community, when construed in a technical sense with reference to farm populations, be employed to designate the population group which is formed by a village or small city, together with all the farm families making this village or city their regular business center.

9. *Urban*.—It is recommended that the term urban be discontinued in statistical calculations, and that the more specific term city or village be employed. The term urban should be reserved for very general reference to the relations of life in the clustered type of residence, or used in the sense defined by the United States Census, or else should be carefully defined.

10. *Farm population*.—It is recommended that the term farm population be construed as relating to population living on farms. It is evident, therefore, that farm population will be found in the country, in unincorporated villages, in incorporated villages, and also in cities; that is, wherever there are farms as defined by the United States Census. Owners of farms will not constitute a part of farm population unless residing on a farm.

11. *Country population*.—It is evident that besides farm population living in the country there is also a certain amount of suburban non-farm population.

12. *Rural or agricultural economics and rural sociology*.—In order to relate rural sociology as closely as possible to rural or agricultural economics, especially on the statistical side, it has been deemed wise, in defining rural sociology, to make its general field coincide with that of rural or agricultural economics.

13. *Rural education and rural sociology*.—It is recommended that the field of rural sociology, as discriminated from the field of rural education, include the specifically social aspects of educational agencies relating to

farm populations, but not the technique of educational agencies, problems, or administration.

## II. A NATIONAL PROGRAM OF RURAL RESEARCH

1. *War conditions.*—In view of war conditions it is recommended that for the ensuing year a moderate program of co-operative research be planned—the attempt being made to get a start in the scientific investigation of some few problems.

2. *Budgets for research.*—It is earnestly recommended that colleges, universities, theological seminaries, and philanthropic foundations appropriate annually a definite fund for specified rural research projects. Graduate students and selected undergraduates can help instructors in rural sociology to carry out a program of valuable research if given an allowance for expense accounts.

3. *Research assistants.*—Scholarships, fellowships, and assistantships in rural sociology are urgently recommended in connection with educational institutions. Rural-life departments of church agencies may well consider the feasibility of establishing traveling scholarships, fellowships, and research assistantships for the study of church problems by young men and women in connection with university research departments.

4. *A correspondence inquiry.*—The committee has made an extended inquiry among the leaders of rural thought with a view to arriving at a consensus of opinion as to the significant general and special rural social problems, and also to obtain suggestions upon methods of research and methods of co-operation in a nation-wide program of research. As a result of this correspondence some fifty problems were proposed and a dozen points established with regard to methods. After carefully weighing these suggestions, the committee has decided to present for co-operative research during the coming year two general problems, one of which has theoretical value in determining some of the elements of rural society, the other of which, by general consent, is deemed one of the most general significant practical problems facing America.

The committee presents also three varied special problems having a highly practical bearing on further research. It is recommended that for the ensuing year institutions and persons doing research work in rural sociology include in their research program one or more of the following problems:

### A. GENERAL PROBLEMS

1. Determining and analyzing the population group which approximates the community in agricultural sections.

2. An investigation of the social aspects of tenancy, with special reference to advantageous and detrimental conditions growing out of this form of landholding rather than out of farm life in general.

#### B. SPECIAL PROBLEMS

1. Making a state-wide directory of rural organizations.
2. Making a state map of all high-school districts in the state.
3. Codifying state laws relating to the social welfare of farm population and village population.

*Co-operative research plan.*—It is recommended that the Committee on Standardization become a clearing house for national rural research plans and results, making each year an announcement of research objects which will be undertaken and a summary of results already obtained.

#### C. STANDARDIZATION OF PROBLEMS AS PROPOSED

##### I. GENERAL PROBLEMS

1. *Determination and analysis of the community in agricultural sections.*—The purpose of this study is to make a nation-wide investigation of the population group which seems to incorporate farm populations into comprehensive local communities.

It is recommended, therefore, that in each state at least one comprehensive trading-center (of about 2,500 inhabitants) and its surrounding farm population be studied, analyzed, and mapped. The method recommended is that used and described in *Research Bulletin No. 34* of the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin (copies of this bulletin may be obtained free on request).

2. *Social aspects of farm tenancy.*—Public opinion selects this problem as the most serious general problem of a practical nature confronting rural life in America at the present time.

*Scope of study.*—The following recommendations are made—

- a) In each state sections (communities as heretofore defined) should be selected for study which have the highest increasing percentage of tenancy.
- b) Sections characterized by large holdings or estates should be studied and compared with sections characterized by small holdings or farms.
- c) Sections characterized by a low percentage of tenancy should be studied for comparative purposes.
- d) Purely racial determinants should be guarded against. American-born communities should be chosen where possible.

*Co-operating agencies.*—

- a) Residents of states where tenancy is high and the tenant problems acute, who may be graduate students in another state, can be utilized to do research work in their own states.
- b) Graduate students of colleges and universities.
- c) Selected undergraduate students.
- d) Rural ministers registering with some accredited institution may enter the co-operative plan of research.
- e) County Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. secretaries.
- f) Representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture.

*Method of study.*—It is recommended that the statistical part of the study of tenancy be confined during the coming year to an exhaustive enumeration of tenants and owners, community by community, covering a ten-year period, from 1918 back to 1908. The center of interest will be the *shifting of tenants*. The study will show the occupancy of every farm during each year of the ten-year period with respect to the following facts: name of occupant, whether tenant or owner, whether coming to this farm from outside the community or from within the community, whether the tenant is or is not related to the owner, whether tenant becomes owner, and whether owner becomes tenant. The outcome of the study in any one community will be the tenant history of every farm in the ten-year period, the average length of stay of tenants on the same farm, the average length of stay of tenants in the same community, the difference, if any, in the foregoing respects between tenants related to owner and tenants unrelated to owner, and the average length of stay of owners on the same farm and in the same community. Every actual shift of a tenant would be counted as intracommunity or intercommunity ("actual shift" being from tenant to tenant, owner to tenant, or tenant to owner). The total number of tenant shifts per year in the community would be known, both from farm to farm in the same community and from community to community. The ratio consisting of the number of actual shifts of tenants divided by the number of possible tenant shifts (assuming as "possible" one tenant shift per year per farm) would be a measure of shifting tenancy by which communities could be compared. The ratio 1 would be the maximum (a tenant shift on every farm every year) and would indicate a decided pathology in respect to the stability of farm populations.

It is recommended that the accompanying schedule be used in the field work of the tenancy survey.

*Summary of schedules.*—It cannot be too earnestly urged that the study of a shifting tenancy should be by communities, as heretofore





a relative normality of condition. A static, immobile condition of tenancy, feared for its stagnating characteristics, is so far from the case in America that it may probably be considered negligible in this study.

It is evident that there may be obtained an index figure of intercommunity tenant shifting and also one of intracommunity tenant shifting, assuming in the one case as "possible" an intercommunity tenant shift each year on each farm, in the other case an intracommunity tenant shift each year on each farm. It is recommended that in each community studied the index of intercommunity tenant shifting be ascertained for comparison with the index of general tenant shifting.

*Supplementary information.*—All the supplementary information possible should be accumulated during this statistical study of the stability of tenant families in a community, such as causes of shifting, social results of shifting, evident character of community institutions, and standards of living. These questions, however, should be considered supplementary to the co-operative research study. A statistical study in every state, reduced to a ratio of tenancy, will go far toward furnishing a clue toward determining conditions of social health or disease in the tenant situation. This study is made as simple as possible in order to enable the committee to develop a technique of co-operative research. The facts of shift will be made the basis for a comprehensive study of the significance of shift at a later period.

## 2. SPECIAL PROBLEMS

1. *Making a state-wide directory of rural organizations.*—A valuable and very suggestive social instrument is the rural directory. It can be made comprehensive and by annual revision become a document of general value. Every agricultural college should have such a directory. Correspondence and library work furnish the data.

It is recommended that a directory be compiled in every state which shall include every farmers' club, rural neighborhood club, or social center, co-operative associations, chapters of national rural organizations, farm bureaus, and the like. Churches, schools, and fraternal orders need not be included. The value of a directory will depend upon its accuracy and its exhaustive character.

2. *Making a state map locating exactly all high-school districts.*—The legal description of every high-school district is on record in some office. It is a relatively simple matter to obtain by correspondence a transcript of this description and then to plat the district on a state map to scale. The high-school situation with respect to our farm population will be highly illuminated by a set of state maps for nation-wide comparison.

3. *Codifying the state laws relating to the social welfare of farm population.*—This study does not require field work but may be done in the law library. A pamphlet, carefully edited, containing a digest of such laws in any state would provide the beginnings for other practical studies. This study of rural social law must come very soon if an advance is to be made in rural welfare.

CHARLES J. GALPIN, *Chairman*

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

WALTER J. CAMPBELL

Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass.

PAUL L. VOGT

1701 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

*Committee*

NOTE.—Correspondence on standardization of rural problems or on co-operative rural research may be addressed to the chairman of the committee, who will reply promptly. Persons or institutions planning to undertake the co-operative research work this year should send in the preliminary facts—problem selected, area to be studied, names of those making studies, probable date of completion. It is urged that the method outlined be followed exactly for sake of uniformity. An announcement of the selection of rural research problems, state by state, will be made by the committee in January, 1919.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN  
SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY TO BE HELD AT RICH-  
MOND, VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 27 AND 28, 1918

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

*General Subject: Sociology and Education*

(Participants in the meeting will be expected to observe the time limit of twenty minutes for each regular paper; ten minutes for each prearranged discussion; and five minutes for each informal discussion.)

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27

- 9:00 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.
- 10:00 A.M. Session on "Sex and Race Aspects of Education."  
"Ideals and Methods in the Social Education of Women," ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, Meadville Theological School.  
Discussion: DR. LUCILE EAVES, Boston; DR. MARION TALBOT, University of Chicago.  
"Racial Assimilation as an Educational Process," ROBERT E. PARK, University of Chicago.  
Discussion: U. G. WEATHERLEY, University of Indiana.
- 2:00 P.M. Session on "Sociology in the Common Schools."  
"Sociology in the Education of Teachers," F. R. CLOW, State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wis.  
"Sociological Background of the Vocational Concept," JOHN M. GILLETTE, University of North Dakota.  
"Social Education in the Schools through Group Activities," WALTER R. SMITH, State Normal School, Emporia, Kan.  
Discussion: MONROE N. WORK, Tuskegee Institute; F. STUART CHAPIN, Smith College; HENRY W. THURSTON, New York School of Philanthropy; ROSS L. FINNEY, State Normal School, Valley City, N.D.
- 8:00 P.M. Joint Session with the American Statistical Association. Presidential Addresses by CHARLES H. COOLEY, president of the American Sociological Society, and WESLEY C. MITCHELL, president of the American Statistical Association.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28

- 9:00 A.M. Annual Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society.
- 10:00 A.M. Session on "Social Education through the Community."  
"Social Education through the Community Center," JOHN COLLIER, Training School for Community Workers, New York, N.Y.

"Extension Teaching of Sociology in Communities," CECIL C. NORTH, Ohio State University.

"Sociological Education of Rural People," JOHN PHELAN, Massachusetts Agricultural College.

Discussion: J. L. GILLIN, University of Wisconsin; W. S. BITTNER, Indiana University; ERNEST R. GROVES, New Hampshire College; PAUL L. VOGT, Philadelphia.

2:00 P.M. Round Table on "The Teaching of Sociology to Undergraduates," led by A. J. TODD, University of Minnesota.

4:00 P.M. Joint Session with the American Economic Association on Social and Economic Theory. (Fifteen-minute papers.)

"The Place of Economic Theory in an Era of Readjustment," J. M. CLARK, University of Chicago.

"The Economic Interpretation of History," W. F. OGBURN, Reed College.

"The Institutional Approach to Economic Problems," W. W. STEWART, Amherst College.

"The Relation of Social to Economic Theory," WESLEY C. MITCHELL, Columbia University.

8:00 P.M. Session on "National Aspects of Education."

"The National Spirit in Education," E. A. ROSS, University of Wisconsin.

"Education and the National Ideal," L. M. BRISTOL, West Virginia University.

"The American Spirit and the Organization of Middle Europe," H. A. MILLER, Oberlin College, Director of the Democratic Mid-European Union.

Discussion: JULIA C. LATHROP, Children's Bureau; FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University; ALBION W. SMALL, University of Chicago.

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The headquarters of the Society in Richmond will be the Hotel Jefferson.

Because the session is crowded into only two days the usual social functions will be omitted this year.

The other societies meeting at the same time and place are American Statistical Association and American Economic Association.

## NEWS AND NOTES

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### UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Professor Jesse F. Steiner has been granted leave of absence for the year to accept the position of director of educational activities of the American Red Cross with headquarters in Washington.

Mr. Frederick Thrasher resigned his position as acting professor of sociology in De Pauw University to accept the position of director of the Cincinnati Home Service Institute and assistant professor of political and social science in this university.

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### COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Professor Maurice Parmelee, recently of this College, has been in London since April, acting as representative for the United States War Trade Board on various international committees. He has been elected chairman of the Allied Rationing and Statistical Committee, and is the only American who has been appointed to a committee chairmanship in England. Professor Parmelee may be addressed in care of United States Embassy, London, England.

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### HAVERFORD COLLEGE

Associate Professor Frank D. Watson is spending part of his time as director of the Pennsylvania School for Social Service.

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### OBERLIN COLLEGE

Professor H. A. Miller has been granted leave of absence for the year, in order to devote his time to the organizing of the League of Central European Slavic Nations to oppose the aims of Austria and Germany. His work in promoting this movement during the past months has had remarkable success and has contributed in no small measure to disintegration of the Austria-Hungarian Empire. His headquarters will be in Washington.

Dr. W. M. Burke, of Occidental College, has charge of the work in sociology for the year.

## REVIEWS

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*Social Process.* By CHARLES H. COOLEY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918. Pp. 430. \$2.00.

*Readings in Industrial Society.* By LEON C. MARSHALL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918. Pp. xxiv+1082. \$3.50.

*Readings in the Economics of War.* By J. MAURICE CLARK, WALTON H. HAMILTON, and HAROLD G. MOULTON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918. Pp. xxxi+668. \$3.00.

Each really good book that has appeared recently in either of the social-science fields has in its own way advertised how far today's conceptions of problems and of adequate ways of treating them have moved from those of day before yesterday, and each has increased the probability that today's formulations and methods will turn out to be at least equally distant from those of day after tomorrow. Each of the works named above is a book that must be pronounced unequivocally good in its way. Each is a book which not alone craftsmen in its particular division of technique cannot afford to ignore, but with which present standards of intelligence demand that every scholar in social science shall make himself familiar. The obvious reason for mentioning these books together is that each of them grades up to this general estimate. A few words about each of them in turn will add all that is necessary to this appraisal.

No American sociologist needs to be told that Professor Cooley does not publish unless he has something to say. Those who are best acquainted with his earlier books will be both surprised and gratified that his present message is from an area of observation in which few knew him to be interested. The nature of his findings too tends to create or to confirm impressions that the sociological field is far from fully prospected. He has driven a shaft in a new direction through rich deposits. It was not so very long ago that the very phrase "social process" called out vigorous protests from cautious sociologists who could not rid themselves of the prejudice that "process" must always be simply and solely mechanical process, just as other sociologists had refused to see that the

concept "social organism" did not necessarily mean simply and solely biological organism.

The first distinct thought of the present writer after looking through the Table of Contents of Professor Cooley's book was: This is another body blow to the vanishing conception of sociology as a system like a clock—a part for every function and a function for every part. The thought followed: What would happen if one should attempt to articulate the contents of this book with the things which we might all regard as now taken for granted in the writings, say, of Ward, Giddings, and Ross? Surely a system-maker's coherence could not be fabricated in that way any more than a science of the conventional sort could be organized out of the tests and measurements taken in turn by laboratory psychologist, chemist, and athletic director. Perhaps a synthetic conception will come some time to organize the types of analytic results which at present defy unified construction, but at present we are forging ahead by giving ourselves all the freedom we want to find out how many different aspects there are of group phenomena. Possibly it will appear before long that we are farther from enumerating them all than the chemists were in numbering all the "elements" a generation ago.

But these are a methodologist's reactions, and Professor Cooley is very much more than a methodologist. Even the casual reader could hardly run over one of his pages selected at random without a sense of being in somewhat novel contact with life as it is. The book will take a place among specialists, both as a sample of fine workmanship and as a demonstration of a technique which each master-workman must add to his equipment. To intelligent laymen with social curiosities the book should be fascinating.

There are more resemblances than we can indicate between the three superficially unlike books which we have grouped together. Professor Marshall's volume might be described as Exhibit X in proof of the proposition that economic theory and economic pedagogy have swung into a new period as different from its immediate forerunner as the stage following Adam Smith was from that which preceded. From the viewpoint of the sociologists the outstanding peculiarity of this latest phase of economic thinking is its unashamed return from predominating pursuit of abstractions to frank recognition that economic activities are not something as detached from literal men as is "the State" of German theory; that economic activities are rather the behaviors of human beings with reference to their economic interests, while they are at the same time adjusting their economic interests to all their other interests. Perhaps

the alternative title, *A Study in the Structure and Functioning of Modern Economic Organization*, would not suggest enough to the mind of Malthus, or of Ricardo, or even of the younger Mill to make either of them suspect that it covered something new under his sun. To anyone familiar with the vocabulary of more recent social science that rubric alone would be enough to create a presumption that it covered something which even so recent and so wise a man as the younger Walker might have called shirt-sleeve political economy. Yes, it is shirt-sleeve and overall and pass-book political economy, the political economy of the very premises where men get their living, not the political economy of that rarefied atmosphere where theorists do only speculating. As a reference book in the hands of college students it can hardly fail to reduce the distance which has always seemed to them to separate economic theory from the things that real men do in business hours. As a survey to be reconsidered by theorists themselves it can hardly fail to make for submission of all preconceptions to the test of comparison with the actual processes of men's economic programs.

The third book in our group is a product of the same fundamental idea of the way in which insight into economic relations must be gained. If men are still left who think Adam Smith's method was as genuinely inductive as one may possibly be, perhaps they might admit that if he were alive today he might find enough economic phenomena which had not appeared when he wrote to call for an entirely new series of generalizations. Possibly Adam Smith's conclusion that in the nature of the case joint-stock companies never can carry on a very considerable volume of business might now seem to him no more premature than numerous later economic doctrines are likely to appear after they have been re-examined in the light of the war's revelations.

At all events, the editors of this volume have thrown on the screen a dramatic moving picture of men compelled by war not only to live through new experiences but to think new thoughts, or at least to propound new questions about which there will have to be new thoughts if consciousness is more completely recovered after the war. Even the introductory description of the three divisions which make up the book projects vistas of inquiry which might not be suggested by reading all the economic books antedating the present war in many a well-stocked library. There are economic antecedents of war. Admitted. Herodotus knew it in a general way, and few boys after their first high-school course in economics would flatly deny it; but who in this country has thought it worth while to pioneer very deeply into the heart of these



conditions? Herbert Spencer made the distinction between militant society and industrial society the chief cornerstone of a political philosophy; but how many Americans, pious disciples of Spencer or others, ever before the present war had much of a grip on the significance of the leading fact that "in their readiness to meet an armed enemy nations may be divided into two groups—those whose governments, industrial systems, and habits and customs have been arranged into a unified and coherent whole directed largely to military ends, and those which without thought for military strength have allowed these things to develop to meet the needs of a people at peace"? Everybody knows that wars, like showers, come to an end at last. Who among us thinks that he can see very far into the conditions that will exist, and that will call for control, after the end of the present war, whether in our domestic or in our international relations? This book is a sort of Baedeker to the outwardly peaceful regions behind war frontiers, to the field of economic operations while war is in progress, and to the fatherland after the stay-at-homes and the fighters have been thrown out of their previous bearings by the fighting. It goes without saying that such a book can be neither a cyclopedia as to facts, on the one hand, nor a Code Napoleon for control of all the dislocated relations, on the other. One may say with confidence, however, that a more timely book could hardly be imagined. It is a book which every man or woman who votes ought to digest. It is a book which every man or woman who actually contributes to public opinion ought to study hard. It is a book worthy to be one of the chief landmarks from which every legislator, state or national, in the land takes his bearings. Its editors would be the last to claim for it the character of a last word upon its subjects. It is virtually a first word on contemporary aspects of the subjects. It deserves wide and long influence, and it is worthy to be the progenitor of a vigorous breed of wrestlers with problems of war economics.

ALBION W. SMALL

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*A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present.* By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN, PH.D. Vol. II, from Independence through the Civil War. Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1918. Pp. 390.

The second part of Dr. Calhoun's important work more than sustains the high expectation of the reviewer of the first volume. There is the same clear and forceful style, the same logical analysis and careful

attention to details, while the century of rapid national expansion covered by this division has offered a field for exploitation much less previously worked than was the colonial period. The author has taken full advantage of his opportunity. The fourteen chapters of this volume are packed with information gathered from many hitherto unused sources. In particular, fruitful use has been made of the writings of both foreign and American observers of family life in the new nation. Especially interesting and enlightening are the pictures of frontier conditions in the West and South. In fact the title, *A Social History of the American Family*, is fully justified, for it is precisely the author's clear perception of the real breadth of his subject—of the fact that the great stream of the larger social life, whether political, economic, or religious, inevitably flows through and shapes the character of the domestic life—which constitutes the chief merit of his book. Stress is laid on the economic factors. In his Introduction Dr. Calhoun says:

The evolution of the American family during the period that accomplished the nationalization of the federal union, manifests the operation of several large groups of formative factors that were present at least in rudimentary form in the colonial period. The chief of these was the influence of pioneering and the frontier, the development of urban industrialism, the rise of city luxury marked by conspicuous consumption, and the culmination of the chattel slave system. All of these agencies, it will be observed, are economic and their outstanding importance supports the large lines of the economic interpretation. The first was a phenomenon of the westward-moving forefront of settlement—the most distinctively American factor in our history. The long persistence of a genuine frontier continually brought a considerable part of the population under the direct influence of pioneer life and has profoundly affected conditions even in the older sections of the country.

The strong influence of frontier economic conditions is revealed in the opening chapter on "Marriage and Fecundity in the New Nation." Here is rich material for the sociologist. As in the colonial period, so likewise in the new settlement of the West and Southwest, early marriages and big families were the rule. Children were looked upon as an economic asset. Child labor was favored by public opinion as a proper means of production. A gentleman of Petersburg sent his son to Edinburgh "to make a doctor of him, since he now doubted whether he would ever marry and take a plantation, his age being already twenty-one years." According to Hunt (*Life in America*) the girls of North Carolina married so early that grandmothers of twenty-seven years were frequently found. The high death-rate was far outstripped by the birth-rate.

Tennessee enacted a law in 1829 authorizing any man whose wife had three or more children at one birth to take two hundred acres of state lands for each of the children. Buckingham noted in 1842 that in the log huts of the Georgia mountains the number of their children appeared to be excessive, ten or twelve in each hut at least. One woman not over thirty-five had thirteen children. . . . A North Carolina man born during the period under study in this volume had twenty-seven brothers and sisters.

Of course the price of such excessive child-breeding was paid by the woman in wrecked body and spirit. "Bunn, a mid-century author, thought that women should not marry at so tender an age, nor have half-a-dozen children before they ought to have one." The harmful social effects of premature wedlock are often accented by writers such as Mackenzie, Martineau, and Cooper.

"The Unsettling of Old Foundations" of matrimonial forms and ideals is treated in a fascinating way in the second chapter. Pioneer economic conditions tended to level class distinctions in mating. Mercenary marriages were relatively few. It is not rare, reports Mazzei, "for a girl to refuse a man whose face and fortune are his only recommendations." Sidons remarks that "parents seek less to secure a rich match than a steady man for their child." It is quite common, says another observer, for parents to "give their daughters only their parental blessing for dowry, and to make them wait until after death for the inheritance." There was, however, a "tendency in the direction of sordid unions among the class that rose with commercialization and the waning of wilderness influences as well as among the beneficiaries of the slave system." Freedom in marriage and divorce was the rule. The ceremony was simple, often before a justice of the peace. The statutes permitted great liberty of divorce; and this is notably true of the newer states of the South and Southwest where legislative divorce occurred on a wide scale.

The nineteenth century, observes Dr. Calhoun, "witnessed a remarkable revolution in the status of the child in America. As the vastness of the unfolding continent and its needs impressed themselves more and more on the minds of men, the valuation placed on childhood rose." Conditions favored the early "Emancipation of Childhood," the subject of the third chapter, which is based on a wealth of contemporary materials. The precocity of boys and girls challenged the notice of all foreign observers of American society, and the new freedom "evoked an astonishing competence on the part of childhood." Likewise it bore evil fruit, although the general trend was sound. Writers comment on

the pertness, the profligacy, and the disrespect for age on the part of the American youth. The boys were more spoiled than the girls. In 1834 the daily *Man*, a labor newspaper, contained "a modern catechism adapted to the times," in which occur the following questions:

Who is the oldest man? The lad of fourteen, who struts and swaggers and smokes his cigar, and drinks rum; treads on the toes of his grandfather, swears at his mother and sisters, and vows that he will run away and leave "the old man" if he will not let him have more cash. In what families is there the best government? Those in which the children govern the parents. Who brings up the children in the way they should go? He that teaches them to spend money without earning it; mixes sling whenever he thinks it will do him good, and always saves the bottom of the glass for little Frank.

The satirist was not the only one who noted the traits of precocious American youth. There is abundant testimony from other sources. Even Emerson "quoted a man who said that it was a misfortune to have been born in an age when children were nothing and to have spent mature life in an age when children were everything." The emancipation of children, especially of girls, had good results as well as bad. Says the author:

From sundry references in the period between 1800 and the War, the inference is that the American maidens enjoyed great freedom, cherished their independence, and used it cleverly. Unhampered acquaintance with young men put them in a position to choose their mate, perhaps not always wisely yet doubtless with results happier on the whole than the fruits of marriage in more conventional periods.

In fact the early emancipation of the child, with its good and evil results, appears clearly as a transition phase in the process of spiritual liberation which is changing for the better the relative positions of mother, father, and child in the household.

At the present moment, when the threefold movement for the intellectual, economic, and political liberation of woman is reaching its crisis, the two chapters on the "Social Subordination of Woman" and the "Emergence of Woman" will be read with keen interest. They offer new and valuable materials drawn in part from a variety of hitherto unused sources and presented in Dr. Calhoun's best style. Here there is not space even for a brief summary; nor may any attempt be made to analyze the enlightening chapters on the "Family and the Home," "Sex Morals in the Opening Continent," the "Struggle for the West," the "New Industrial Order," and the "Reign of Self-Indulgence."

The reader's interest culminates in the chapters dealing with southern family life. A vivid picture is drawn of "Negro Sex and Family Relations in the Ante-Bellum South." As usual, the author lets the contemporary records speak for themselves. If the behavior of the Negro was often bestial, the fact gives no support at all to the obsession of the southern mind that the black man is made of inferior clay and is devoid of a moral nature. "The Negro sex relations were extra-moral phenomena—the behavior of irresponsible cattle. If the blacks were gross and bestial, so would our race be under bondage; so it is now when driven by capitalism to the lower levels of misery. The allegedly superior morality of the master race or class is not an inherent trait but merely a function of economic ease and ethical tradition."

How could the Negro help being gross when his licentiousness ministered to the master's passions and greed? Negresses were prized for their fecundity; and often the black man who "had a fine family" was forced by his owner to "serve as a stallion." Promiscuous "chattel-dom spread disease among the races." The marriage relation was precarious. "The full property right of the master involved, of course, the right to break up families and sell the members apart," and the right was very often ruthlessly exercised. In some regions, even in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, public sentiment began to oppose the separation of the slaves' family; but "progress was shamefully slow."

If the slave system brutalized the black chattel, it tended also to degrade the white owner. Abundant proof of this fact is presented by Dr. Calhoun in his chapter on "Racial Association in the Old South." "American slavery almost universally debauched slave women." The corruption of white boys is the theme of many writers. An ex-mayor of Huntsville, Alabama, "once said that as a general rule every young man in his state became addicted to fornication at an early age." A Tennessee slaveholder ventured "to say, that in the slaveholding settlements of middle and southern Mississippi, where I have lived for several years, there is not a virtuous young male of twenty years of age." Early in the nineteenth century "the North Carolina supreme court decided that a white man could not be convicted of fornication and adultery with a slave-woman because she had no standing in court." One can heartily approve the author's judgment when he declares that it is difficult to "appraise a civilization in which such an institution was accepted, in which countless 'respectable' men lived thus in standardized illicit love to which society was too supercilious to accord legal recognition, and in

which all the virtues of womanhood were not sufficient to procure a career of respectability."

Southern "sentiment could wink at miscegenation but would not legalize it." The black woman was at the mercy of the white rapist; and even today, according to creditable southern white witnesses, for every case of the rape of a white woman by a black man there are many cases of the rape of black women by white men. In short, the degradation of the Negro's family life through slavery debased the domestic life of the white.

The volume closes with a chapter on the "White Family in the Old South" and another in which the "Effects of the Civil War" on household institutions are considered. These may not here be summarized. Dr. Calhoun is producing a monumental work. The *Social History of the American Family* will take its place, I venture to say, as one of the chief contributions which several decades of active sociological research have yielded.

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*A League of Nations.* By HENRY NOEL BRAILSFORD. Revised edition. London: Macmillan, 1917. Pp. vii+349. \$1.55.

This is a book that no one can afford to miss who cares to understand the tremendous issue of our time. The author has had unusual opportunities for knowing the facts of the European situation and has used his opportunities with great diligence and understanding, and, above all, in a judicial spirit. Many will disagree with the book at certain points for the simple reason that the judicial spirit has been driven out by the spirit of warlike hostility. In fact anything like a judicial attitude toward the contending parties in this war to many now seems a vice rather than a virtue. But whatever the effect of unmitigated hostility and blind partisanship upon fighting men, it is clear that at the end of the war there will be need for counselors who are capable of judicial discrimination.

Mr. Brailsford is far too judicial to extenuate the evils that have been perpetrated in this war by the Germans—evils of the very sort which a league of nations aims to prevent. Germany, he says "can be acquitted of crime only if it is convicted of madness," "in denouncing Prussian militarism no words are too harsh," the work of the school of

Treitschke "is written in blood and fire across a continent, and its memory will be execrated with ever-increasing vehemence."

If this is to prove in fact "a war against war," if the purposes for which America forsook her traditional policy of aloofness from European contentions, and of which her President has been the most eloquent and consistent exponent, are not to be abandoned, the fierce passions of this troubled hour must not prevent us from farseeing and judicial exercise of intelligence. The conflict between passionate action and calm and judicial intelligence was never sharper. The period of action that creates the opportunity for the constructive exercise of intelligence must not pervert the intelligence without which that opportunity will have been so dearly bought in vain.

The second edition of this work was required by the large and swift events that had intervened since the first appeared: Russia has overthrown the Romanoffs and entered upon the turbulent struggle for the establishment of thoroughly democratic institutions, the German Reichstag is striving with some promise of success to win supremacy for the representatives of the people, a series of revelations is shattering the old secret processes of diplomacy, and America has thrown herself into the war, declaring that she seeks nothing for herself alone but seeks for the world the final discrediting of the madness of war by which ambitious rulers and greedy trusts and cartels seek at such appalling cost to their fellow-men to gain glory and wealth, and to substitute therefor the rule of reason among nations.

The present war is the culmination of rivalry between Pan-German and the Pan-Slavic programs. These were predominantly programs of economic development, though also designed to realize national and dynastic ambitions. It is utterly erroneous to imagine that this war is due to inborn racial peculiarities of any of the peoples engaged. It is due to a type of ambition that is characteristic of exploiters in all lands, seconded by peculiar geographic and historical conditions, belated social customs that have survived from the dark ages, and political organization that enables a ruling class so to educate the youth of a nation and to prostitute its art, its literature, and its science that they become tools of war.

The *Pan-Slavic* plan involved the withdrawal of the southern Slavs, under the leadership of Serbia, from their vassalage to Austria-Hungary and their attachment to the Slavic league. This would have effectually barred the southeastward development of the economic and political dominance of the Central Powers and would have substituted for it a

Slavic supremacy. The *Pan-German* in its most promising form involved the cementing of the southern Slavs into a third group within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which in that way would become a triad instead of a dual monarchy. This would have given the Central Powers a solid dominance stretching away to the only great fields of economic development that are open to European powers unhindered by contact with the baffling maritime power of Britain.

Archduke Ferdinand, popular with the Slavs, was the trump card of the Pan-Germans in playing for the solidification of the south Slavs in a triad Hapsburg monarchy and the permanent subordination of Serbia to the Central Powers. Hence his murder.

This was the "appeal" of the Pan-Slavic movement to "force." Some answering pressure from Austria was inevitable, and by the standards of historic conventionality was justifiable. The only question was whether the action of Austria and the reaction of Russia and the Pan-Slavs would be moderate enough to avoid the precipitation of a general European war. It was at this point that Earl Gray sought to establish mediation and that the German Chancellor sent to Vienna the telegram which contained the following words: "Should the Austro-Hungarian government refuse all mediation we are confronted with a conflagration in which England would go against us. . . . The political prestige of Austria-Hungary, the honor of her arms, and her justified claims against Serbia can be sufficiently safeguarded by the occupation of Belgrade or other places. We must therefore urgently and emphatically ask the Vienna Cabinet to consider the acceptance of mediation on the proposed conditions. Responsibility for the consequences which may otherwise arise must be extraordinarily severe for Austria-Hungary and ourselves." Some hours later the German Chancellor sent a further message which concluded thus: "As an ally we must refuse to be drawn into a world-conflagration through Austria-Hungary not respecting our advice."

After the severe action of Austria had been taken, war was almost inevitable, but there seems still to have been hope that it might be at worst a small war, confined to Austria on one side and Serbia and Russia on the other. This issue for a time appeared to hang upon the question whether Russia would mobilize against Austria without at the same time mobilizing on the German frontier. The war parties in both Germany and Russia were eager to come to grips. But the Tsar, and the liberals in Germany, and the German government itself appear to have retained some hope of avoiding the general conflagration. The



German government could hardly say to Russia: You may mobilize against Austria, my ally, provided you do not mobilize on the German frontier. But the German Chancellor did give to the British and French governments assurances that Germany would not mobilize if Russia confined her mobilization to the Austrian frontier, thus enabling Britain and France to bring pressure upon their Russian ally to avoid mobilization in the north. This they did. And the instruction of the German Chancellor to his Ambassador at Petrograd, which has been represented as a brutal threat, ran as follows: "Please point out again to M. Sazanoff, that any fresh development of the Russian measures of mobilization would oblige us to mobilize. It would then be almost impossible to avoid a European War." The German Chancellor, according to Mr. Brailsford "was fighting a battle with his own party, and he knew very clearly at what point it would pass beyond his control. It would become unmanageable if Russia mobilized on the East Prussian front."

And Russia did so mobilize. The Russian war party, disobeying the Tsar and lying to its British and French allies, crossed the Rubicon.

If the words of the German government have any doubt as to its real intentions, these, says Mr. Brailsford, are "removed by a simple reference to what it did. It knew officially on the 29th that Russia was mobilizing against Austria. It refrained from countermeasures. It waited till the 31st when it learned officially that Russian mobilization was general (i.e., included the German frontier). It then sent its ultimatum, and after waiting for a reply (which meant nearly a day's delay), itself mobilized on August 1. The facts make it clear that Russia might with impunity have mobilized against Austria alone. Had the Tsar been obeyed when on the evening of the 29th he ordered the general mobilization to be stopped, there would have been no (general European) war." The Russian military aristocracy has in part answered for its sins.

Mr. Brailsford adds: "Our own popular view, that one evil will, the will of the Rulers of Germany, deliberately planned the world-war, must be discarded with all its consequences. Two war parties, both of them unscrupulous, acted and reacted on each other, within a European system which fostered antagonisms and thwarted good-will. Our problem is to change that system."

But the historical question as to the origin of the war is wholly secondary to the practical problem: How is it to end? England, says Mr. Brailsford, entered the war saying "never again," and "this is a war to end war," but owing to the mental change induced by years of fighting she is now disposed to look forward to a reorganization of international

politics adjusted to the fact that the world is governed by force. "Nations cannot set out to injure each other without organizing and perpetuating hate." We have come to desire not only security for the future but also revenge for the past. And we lean toward a limited alliance against the Central Powers rather than an all-inclusive league of nations, and especially to an economic "war after the war." Such a policy promises no end of militarism but a perpetration of its burdens and horrors for all the nations, and for Germany and Austria, if it succeeds, an impoverishment that will fall more heavily upon the working people than on the packers and financiers. "A more repugnant use of force could hardly be conceived. Is there no alternative? Are we prepared on conference and conciliation to found a league of nations, and to admit (since that is their wish) the central empires to its society?"

"The proposal of a trade war after peace does not surprise our critics and detractors in Germany: it merely confirms their worst and most malicious interpretation of our policy and motives. The man who causes it to be said of us that our aim in this war was something lower than a concern for the public law and the liberties of Europe inflicts on us an injury more lasting than any defeat." The Paris resolutions threatening the boycott of the Central Powers and their exclusion from sources of raw material may be as justifiable as our participation in the present military struggle, provided it is used as a means of compelling Germany to right the wrongs she has done and take her place as an orderly member of the society of nations. Beyond that it would be as unjustifiable as continuance of the war of shot and shell.

Mr. Brailsford ascribes to America's participation in the solution of the world-problem decisive importance. "A policy of trust, with America to back it, ceases to be an idealistic folly." "Her conversion to the doctrine of international duty brings the League of Peace among workaday realities." No power could guarantee, and that of America would not, "a peace which is based on exclusions and boycotts. Her offer is to insure the idea of international right." May she not be so debauched as to disappoint the faith of her English friends. We in this country shall be exposed to a steam roller of emotional propaganda and suppression of free discussion, designed to wean us from the high aims with which we entered "the war against war" and to fasten upon us militarism and the brutal commercialism which is the chief animating spirit of militarism and the most sordid shame of nations.

It is useless to think that we can provide for permanent peace by settling the specific problems that may be pressing at the close of the present war. We must create a system that will provide for the settle-

ment of questions that will arise in the future, questions of the kind that hitherto have caused wars. The social evolution of Europe must involve many changes. We have seen how forgotten races rise to national consciousness, how backward races leap, by industrial and educational development, into the position to claim their rights, and how sundered races discover their affinity. Future emigration may make new problems, the decay of an ancient empire, the bankruptcy of a semicivilized state, the discovery of a new source of some raw material in great demand, the invention of a new industrial process; any of these is likely to call for readjustment of the kind that has often led to war. We must not force upon the "have nots" among the nations and parvenu powers the will of the "haves" to stereotype things as they are. Provision for adjudication of future problems "involves some diminution of the arrogance and self-sufficiency of the sovereign state."

While we cannot settle, once for all, every question that could ever cause international strife, the obvious moment to begin the institution of the system for substituting conference for force "is when all the nations are assembled in council for the settlement of this war. If this moment is neglected, each side will see in this neglect a fresh reason for resuming, with the old suspicions, the old precautions."

Mr. Brailsford proceeds to discuss a long list of specific problems that will call for consideration at the close of the war, problems of the minor nationalities, alienated provinces, and coveted trade routes. With reference to each he makes intelligent and fair-minded suggestions that merit deliberate consideration.

The two overshadowing questions are: First, shall the naval supremacy of Great Britain be continued and established? Second, shall Germany be allowed a sphere of commercial and colonial activity commensurate with her population and ability?

Mr. Brailsford states that the people of Britain are by no means ready to consent to yielding their naval position. Later a generation reared under the influence of an established league of peace may bring itself to this sacrifice. Till it has been made the world-order will resemble the order of a pioneer community that rejoices that it has courts but in which individuals still think it prudent to carry a six-shooter. Meantime it will be easier for Englishmen than for Germans to be confident that the power of England will always be used to uphold the authority of the court. And Britain must accept the doctrine that the infringement of the rights and privileges of neutrals on the high seas which is involved in drastic use of sea power is intolerable in a war undertaken by the single will and for the single interest of any one nation. "It is,

on the other hand, expedient for civilization to preserve the right to make this drastic use of sea power, provided that civilized peoples as a whole have the means of determining whether any given war is really waged in the common interest."

The sea power of England, which her geographic position renders indispensable to her "until the world has changed not merely its laws but its habits of thinking," enables her not only to continue to expand her empire, but also to veto the expansion of any continental rival. There is experience to indicate that Germany will consent to the continuance of British naval supremacy if it is not employed in a selfish and illiberal frustration of the legitimate activities of other nations. But, says Mr. Brailsford, "it is precisely this opposition to German expansion which in our generation has perpetuated Prussian militarism," for it left to Germany no satisfactory opening for expansion except the *Mittel-Europa* plan, which demanded force. Britain will use her overseas gains during the present war as pawns with which to purchase the restoration of Poland and Lorraine, or Servia; then her sea power will in fact have triumphed over Prussian militarism. But if she says our colonials have purchased these colonies with their blood and we will not restore them, then far greater quantities of British blood must flow on European fields and the responsibility of perpetuating the burdens and perils of the old order will rest heavily on the shoulders of the island kingdom that entered the war in order to end that ancient and evil order. Even the extension over *Mittel-Europa* of the German commercial system, its enterprising banks, its national system of production and exchange, followed as it would be by the German socialistic trade-union, "the speeding up of these Eastern lands to the rhythm of German work," is a more constructive ideal than any schemes of "war after the war." The *Mittel-Europa* project indeed is a scheme "full of menace to the world" and one "that cannot be fitted into any framework of a league of nations." The like is not true of German colonial expansion. "The commercial policy of Germany in her colonies is, moreover, as enlightened as our own and far more liberal than that of certain other colonizing powers." Not only is there no tariff preference for German over foreign goods, but the administration invariably welcomes the foreign merchant. Her government of the natives may not equal that of England today, with all her colonial experience. Neither is it the worst, not so bad as pictured, and was improving.

The extension of German control in the French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonies in Africa has received disinterested and intelligent advo-

cacy in England, before the war, as a means of improving the condition of the natives. Shall we refuse to the most prolific and most energetic of West European peoples any share in the vast undertaking to organize modern economic life in the backward regions of the world, doing so at the cost of the lives of half a million English youth in merciless prolongation of the war and at the peril of all those high hopes for which we have bidden men to fight, or will England accept instead well-grounded hope of "an advance from the era of force to the era of international organization, the gratitude of liberated nationalities, the respect of her Allies and even of her enemies?"

One of the strongest parts of this book is that in which Mr. Brailsford argues that the league of nations must have a constructive economic policy. "Peace must mean something more positive than the existence side by side of nations which just contrive to avoid bloodshed. It must come to mean for us some conception of a worldwide society, within which a sense of solidarity may grow up." Of the two great causes of war it must remove not only the first, the failure to recognize nationality, but also the second, the failure to recognize commercial freedom. "A basis of force is indispensable as the world exists today, and a league which was not prepared to use concerted force to repress anarchic force would hardly be worth creating." But "unless the nations who compose it can look upon the league with a sense of gratitude, they will never come to feel loyalty toward it. It must be their benefactor before it can hope to command their obedience. If it is ever regarded merely as an overwhelming association of forces too strong for resistance it will, even at the height of its power, bear the seeds of dissolution within itself. Nations must think of it as the once sundered fragments of nations, think of the United Kingdom, of United Italy, of the German Empire. It would be futile to propose at this stage anything resembling the immense advantage of economic unity and complete internal freedom of trade which the United States, the United Kingdom, the German Zollverein, and United Italy were able to offer to their component states. But something of the kind we must offer. Certain interests imagine that they can derive immense gains from a policy of commercial egoism. To some groups of financiers it would be profitable. Against them we must appeal, not only to the need of escape from the waste of armaments and the woe of wars, but also to the need of a more general prosperity based on commercial freedom." The surest way of keeping the league together will be to attach to membership in it economic advantages so evident and so large that no sane nation will venture to forfeit them. An economic

boycott of a self-willed power might, if the world were united, avail as effectively as war to reduce it to reason. That is true only on one condition: "Before committing its offence it must be enjoying profitable economic intimacy with its neighbors, instead of moving toward the conception of national economic independence." This implies at least "most favored nation treatment" toward all members of the league. "No league of peace can be formed until the idea of 'the war after the war' is definitely negated."

Mr. Brailsford ends his book with a detailed discussion of the requirements of a working constitution for the league. Of all its interesting provisions the one most interesting is that for "the representation of peoples." If it is only a league of governments the nations will not be brought into touch. Probably the only way out is to adopt a system of representation in the great council of the league which will give play not merely to national interests but to opinions that cut across the lines of nationality. The council would come to represent, not a mere compromise between states, but the real opinion of the population of Europe, provided its members were elected as liberals, conservatives, and socialists. Let each five millions of population represented in a national parliament send a delegate to the international parliament—or twice that ratio as might be determined. Let England's nine be chosen, not to represent a single majority party in England, but by a system of proportional representation so as to reflect the balance of English parties and opinions. In time votes of the council would come to be looked upon, not as victories for this or that nation, but for the ideas that are to organize the united and co-operating world.

If we fail to organize for enduring peace "we have failed in the only aim that could compensate the world for these years of heroism and misery, of endurance and slaughter. The settlement of the war and the creation of the league are not two separate problems. They are a single organic problem. The league cannot be based on a settlement that merely registers the claims of successful force." The settlement of the war must be the preparation for the league.

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*A Soldier's Confidences with God.* By GIOSIU BORSI. New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1918. Pp. xxii+362. \$1.00.

This volume consists of meditations by a lieutenant in the Italian army. He was killed in action on November 10, 1915. The volume

has the quality and atmosphere of the classical tradition of Roman Catholic piety. Lieutenant Borsi, after a youth of ease and literary interests, turned to the religion in which he had been confirmed and produced these meditations as his experience of the war deepened. In addition to the characteristic notes of renunciation, distrust of learning, wealth, and sensuous pleasure, there are expressions of the patriotism and struggles of an enthusiastic patriot and soldier. The writings are mystical and yet marked by a frank and fervent attempt to come to terms with a mode of life quite remote from the cloister. In the pages which deal with his reflections upon the war there is the sense of tragedy over the loss and conflict involved, but there is also an intense faith in the ideal and spiritual significance of it all. He exclaims, "How guilty a world must be in which this terrible law of death and blood must still prevail. Into what an abyss of abjection have we fallen!" The author craves the boon of death upon the battlefield and looks forward to it as the crown of his short but intense life. In a letter to his mother just before the end he cries, "I am not to be mourned but envied."

The book is an expression of vivid and sincere efforts on the part of a cultivated and sincere soul to express the moods produced by the great events of the war. If one is able to read the book as a human document, overlooking at times the conventional religious phrases, it will furnish a vivid and appealing example of human nature wrestling with the great problems created in this world-war. The fact that the book has already had an extensive circulation in the author's country and is now translated for a wider circle of readers indicates the strength of its appeal and the quality of its literary finish.

E. S. AMES

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.* By WILLIAM I. THOMAS and FLORIAN ZNANIECKI. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1918. Vol. I. Pp. xi+526. Vol. II. Pp. vi+589. \$10.00.

These volumes are the first of a series of five devoted to a study of the Polish peasant, or rather utilizing the Polish peasant as a means for developing a certain method of studying sociological problems. This method is explained in the Methodological Note which occupies the first 86 pages of the first volume; briefly stated, it consists in the application of a rational technique to the working out of social problems the solution of which is essential to human welfare and progress. As the

authors say, the work is "largely documentary" and consists of compilations and transcripts of many series of letters written by members of the group in question in the two countries.

One finds it difficult in these strenuous war times to conceive that anyone ever had time to read such an enormous mass of detailed material, to say nothing of getting it ready for other people to read. Nevertheless one recognizes at once that this is just the way these things ought to be studied, and that this work is a valuable contribution to a much-neglected and very important field of research. We in this country have stubbornly closed our eyes to the significance of race mixture and the mingling of cultures. The whole question of social assimilation has received astonishingly little scientific attention. Some have maintained that the question was wholly biological, others that it was entirely a question of changing customs. Few have sought to apply to it the only scientific method of approach, that of inductive investigation. It is to be hoped that this series will be the forerunner of many similar studies of the foreign elements in our population.

The portion of these volumes which will be most read is the 200-page Introduction, which gives a remarkably vivid picture of a semi-modernized group of people in their native habitat. It is the transference of this people to the different social environment and life-conditions of the United States and the adaptive processes involved which occasion the problem of the Polish immigrant. In so far as this work contributes to an understanding of the nature of this problem and the methods of handling it, it will be of the greatest value, not only because of the importance of the Poles themselves in our national life, but because the principles worked out in the case of the Poles can be applied to many other immigrant groups.

HENRY P. FAIRCHILD

NEW YORK

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*Old Worlds for New. A Study of the Post-Industrial State.* By ARTHUR J. PENTY. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1917. Pp. 186. \$1.60.

The title of this book was probably selected with reference to *New Worlds for Old*, by Mr. H. G. Wells, which is a defense of socialism; for Mr. Penty has renounced socialism and come to the conclusion that it would perpetuate most of the evils of industrialism, besides bringing in a few of its own. Collectivism, he maintains, would exploit the producer in the interest of the consumer and, owing to its materialism and



neglect of the spiritual and ethical elements in man, would make the worker a mere instrument for the realization of mechanical efficiency. Nevertheless the present system cannot be allowed to endure. It must give way to an adaptation of the guild system of the Middle Ages. Industry should for the most part be carried on by small groups of independent producers, who will set before themselves the supreme aim of quality rather than of quantity. This means that large industrial units, and to a considerable extent machinery itself, must be abolished. Only thus will the workers come to have the status of men instead of instruments of production. In the opinion of Mr. Penty big business is really efficient in only a few lines of production, and in a very large part of the field it will be better for humanity to discard the machines and sacrifice quantity to quality. When this change has been made and the independent worker is once more the center and the chief consideration we shall see a revival of artistic aims, ideals, and products throughout the industrial world.

Put into the form of this bald summary, the propositions of the book will probably strike the average reader as not merely "mediaeval" but antediluvian. This would be emphatically a rash judgment. The majority of those who read the book with open and sympathetic minds will not indeed accept the author's main thesis, but they will probably be inclined to admit that he has written a disquieting criticism of many features and assumptions of the industrial system which we have been accustomed to take for granted. His reasoning will at least compel the discriminating reader to consider seriously whether our great industries do not of necessity kill initiative, the joy of work, and the sense of artistry in the workers, making them veritable slaves of the machines that they serve.

JOHN A. RYAN

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

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*The War and the Coming Peace.* By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH.D., LL.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1918. Pp. 144. \$1.00.

The unscrupulous imperialistic designs of Germany in the Near East have been outlined by Dr. Jastrow in a former book, *The War and the Bagdad Railway*. This later work, which is in a sense a companion volume, deals with the moral questions underlying the whole German policy. In "The War as a Moral Issue," which is the first of two essays

comprising the book, the moral issue is stated as "the recognition on the part of the world that an attempt to carry out national policies through the appeal to force, or even by the threat of force, is a cardinal sin against the moral conscience of mankind." In the second essay, "The Problem of Peace," the thought made familiar by President Wilson is developed, that no peace can be more than a truce if the terms agreed upon ignore fundamental moral issues, and that the highest morality among nations can come only as nationalism is subordinated to internationalism.

While the volume contains little that is new either of information or of philosophy, it is stimulating and inspirational. The point of view presented is one which must prevail if the nation is to keep its moral balance in the hour of triumph.

EARLE E. EUBANK

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION COLLEGE

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*Democracy after the War.* By JOHN A. HOBSON. New York: Macmillan, 1918. Pp. 215. \$1.25.

The love for fairy tales often lingers on beyond childhood into maturity. But John A. Hobson, the sturdy rationalist, is not one of those suffering from such prolonged adolescence. Nor is this, his latest book, likely to offer solace to such naïve subscribers to the cult of illusion as believe that the present Great War or its termination is going automatically to usher in the millennium of democracy, internationalism, and permanent peace. Indeed, two-thirds of the book is given over to a searching analysis of the forces of reaction which threaten to neutralize all the potential good which the war might bring to democratic civilization.

His thesis is that capitalistic society has got itself into a vicious circle which, unless broken, must inevitably rob the world of the fruits of a democratic peace; for the issue is capitalism versus democracy always and everywhere. Because of the intimate relationship between capitalism and militarism, which makes of the military machine an agency, not only for protecting capitalistic interests abroad, but also for subjugating the laboring population at home, and because of the great prestige which this prolonged war is likely to bring to militarism, we are faced with an urgent situation, in the course of which the enemies of democracy, economic, political, religious, and intellectual, are likely to combine to sow the seeds of future strife between the nations and to fasten a system

of caste and bureaucracy upon a tired people. While Hobson frankly accepts the main outlines of the general socialistic analysis and of the economic interpretation of history, yet he specifically avoids what he points out to be the fatal socialist mistake of damaging its appeal to rational persuasion "by an excessive simplification of the problem and in particular by ignoring or disparaging the importance of non-economic factors." Moreover, Hobson takes a strong stand against the idea that progress may happen by chance or destiny, working without the conscious will or effort of man. Real democracy, he insists, cannot be achieved without a sufficient amount of intelligent co-operation based upon clear purpose. Hence the vicious circle made by "the confederacy of anti-democratic forces of which militarism is the physical instrument" will not suddenly break of itself but must be destroyed through the combination of various efforts. First, there must be a unity of action among all the specialized reformers, whether in education, or social hygiene, or public health, or franchise, or taxation. The friends of democracy must line up solidly against the confederacy of reaction. Secondly, there must be democracy in industry, which alone can assure that larger industrial productivity necessary to secure the minimum of prosperity which is basic to steady progress. Again, we shall be faced with an enlarged control by the state of industry; therefore the state must be conquered for democracy. This does not mean simply an extension of the franchise, but rather a political system by which "men fairly representative of the common interests of the people" shall be substituted "at the focal points for the present guardians of class interests." Education is the key to this new political and economic democracy. Democracy must therefore prepare for two great struggles, the one against the attempt, not unknown in America, to trim down the national expenditure on human culture while enlarging the subsidies for technical and utilitarian instruction; the other against the attempt to degrade such human culture as is provided by the educational system through the "intrusion of sedatives and stimuli devised for interested purposes of defence." From certain allusions in the book it is perfectly apparent that in some parts of this analysis the author is thoroughly imbued with the work of Veblen. This is particularly clear in his treatment of the newspaper, sport, and certain forms of religious organization and education.

In short, the way to break the vicious circle is for the friends of democracy to take their cue from capitalism and to divide the business world by playing off against each other the various rival business interests, for example, protectionists against free traders. Finally, for the

closed state must be substituted some sound machinery of internationalism. But Hobson asserts and reasserts that if the workers within each nation fail to capture their state, and through the state the new international arrangement, they will fall back helpless into the hands of a renewed and strengthened alliance of capitalist and militarist.

The book is designedly provocative and not exhaustive. It is a call to be on guard. May it serve as an antidote to national conceit, complacency, and manifest destinism. An unusually good index for so small a book makes it doubly useful.

ARTHUR J. TODD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

*Statistics.* By WILLIAM B. BAILEY, PH.D., and JOHN CUMMINGS, PH.D. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1917. Pp. 153. \$0.60.

This volume of the National Social Service Series was prepared to meet the needs of social workers, students, and others who desire a knowledge of the elementary methods of statistics. The processes of statistical investigation are set forth in their natural sequence in seven chapters with titles as follows: "Gathering the Raw Material," "Editing Schedules," "Tabulation," "Ratios," "Averages," "Graphical Representation," and "Correlation."

This arrangement, together with the admirable clearness and ease of the text, makes this book delightful reading to one who is familiar with the illustrative references, which are abundant and well chosen. These authors, like Bowley, succeed in combining effectively practical wisdom with theory. They have condensed much material within the narrow limits of a volume of this series. It is to be feared, however, that the text is too condensed for beginners. If the authors were to prepare a volume of ample size with a free use of subtitles and a generous supply of illustrative material, including tables and graphs, it would make a notable textbook.

MARY LOUISE MARK

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

*The Theory of Environment.* By ARMIN H. KOLLER. Menasha, Wis.: Banta Publishing Co., 1918. Pp. 104. \$1.00.

This slender book, described in the subtitle as "An Outline of the History of the Idea of Milieu and Its Present Status," compiles the

opinions of various authorities, some reliable and others unreliable, on a long list of books dealing with the subject of geographic environment. These opinions are for the most part quoted in the original German or French, as the case may be. There is scant evidence of first-hand knowledge of the material on the part of the author himself. He derives his data or estimates quite frankly from prefaces, book reviews, or historical sketches written from some particular standpoint, generally sociological. Consequently contributors to the science of anthropogeography receive notice quite disproportionate to their value. An Arab historian of the fourteenth century gets two pages, quoted from Flint. Jean Bodin, a brilliant but little-known authority of the sixteenth century, is elaborately discussed in six pages. Strabo, von Richthofen, and Ellsworth Huntington each get one short sentence, while Ratzel, who raised anthropogeography to the rank of a science, receives one meager page of comment. Important names like those of Peschel, Wilhelm Götz, Chisholm, and Mackinder are ignored. The author makes little attempt to trace the evolution of the science or to evaluate the contributions of the various geographers to its development.

TANNERSVILLE, N.Y.

ELLEN C. SEMPLE

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*The Unmarried Mother.* By PERCY GAMBLE KAMMERER. With an Introduction by WILLIAM HEALY. Criminal Science Monograph No. 3. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1918. Pp. xiv + 342. \$3.00 net.

Our ordinary method of reaching hasty conclusions regarding the unmarried mother from a few cases that have come incidentally to our attention is no longer justified, for during the last decade several monographic studies of the problem of illegitimacy have been presented. In addition to these we now have available a very thorough and exhaustive examination and classification by Kammerer of five hundred "cases" secured from private societies and one state board.

This is an inductive study of case histories, somewhat in the fashion of Healy's researches. Sixty-nine of the cases are summarized in the book as illustrations. It is to be regretted that the other cases are not made available so that the reader could verify the conclusions of the author.

The three most important causes are found to be bad home conditions, bad environment, and mental abnormality. Bad home conditions

are the most important, appearing 194 times as a major factor and 158 times as a minor factor. Bad environment is ranked as third in importance, but the author includes in this term only a few of the elements of environment, such as "contaminating employment conditions," "vicious neighborhood," and "away from home without protection." Mental abnormality was found to run through so many of the other classes that it was not presented statistically as a separate factor, but the author states that it ranks with bad home conditions and bad environment in its importance. Chapters are devoted to other factors, such as bad companions, recreational disadvantages, educational disadvantages, early sex experiences, heredity, abnormal physical condition, sexual suggestibility, abnormal sexualism, mental conflict, and assault, incest, and rape.

The general point of view is that these environmental and hereditary conditions affect the mental attitude of the mother, and the problem of control is the problem of preventing or modifying this mental attitude. The book contains many valuable suggestions with regard to the methods by which this may be accomplished. In an appendix there is an outline of legislative enactments deemed desirable as one means of solving the problem of illegitimacy.

H. E. SUTHERLAND

WILLIAM JEWELL COLLEGE

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*La Guerra e la Popolazione.* By FRANCO SAVORGNAN. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1918. Pp. ix+146. 3 lira.

This is a rather popular study of the demographical effects of war by the professor of statistics in the University of Cagliari. Since it is based upon approximate figures only for the first two years of the Great War, its conclusions and forecasts necessarily have only a qualified value. Nevertheless, for both the sociologist and the statistician there is much of interest and value in the book. The author attempts to prove by statistics of comparative population, territory, and national wealth how time is the Allies' best friend, and how their victory is practically inevitable. To the sociologist one of the most interesting chapters in the book is his analysis of the factors of association. Here he follows Gumplowicz and finds a high degree of national and ethnic cohesion within the separate members of the Entente, which is opposed by the even greater cohesive *bloc* of the German-Magyar group united by the common-interest formula, "Drang nach Osten." He gives some attention to the

question of subject peoples and, while not proposing any dogmatic solution, rejects the Bolshevik formula of a plebiscite as unpractical and infantile.

The author reviews with considerable penetration the whole subject of war and human selection and draws two general conclusions: first, that primitive warfare was, on the whole, favorably selective of both individuals and groups; secondly, that modern armed conflict is dysgenic and antiselective because it not only destroys the best elements in the population but also depresses the standard of living for the survivors because of the huge destruction of property. On these points he follows, in general, Gumpowicz and the modern English eugenicists, particularly Leonard Darwin. He stresses especially the dysgenic effects of venereal diseases spread during war time among both the soldiers and the civilian population and ends with a none too rosy outlook in his commentary upon a quotation from Benjamin Franklin to the effect that "wars are not paid for in war time; the bill comes later."

In analyzing the demographical effects of war he rejects flatly the theory that nature will at once and automatically begin to repair damages and losses by a higher birth-rate, particularly of males. He shows clearly a reduction in the marriage and birth rates in the warring countries since 1914, and, while naturally the figures are rather scanty for comparison with such periods as, say, the years after the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, yet the general impression is that there is no immediate and automatic filling of the gaps. Indeed the French levies of as late as 1890 still bore the marks of 1870, since there was a shortage of some thirty thousand men below what the population might normally have been expected to produce for military service that year.

As to economic recovery after the war, the author can find no absolute and uniform assurance, but concludes that it will vary with several factors in each state, such, for example, as demographic and economic constitution, reproductive capacity, and productive energy on the one hand, and the amount of the destruction of life and wealth entailed by the war on the other. There is also to be reckoned the psychological factor of the extent of victory or defeat and the terms imposed by the victor. In this connection a rather interesting forecast is made of the length of time necessary to recover losses in population suffered by four of the leading warring nations. According to this calculation Germany and Great Britain will require twelve years to make good their losses, Italy thirty-seven, and France sixty-nine. While

these figures have no absolute value, they are at least highly suggestive. Perhaps in the case of France the relative disadvantage will be overcome if a sufficiently large number of our young men justify the popular report and remain as settlers in France. But since this whole question of population is one of quality rather than of quantity, the post-bellum problem of population will be essentially a problem in eugenics; not, therefore, of blind and headlong procreation, but of eugenic criteria based on intelligence, reason, and science. Thus the author ranges himself distinctly with the liberal eugenicists, and his three most significant chapters, namely, "Selezione e Guerra," "Gli Effetti demografici della guerra," and "Il Problema della popolazione dopo la guerra," are distinctly broad-gauge essays on race eugenics.

The book is engagingly written and attractively printed with a fairly adequate table of contents but no real index.

ARTHUR J. TODD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*Lawrence Social Survey.* By F. W. BLACKMAR and E. W. BURGESS, Department of Sociology, Lawrence, Kan. Pp. 125.

This survey, which has already influenced the social life of Lawrence, contains material of value to all interested in the social conditions of our smaller cities. It is clearly written, gives evidence of accuracy, and demonstrates courage. The first chapter, "Land and Its People," has information regarding home conditions seldom found in surveys and very significant to the sociologists. The survey would have had added usefulness if it had contained a greater amount of graphic material for illustration and a summary of conditions and recommendations at the end.

E. R. GROVES

NEW HAMPSHIRE UNIVERSITY

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*Problems of Subnormality.* By J. E. WALLACE WALLIN. With an Introduction by JOHN W. WITHERS, PH.D. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1917. Pp. xv+485. \$3.00.

Mr. Wallin's book on *Problems of Subnormality* treats of the following topics: the history of the recognition and treatment of feeble-mindedness; the scientific standards in use in identifying the feeble-minded, in deciding which of them should be excluded entirely from school, which of them assigned to classes for the feeble-minded, which assigned to classes



for permanently backward children, and how to distinguish between temporary and permanent retardation; the organization of public-school education for the subnormal; social and industrial policies toward the subnormal; legal codes dealing with subnormality; and the hygiene of eugenic generation. This review will attempt to state briefly the stand taken by the author on each of these topics.

The chapter on the history of the movement, entitled "Changing Attitudes," is one of the most interesting in the book. It treats very briefly of the cruelty of the ancient world toward the feeble-minded and the various superstitious and religious prejudices with regard to them. The modern attitude toward the feeble-minded had its source in the attempts made in the eighteenth century to develop methods of teaching the deaf and the blind. The first case of a systematic attempt to teach a feeble-minded child was that of the famous boy over whom Itard labored from 1800 to 1804. Seguin, a pupil of Itard, established the first successful school for the feeble-minded in Paris in 1837. Since it was Seguin himself who, after coming to the United States during the revolution of 1848, established our first schools for the feeble-minded and led the movement here until his death in 1880, the very brief historical period during which these unfortunates have had the benefit of scientific interest is strikingly brought home to us. The latter part of the chapter discusses the present status of institutional care for the feeble-minded in this country and the provision for them in special classes in the public school.

The chapter on "Who Is Feeble-minded" is a very long one, containing an analysis of the basis on which children have been admitted to various institutions and the proportion of feeble-minded found by various investigators among groups of delinquents. The author's point is that the wide variation in results shows that as yet there is very little uniformity in the standards of measuring feeble-mindedness used by various investigators. He is himself in favor of setting a mental age of ten years as the upper limit of feeble-mindedness. The author presents convincing evidence that this standard is a better one than the twelve-year limit which has been so widely used. Those of us who have had extensive experience in testing adults of limited education engaged in unskilled work and who know how many of them would fall in the group of the feeble-minded (about 40 per cent) if twelve years were regarded as the upper limit are sure that Mr. Wallin's ten-year standard is the more reasonable one to use while awaiting the establishment of a really scientific basis of decision.

As yet no uniform standard for excluding children from school on the ground of feeble-mindedness has been adopted. No public schools accept idiots. Some of them accept imbeciles, and all of them accept morons. In St. Louis no child with a mental age below five years is accepted. Since this means that a child with an intelligence quotient of 60 could not be received in school until he was eight years of age, the standard seems a little severe. A standard of admission based upon an intelligence quotient is more reasonable. Such a standard is in use in Cincinnati, where no child of ten years or less can be received in school if his intelligence quotient falls below 50.

The author lays a great deal of stress on the necessity for fixing with great accuracy the dividing line between the feeble-minded and the merely backward. To do so, he argues, requires great skill and very thorough training. He considers it a serious injustice in the educational world to place a child who is merely backward in a class with feeble-minded children. He lays so much stress on this phase of the task of the clinical psychologist that one would suppose that he regarded feeble-mindedness as a distinct entity which differed definitely in quality from normality. However, such is not the case. He assures us that his conception of feeble-mindedness is that it is merely the lower portion of our unbroken series of mental abilities. It is hard to understand, if this is so, why the exact classification of individuals in the border-line region becomes so supremely important a matter. That the group of children who should be regarded as merely backward and should be placed in ungraded or industrial classes is much larger than those who can definitely be called feeble-minded and who should be placed in classes for the feeble-minded is doubtless true. As Mr. Wallin points out, the ultimate criterion of normality must be the stock of mental ability which makes it possible for an individual to earn a living and be fairly safe at large. What the minimum amount for this purpose is we can tell only approximately at present. We need much more careful studies of the social careers of adults whose mental status is accurately known. Such studies are now being made in various parts of the country, but scarcely enough time has elapsed since scientific records of mental status have been kept to make them convincing. Meanwhile the exact decision about border-line cases which Mr. Wallin seems to expect of the skilled clinical psychologist remains a very illusory goal.

The chief addition to our present educational provision for the feeble-minded which Mr. Wallin recommends is the establishment of homes as part of the public-school system of large cities. None of our present

state institutions has a capacity which makes it possible to receive the cases which are at present assigned. If laws were passed to enforce the segregation of all those who in the interests of the welfare of society should be segregated, the provision would be still more inadequate. Every large city has enough cases to fill a home. Voluntary commitments would probably be larger if the institutions were close at hand. It is the school which should ultimately pass upon cases for segregation, and if the home were part of the school organization commitments could be made more easily.

For the higher grade of feeble-minded and the very backward what is needed is classes in which the stress of instruction falls on manual processes. The chief criticism of many of the present classes for these children is that they are still too much engrossed with the hopeless task of teaching academic subjects.

It is certain that the higher grade of feeble-minded and the very backward can be trained to be industrially useful. Those who are of a grade low enough to be regarded as feeble-minded are those who cannot make good at large under conditions of competition. Many of them could, however, be very useful under institutional conditions. Mr. Wallin's idea is that they should be trained in industrial classes in the public school and at the age of puberty be assigned to the homes for the feeble-minded, where they could help in the work of the institution. Those who are of somewhat higher grade will be able to maintain themselves as unskilled workers in the industries. Part of the duty of those who have charge of training retarded children is to make a survey of the openings for them in the industries of the local community and to secure the co-operation of employers in placing them. The formation of after-care committees, similar to those of England, whose duty it would be to keep in touch with children of this type who have entered industry and to help and protect them, is also suggested.

The type of legislation which Mr. Wallin urges is that of New Jersey and Illinois. It provides for compulsory and permanent segregation of the feeble-minded who are either dependent or delinquent. It also provides for a joint board of physicians and psychologists to pass upon feeble-mindedness.

In the chapter on "Epilepsy" Mr. Wallin points out that while feeble-mindedness is a state of arrested development which is, so far as we know, hopeless and final, epilepsy is a disease entity. While, therefore, the treatment of the feeble-minded is a social and educational problem only, that of the epileptic is primarily a medical problem.

However, the disease is as yet the subject of wide divergence of medical opinion, and success in treating it is very limited. Since epilepsy is often complicated by feeble-mindedness and seems to involve mental deterioration in so large a percentage of cases, the problem of dealing educationally and socially with the epileptic has much in common with that of the feeble-minded. The epileptic is often the more difficult problem because he so frequently suffers from a villainously bad disposition.

The chapter on "The Hygiene of Eugenic Generation" deals with the necessity of preventing procreation on the part of individuals bearing the hereditary taint of feeble-mindedness or insanity and of the syphilitic and alcoholic. The diagnosis of strains which are socially dangerous is a difficult problem and should be in the hands of experts in field investigation and in mental diagnosis. There are many border-line types in which the evidence is not decisive, and those should be given the benefit of the doubt. His recommendations on the positive side of the eugenic program are based upon birth control. Since it has been shown that the years during which the most superior children are produced are those between twenty-five and thirty-five, he thinks that parents should be urged to plan for children during those years. It would not be wise, however, to forbid marriage under twenty-five years, because marriage so frequently proves to be the best protection against vice. A knowledge of methods of birth control would solve the difficulty. Since too frequent pregnancies reduce the vigor of children and too large families increase the poverty of the poor and all its attendant evils, he believes that a knowledge of methods of birth control should be permitted. It would do away with the frequent abortions and infanticides, which are so brutalizing, and would extend to the poor the means of voluntarily limiting the size of the family, which is now the possession of the rich.

Mr. Wallin's book has the virtue of representing the best scientific opinion of the present day in most of the topics he discusses. It has the vice of being poorly organized and unnecessarily long. The various chapters overlap unduly, and many of the discussions are far longer than is necessary in making his points. Two chapters are addresses reprinted without modification. In short, the form of the book is far inferior to its matter.

HELEN T. WOOLLEY

CINCINNATI, OHIO

## RECENT LITERATURE

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### NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**What Is Sociology?**—Some claim that sociology is the great synthetic social science. This evokes the criticism that "sociology is a little bit of everything and nothing at all." The graduate student makes it definite as that body of principles which governs the evolution of society from primitive forms to its highly complex modern life. To the social worker sociology may mean the very definite body of scientific knowledge involved in successful social legislation or case work. The academic worker is scientifically working to discover, formulate, and define those principles which govern the origin, growth, and evolution of our modern social customs, standards, and institutions. The practical group of workers is seeking to restore normal standards, to encourage helpful traditions, and to preserve and upbuild normal social institutions. Thus they co-operate—pure sociology traces and defines normal human tendencies and standards; applied sociology endeavors to preserve and re-establish them. We may therefore define sociology as the science of the origin, growth, and evolution of social customs, standards, and institutions. It analyzes and defines them and studies the causes that tend to force people below normal standards, thus showing us how to prevent recurrent lapses from these norms as well as to relieve abnormal conditions.—F. Stuart Chapin, *Scientific Monthly*, September, 1918.

C. W. C.

**The Psychology of Social Reconstruction.**—An immense number of books and articles have been issued from the English and the American press on the subject of social reconstruction after the war. In these writings we hear little about our boasted "modern" civilization. We hear now of a new social order, of a new social mind. The method by which this picture of the new social state has been gained is the simplest in the world. It consists merely in enumerating the "evils" and then outlining a plan in which these evils will be absent; the abolition of those evils is considered a kind of ultimate goal. We should bear in mind that rapid social and economic changes have taken place in man's environment, while the physical and mental constitution of man has changed but little. Man therefore would not be content in a standardized world under scientific management and the rule of efficiency. The standardized world will offer us safety and work, but it lacks the element of zest. It is *life* that people want, not recreation and self-development. The social Utopias provide for existence but not for life. The society for the future, planned by the reconstructionists, makes little provision for the utilization of the two most powerful forces in the human mind, loyalty and devotion.

It is a misconception of life that places the emphasis of the future upon peace and plenty, economic expansion, equality, comforts, luxuries, and wealth, no matter how equitably the wealth is distributed. We must emphasize eugenics and education in our efforts of social reconstruction rather than economic, political, and social questions.—George T. W. Patrick, *Scientific Monthly*, June, 1918.

C. N.

**Democracy and Social Conditions in the United States.**—By democracy we mean a social spirit rather than a mere form of government or society, and a social control where the opinion and will of every member of the group enters into the determination of group behavior. The success of democracy depends upon the freedom of thought, judgment, and intercommunication among individuals, and upon their good-will or fraternalism. All men must be treated as of potentially equal social worth and be given opportunity to demonstrate their social worth. The tendency of the American democracy previous to the war was in the direction of *laissez faire* individualism. Then

another foe appeared: the loss of moral and mental freedom, manifested in the lack of free public criticism, free public discussion, and free formation of public opinion and will. There was shown only a little recognition of the rights of minorities, because of the autocracy of the majority. The best antidote against this weakness is political and social education. Industrial democracy is needed as a necessary complement of social and political democracy. A strong, organized, social liberalism which can mediate between the opposing camps is lacking. We need a higher development of intelligence and character in the mass of individuals.—Charles A. Ellwood, *International Journal of Ethics*, July, 1918. J. H.

**Religion and Social Control.**—Religion has always been a fundamental means of social control because it has been at the heart of the *mores* of every group. Through religion man universalizes and makes "sacred" his values. Religion has a positive social effect in that it stabilizes men in times of crises. It has negative social effects in that: (1) it tends to be too conservative, influencing the maintenance of a given social order longer than that order is necessary; and (2) it may become exploited by certain classes. On the whole the evolution of religion has been in a humanitarian direction: (1) because it emphasizes service and self-sacrifice for the sake of the group, including all humanity; (2) because the higher religions are but the manifestations of social idealism imbedded in religious feeling and accompanied by more or less formal religious sanctions. The seven stages of religion, viz., preanimism, animism, totemism, ancestor worship, polytheism, henotheism, and monotheism, not only embody man's valuation of his world but also the social values of the age which they represent. The religious problem of today consists in adapting religion to our present social life. This means the transition from a metaphysical to a social conception of religion. All that is needed is that the churches should drop theological disputation, recognize that their essential work is the maintenance and propagation of rational social values, and teach clearly that the only possible service of God must consist in the service of men, irrespective of class, race, or nationality. This is the surest guaranty of social justice and future good-will between classes.—Charles A. Ellwood, *Scientific Monthly*, October, 1918. F. O. D.

**Program for Socializing Education.**—Principles founded upon careful psychological and sociological study must guide the changes in our educational system. A survey of the present educational system reveals the more complete application of psychology than of sociology to educational problems, owing to the fact of its being an older science. The result is that the psychological point of view, the individualistic, has been the more strongly emphasized. The basic principles on which a scheme for the better adjustment of education to social needs should be founded are that it should more definitely accomplish three things: (1) it should develop appreciation for the better things within reach of the individual in an advancing society, i.e., means must be found for the stimulation and guidance of motive; (2) social welfare must be kept on a par with individual welfare through emphasis upon group training; (3) it should provide a fund of useful knowledge. Hence the facts to be presented in a particular study should be based upon the needs of the pupil in the society he is in and adapted to the uses he may be able to put them to in the mature society of which he is later to become a part. It must lead to the application of the ideals developed and the knowledge obtained to the vitalization of the purposes of life.—W. R. Smith, *Educational Review*, October, 1918. C. W. C.

**The New Marxism.**—The New Marxism is a very significant phenomenon in the development of German Socialism. Its fundamental presupposition is that the teaching of Marx is not to be regarded as a hard-and-fast set of dogmas which could not be changed, but that its principles should be adapted according to the change of conditions. The New Marxians are viewed by some observers as that fraction of the German Socialists which has adopted the imperialistic ambition for German world-power and colonial expansion. Its adherers believe that the old proletarian forward-looking socialism of preparation has been revolutionized by the socialism of fulfillment. They want to organize society as a whole upon the basis of a national state, which would

maintain itself in its struggle for life by means of the organization of all the forces of society (*Volkssozialismus*). For them the state is a sphere of economic activity of its own special character, where both capital and labor have a common interest in their sphere's prosperity. Their two principal organs are the *Glocke* and the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, which differ from the former in that they adhere to the "Continental idea"—an extension of the Mittel-Europa scheme—as a special part of their program.—Edwyn Bevan, *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, August, 1918. J. H.

**The Future of India.**—Great Britain did not conquer India but gradually inherited and undertook increased responsibility in bringing peace out of war. Nor does she desire India to be in a state of subjection. Great Britain has been successful so far in India because she has interfered as little as possible with the habits of the local people. The question now is, Is India, an oriental country, in a fit state readily to adapt herself to democratic government, which is a Western institution? The Indians reared in India and accepting caste as a natural condition of things are usually contented. The more violent champions for the speedy throwing off of British domination are men who received their education in England and while there mingled freely with the English, and who upon their return to India were excluded from this privilege by the caste system. Great Britain is sympathetic toward the aspirations of the Indian people. Last year at an imperial council held in London it was decided that in future councils India should sit at the same board and have the same voting power as the representatives of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Her desire is to educate the Indians through parliament in self-government, so that when through evolution the change is made India will be prepared to manage her own affairs and play her part, along with the chosen men of the Dominions, in deciding the destinies of the British Empire.—Sir John Foster Fraser, *Century*, September, 1918. F. O. D.

**Educational Reconstruction in England.**—(1) Following are some of the reasons why the new bill is wanted: (a) Of every 1,000 children born, 110 die in the first year. Thus in 1915, 89,477 persons met premature death. Of 6,000,000 children attending elementary schools, over 600,000 are verminous or unclean, over 600,000 are ill fed, some 3,000,000 have decayed teeth, over half a million have weak sight, and over a quarter of a million have diseased ears or throat. (b) Of children under fourteen, about 35,000 are working half-time, and a quarter of a million work outside school hours for wages, sometimes for 40 hours a week and often from 10 to 25 hours. These conditions retard the growth of children and hamper their school work. (c) Youths are neglected. Of 3,000,000 young people between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, over 2,000,000 receive no systematic training after the age of fourteen. (d) Need of standardized school system in place of numerous educational standards. (2) The bill proposes: (a) establishment of a nursery school for children under six, with medical attention, physical training, playgrounds, and school baths; (b) abolition of child labor and compulsory school attendance to the age of fourteen or fifteen; (c) that all boys and girls under eighteen who have not been under full-time instruction must attend continuation school in the daytime for 8 hours a week during 40 weeks of each year; (d) to secure a standardized system in national education.—Frank Roscoe, *School and Society*, August, 1918. C. N.

**Naturalization in the Spot Light of the War.**—There will be some difficulties connected with the problem of naturalization of immigrants after the war. The present experience shows that a large number of unassimilated immigrants remain partisans of some foreign state. Opponents of the restriction of immigration who favor a gradual Americanization of the foreign elements by way of elevating the immigrant to American standards forget that naturalization is only a formality, and that unless these people absorb the national ideals of this country they may be more dangerous than those who did not become citizens. Greater strictness in the naturalization laws is needed if this country wants to attain a national homogeneity and solidarity and to play an appropriate part in the after-the-war period.—Anonymous, *Unpopular Review*, July, 1918. J. H.

**Civilization in Its Effects on Morbidity and Mortality—Oral Relationship.**

The mouths of civilized men suffer very much more from dental disorders than those of primitive men. The question of heredity and evolution may be considered as being too slow in action to be responsible to any great degree for this disorder. Among the environmental causes may be mentioned: (1) the decrease in breast feeding, which deprives the child of its natural food, the substitutes not containing some of the essential elements to normal growth and development; (2) the unnatural method of eating, which does not afford sufficient exercise of the jaws and muscles to insure the physical development of these parts; (3) the change from the coarse, tough, gritty foods to the softer, prepared, mushy foods. These civilized foods are swallowed with not enough admixture of saliva. They are also less cleansing to the teeth than are the gritty foods. These factors cause decay and subsequent loss of the teeth. Decayed teeth are the cause of rheumatism, endocarditis, keratitis, neuralgia, and other diseases. The disorder of irregular teeth, or malocclusion, impairs the function of certain organs and lowers efficiency by: (1) insufficient mastication of food with a consequent impaired digestion; (2) lack of general bodily growth and development, and (3) lack of local growth. Dentistry is making a strong endeavor educationally and through school clinics to do preventive work on young children.—Frank A. Delabarre, *Journal of Sociologic Medicine*, August, 1918. C. N.

**Notre Tâche de Demain dans la Pratique de la Prophylaxie Physique; Intellectuelle et Morale de Nos Ecoliers de Deux Sexes.**—School hygiene is making good progress, though much improvement is yet to be expected in the line of medical and surgical discoveries of the future. The reform of school architecture and the introduction of physical culture are being accomplished. L'Ecole Monge and the school of Noisiel may serve as models in this respect. The most important task of the school hygiene is the prevention of diseases of which the most common are shortsightedness, the inflammation of the ear, nose, and brain. Shortsightedness is mostly due to inadequate lighting facilities and bad writing habits. It can be prevented only by scientific architecture, better teaching methods, and medical examinations. Defective hearing was observed in all countries. In the *Volksschulen* of Stuttgart Dr. Weill has found 30 per cent of all children affected with this disease. In France, among other preventive measures, the introduction of music was recommended. Neurology is determined by lack of oxygen and the presence of organic matter and evaporated water in the air.—Dr. L. Barthes, *Revue philanthropique*, May, 1918. J. H.

**National Effectiveness and Health Insurance.**—When the soldiers return from the trenches the following problems should be solved to their satisfaction: (1) The public-health problem—the guaranty of healthful working conditions of the masses. The average human life may be much extended and thousands of cases of sickness may be prevented by a healthful physical condition and the knowledge of hygiene already at hand. (2) Financial aspect—adequate provisions for medical attention of the employees and of the dependent members of their families. Cash payments based on a percentage of wages should be paid to employees when incapacitated by sickness. The great expense thus incurred would be met through the accumulation of many small weekly payments from both employers and employees under state supervision. (3) Health insurance problems. In 1911 England adopted a system of workmen's health insurance. Germany and other Continental countries have adopted compulsory contributory systems of health insurance. In the United States the workmen's compensation movement in seven years spread over four-fifths of the country and was followed last year by wise provision by the United States government of accident, health, and life insurance for soldiers and sailors. (4) Necessity for a general sanitary system—healthful working conditions. While we are striving to make our troops the healthiest army, we should also set up the same ideal for the much more numerous army of industrial workers at home.—John P. Penn, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1918. C. N.

**Mental Hygiene and Social Work: Notes on a Course in Social Psychiatry for Social Workers.**—Medicine has developed the nurse; similarly applied sociology has developed quite on the same level the social worker. It is obvious that the public-



health nurse of today is no better prepared to be an aid to a psychiatrist than the ordinary physician is trained to deal with psychopathic cases. Again, a collection of cases such as Miss Richmond's demonstrates so high a percentage of disease, and especially mental disease, that a revamping of the whole attitude of social service to its problem may become necessary, that social work in general will find itself far more medical than it ever formerly suspected, that medical social work will find itself more psychiatric than anyone had anticipated, and that psychiatric social work will find one of its chief aids in mental hygiene. A course for psychiatric social workers should be an advanced one containing a résumé of applied sociology and of the technique of social investigation, and a résumé of social psychology and the general principles of neuropsychiatry, preferably with demonstrations of patients. These should be co-ordinated in lectures on mental hygiene as applied to sociology and psychiatry.—E. E. Southard, *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1918. C. W. C.

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## THE PASSING OF THE SAINT

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Words sometimes remind one of the great glacial boulders of a New England farm. They persist unchanged after the civilizations, the institutions, the systems of thought that formed their original settings and gave them meaning, have disappeared like the glacial ice-flow of which the boulder was once a part. The traditional idea of saint is strangely out of place in a democratic age. For the saint in the classic sense is a spiritual aristocrat and presupposes a society with fixed and fundamental class distinctions. A democracy of saints is unthinkable. Orthodox Protestantism emasculated the idea of the saint by making it theological. Liberal Protestantism threatens to give the deathblow to the idea of the saint by trying to democratize it. The mediaeval saint was a specialist with social functions as definite as those of king, knight, gildsman, butcher, baker, or candlestick-maker. He was the conservator of values, the chosen and professional representative on earth of the *vita contemplativa* that was to be consummated in paradise. The saint was the source of spiritual power and social reform, the special receptacle of divine wonder-working energy, *le religieux par excellence* of the community.

The saint's social significance was, therefore, early recognized. Gregory the Great began the custom of collecting and editing the

stories of their lives. Men lingered lovingly and devoutly over the records of their miracles. The sweet abandon of their acts of *caritas* and their piety, now mystical and contemplative, now militant and heaven-storming, fascinated the Middle Ages. In the absence of the mediaeval setting which has given the term its characteristic meanings it has for us today mainly a historical significance. The term "saint" is not one that we apply to our heroes; it is not in harmony with our scientific naturalism or our militant industrialism. At most it describes the sentimental and mystical side of religion or is retained as a technical term of theology. But for the best part of the history of Christendom the term "saint" described the highest ideal, moral, spiritual, and social, of the age. Saintliness was the last word in the catalogue of virtues.

Social psychology has taught us to look upon ideals, as these find expression in the types of personality of any group or age, not as mysterious creations of supernatural forces but as products of the period concerned. In proportion as we have a definite group or a fixed social milieu we find emerging within that group or particular social setting a form of objective morality which consists of settled modes of behavior or moral criteria sanctioned by society as a whole. These are not to be identified with social institutions such as churches, law courts, schools, clubs, industrial organizations, and the like. We have in mind rather the habits of thought, the organizations of sentiments which find expression through these institutions and which to a very large extent have created them. These general types are the product of the larger forces of the age which we sometimes describe under the vague term of the *Zeitgeist*. In this broad sense it may be said that the Sophist of the Periclean age, the Stoic sage of several centuries later, the saint of early Christianity, and the monk of the Middle Ages were the outgrowths of their times. To understand the saint of the early Christian community we must remember that we are dealing with a small group, at first little more than a Jewish sect. To survive this group had to adjust itself not only to the immediate social situation in Judaism but also to the policies of Rome. It was only one of countless other rival sects in an age when religious syncretism was rife. Hence there is hardly a phase of early

Christian morality that we do not find paralleled in other religious communities.

Two things dominated the thought of the early Christian, the eschatological ideas derived from the Jews and the opposition to the morality of paganism. The combination of these two forces led to a curious distortion of moral values within the Christian group. It caused certain passive virtues to take precedence over the militant pagan virtues. The Christian lived always under the pressure of the idea of another moral order in which present values would be utterly changed. He was thus ever projecting himself with his possibilities for the development of personality into an invisible transcendental order which he felt might at any moment arrive. The unseen things alone were real and eternal. The attitude toward civic virtues and civic activities was therefore one of passive indifference. The Christian was not opposed to the state. It simply did not interest him because he saw in it no means for the furthering of his ideal. It was passively accepted as part of the *status quo* but it occupied a place on the periphery of his interests. His citizenship was in another kingdom, a conception that afterward received philosophical elaboration in Augustine's "City of God." Property was justified only as a means for the support of life from day to day until the coming of the new order. At most it was an instrument for cultivating the grace of charity, which virtue however only had value with reference to citizenship in the coming kingdom. Likewise the family was looked upon as belonging more or less to an *interims Ethik* for in the divine consummation there would be neither marriage nor giving in marriage. Hence the element of *Weltverneinung* always present in the Christian ethic.

The traits of character which fitted in best with this higher spiritual order must necessarily be of the subjective or mystical type. Since the spiritual consummation was in the hands of God and the individual could in no wise hasten its coming his task was primarily one of cultivating the passive virtues that would best fit him for membership in that kingdom. Hence the emphasis of humility, childlikeness, patience, forgiveness, love. A fighting faith was utterly without justification under the circumstances

since the ultimate issues were not in man's hands. For the same reason the economic virtue of thrift and the civic virtues of courage and justice were discounted. Likewise intellectual virtues were of little value for there were no intellectual problems. It was primarily a matter of an emotional attitude, not of scientific interpretation. Since purity of heart was one of the prerequisites of entrance into the kingdom the Christian group offered most uncompromising opposition to the standards of pagan morality. In fact the strenuousness of the utterances of Paul and even of Jesus sowed the seeds for the ascetic movement which afterward culminated in monasticism.

There were also external forces tending to accentuate these passive virtues. The saints had constantly borne in upon them the fact that they were an oppressed and ostracised group. Christianity possibly as early as the days of Nero became a *religio illicita*. The constant plaint of the Christian apologists was *nomen ipsum crimen*; to own the name was a criminal offense. There is some basis of truth, therefore, for Nietzsche's famous characterization of Christian ethics as a *Sklaven-Moral*. It was entirely natural that an oppressed group should capitalize those traits which enabled it successfully to survive in a harsh and despotic society. This was not to be the last time in history that a group gloried in the days of its triumph in qualities at first forced upon it by the stern logic of necessity. To boast of what was once a badge of shame may be a subtle form of self-adulation. Cromwell's despised "Round Heads" so emphatically convinced the world of their merits that today we still find occasionally a sentimental loyalty to a Puritanical faith that has long since served its day.

Finally it is difficult to overestimate the part played in the struggle of the early Christian group for survival by the philosophy of suffering, itself the outgrowth of oppression. The antagonism of Jew and Gentile united to fix in their minds a thought which the example of their Founder had impressed upon them, namely, that through their suffering was to come the spiritual regeneration of the world. Group enthusiasm rose to such a pitch on the question of martyrdom that all sense of proportion was lost. The circular



letter gotten out by the Church of Smyrna upon the martyrdom of Polycarp, 155 A.D., which became the model for a long series of acts of the martyrs, first clearly enunciated the idea that martyrdom is the supreme favor one can demand of heaven. Martyrdom became thus but a speedy and glorious anticipation of the divine consummation. Out of this noble but misguided ethic of superlatives came the mediaeval saint and relic worship which restored in Christian form almost all the peculiarities of pagan polytheism. Nor was this the worst result of this unbridled enthusiasm for the martyr's crown. It led to the negation of political and social duties and to the needless violation of the purest and tenderest loyalties of the human heart. Lecky thus describes the martyrdom of St. Perpetua, an only daughter and a young mother twenty-two years old, upon whom her aged father depended for support and consolation:

He appealed to her by the memory of all the tenderness he had lavished upon her, by her infant child, by his own gray hairs that were soon to be brought down in sorrow to the grave. Forgetting in his deep anguish all the dignity of a parent, he fell upon his knees before his child, covered her hands with his kisses, and, the tears streaming from his eyes, implored her to have mercy upon him. But she was unshaken though not untouched; she saw her father frenzied with grief dragged from before the tribunal; she saw him tearing his white beard, and lying prostrate and broken-hearted on the prison floor; she went forth to die for a faith she loved more dearly—for a faith that told her that her father would be lost forever.<sup>1</sup>

Summing up the early Christian ideal of the saint we may say that it was based upon religious sanctions arising primarily from a personal attitude to God, loyalty to whom was the source of moral effort and the basis of brotherly co-operation and sympathy. The *mise en scene* of the final act of the drama was otherworldly. In the glow of enthusiasm for the expected consummation all questions as to rights, all distinctions as to property, social position, or political power disappeared. The saint then had no place for any moral values that emerge through conflicting interests or are accentuated through courageous assertion of personal rights. He had no appreciation of a social order that is kept at the highest

<sup>1</sup> *History of European Morals*, I, 415, 416.

pitch of vitality and capacity for progress through rational direction and control of contending forces. He recognized no rights or honors that are not the free gifts of the divine grace and therefore he had no immediate interest in the achievement nor in the maintenance of social justice. He was indifferent to existing conditions because he was fully convinced that the Kingdom of God and his righteousness would only be possible with the coming of a new heaven and a new earth.

This ideal which was so effective within the small group of early Christians did not suffice to meet the demands of the rapidly expanding faith that finally triumphed under Constantine. The very qualities that gave the apostolic group a most effective basis for solidarity carried the seeds of subsequent conflict and disintegration. An uncompromising and transcendental ethic based upon the expectation of the speedy end of the world, with the resulting discrediting of property, political life, and even of family ties, doubtless proved a powerful means for eliciting the spirit of sacrifice and the noblest feelings of group loyalty and of comradeship but it did not provide a satisfactory basis for a permanent social order. The ideal of the New Testament saint contemplated only a select community living in society but with no real interests in the immediate problems of the community. This social isolation made it possible to carry one phase of the moral life, namely, that of the ideal, to the highest pitch of perfection. For the purity and loftiness of its aims, for the charm of an ethical ideal that said to the saint "be ye perfect as your father in heaven is perfect," primitive Christianity left nothing to be desired. The indefeasible is the last word of moral idealism.

But the ideal is only one phase of the moral life. If the ideal is not to remain little more than the bright dream of well-intentioned visionaries it must be embodied in social activities. This side of the moral life was almost entirely neglected by the early saint. He had no theory of society and yet he must live in an advanced social order.

It was inevitable then with the access of Christianity to world-power and with the rise of a new social order in the Middle Ages that the conception of the saint should undergo extensive modifi-

cations. The ideal of the saint as preached by Paul, Ignatius, or Tertullian would have destroyed rather than furthered the social equilibrium demanded by the age of Aquinas. For the fundamental idea of early Christian saintliness, and perhaps its greatest weakness, lies in its pronounced dualism. It implies a sharp distinction between the worldly and the otherworldly, the natural and the supernatural. Indeed the moral dynamic of the primitive Christian saintliness lay in the frank acknowledgment of this dualism both in theory and practice. The existing social order was justified only as an instrument of moral discipline, or as the dark and imperfect background which served to accentuate the glory and transcendent beauty of the things that "do not yet appear." This is the fundamental idea of Augustine's great work the "City of God" which is the classic statement of the Christian philosophy of society and of history.

With the increasing identification of Christianity, at least in its institutional forms with society, the social values began to assert themselves. Hence the Middle Ages faced the problem of formulating the ideal of the saint which would conserve the moral idealism and the spiritual dynamic of the primitive otherworldly attitude and at the same time make a place for the values represented by society and its institutions. The solution which in time the Middle Ages worked out of this twofold problem of preserving the spiritual function of the saint and at the same time of making him an integral and necessary part of the social order arouses the profoundest admiration. That solution is still imperfectly perpetuated by the Roman Catholic church but with a strange and almost pathetic disregard for its lack of harmony with the changed conditions of modern life.

The unity of the mediaeval world-view, especially as it was formulated by Thomas Aquinas, does not always appear on the surface of things. To be sure we have in the church a great politico-religious institution dominating apparently every phase of life. The church was the source of absolute authority and truth, the divine institution equipped with sacramental forms for the dispensation of supernatural power in grace and salvation. Subordinated to this supreme authority though vitally related to it as parts

of one organic whole, we have the classes and groups of society and the still lower levels of animate and inanimate nature. The cement by which mediaeval thinkers united these heterogeneous elements was found in the *lex naturae* of the Stoics, the teachings of the Bible, the tradition of the Fathers, and the philosophy of Aristotle. The result was indeed a wonderfully symmetrical structure in which all the various gradations of values embodied in physical nature and society were arranged in one logical whole, reaching their culmination and final interpretation in the spiritual sovereignty of a world-church.

Side by side with this idea of a world-church, however, and often antagonistic to its secularizing tendencies we find another conception of society, drawn directly from the gospels, which is constantly being emphasized from century to century. The dominating note here was ascetic or *Weltverneinung*, and the typical form through which it found expression was monasticism. The monastic orders with their ever-recurring efforts for reform were the logical continuation of the otherworldly saintliness of early Christianity. The monastic sects insisted that religion is primarily a subjective relation between the individual and God independent of the objective guarantees of the ecclesiastical forms. From the point of view of secularized Christianity the source of moral and spiritual energy lay in an institution which is superior to the life of the individual, and is the depository of absolute truth and supernatural spiritual power. For the ascetic, moral perfection was a personal matter and dependent upon ceaseless watchfulness; hence one cannot be content with a lesser degree of moral perfection nor may he relax his personal efforts in reliance upon cunningly devised and ecclesiastically sanctioned machinery for the manufacture of morality. Moral relativity from the secular point of view was a constituent element of the *status quo* in that it permitted the varying grades of moral perfection and the hierarchical constitution of society. For the ascetic sin was not to be tolerated because it permitted a stable social equilibrium but it must be eradicated and a new social order created after the evangelical ideal. On the one hand we have a secularized moral ideal based upon the principle of relativity and thereby permitting the introduction of some sort of unity into the

conflicting elements of society. On the other hand stands an uncompromising, otherworldly ethic of superlatives that characterized the New Testament saint. The conflict was already foreshadowed in the differences between the love-inspired communism of the Jerusalem circle and the Pauline suggestions toward an accommodation to the existing social conditions. How did the Middle Ages solve the problem?

In the first place it should be observed that in spite of its constant criticism of secular Christianity the ascetic group never broke with the church. No saintly ideals ever flourished in the Middle Ages that did not receive the sanction and enjoy the sympathy and support of ecclesiastical authority. There seemed to be a profound realization of the fact on the part of both the would-be sectarian and the church that saintliness could never endure as an end in and of itself. It could only hope to survive by being made the servant of the social order. The otherworldly ideals of Peter Damiani, of Saint Bernard, of Saint Francis of Assisi, never soared beyond the authority of the pope and the magic supernaturalism of the holy sacraments. With tragic regularity the revolutionary heaven-storming idealism of the saintly ascetic returned with broken wing to the fold of the church convinced that nowhere else was its ideal possible of realization. We have thus the paradoxical situation that the moral enthusiasm born of otherworldliness is skilfully utilized to further the power of a secularized church. The Monk of Wittenberg finally broke away from the charmed circle of the Holy Catholic church.

The social significance of the saint depended upon this spiritual and moral solidarity the guarantee of which was found in the supreme authority of the church. On the other hand the secret of the spiritual power of the saint was dependent upon his keeping himself separate from a social order given over to sin. Here then we have an interesting paradox. The saintly ideal demands aloofness from the world and its utter renunciation and condemnation and yet any social justification for the saint implies his essential spiritual solidarity with the world. If the measure of moral perfection is separation from the world then a perfect saint, for all practical purposes, unless it be for immediate translation, is useless.

The reason for this lies in the fact that his goal, his entelechy as Aristotle would say, lies in another and a transcendental world. His social value, which of course must be measured in terms of his usefulness, decreases then as he nears maturity. This is equivalent to saying that the moral ideal stultifies itself in its attainment. But as we have seen the social solidarity secured to the mediaeval society through the all-encircling arm of the church never allowed the saint to break with the social order and thus cease to be socially valuable. The antagonism between the saint and his environment which was necessary to his rôle as spiritual leader was always subordinated to the good of society as a whole. There was always in the background of the social consciousness of both saint and laity the feeling of common spiritual interests and common ideals. In the saints, therefore, the characteristic products of the religious and moral life of the Middle Ages, we have as Froude has said, "the heroic patterns of a form of human life which each Christian within his own limits was endeavoring to realize."<sup>1</sup>

The Middle Ages were most favorable to the life of the saint because of the exceeding simplicity of their social structure. The saint flourishes only in a simple society. The emotional intensity, the mystical absorption, the unshaken spiritual loyalty, the singleness of purpose so characteristic of the saint are difficult or even impossible of attainment where the complexities and the contrarities of life are constantly pressing in upon the soul. "The lives of the saints," as James has remarked, "are a history of successive renunciations of complication, one form of contact with the outer life being dropped after another to save the purity of the inner tone."<sup>2</sup> The flight from the distractions of simple mediaeval society to the seclusion of the monastery was the result therefore of the psychological necessities of the saintly ideal. The entire life of the saint in his retreat was shaped so as still further to simplify the problem. No psychologist could have more successfully regulated the mental conditions necessary to the attainment of the saintly ideal of mystical contemplative love of God than Saint Benedict has done in his famous *regula*.<sup>3</sup> Even then we constantly

<sup>1</sup> *Short Studies*, I, 557.

<sup>2</sup> *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> See especially the detailed directions of chaps. iv and vii, *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. of Gasquet, London, 1909.

hear complaints of interruptions from the world. "Affairs," writes Hildebert a monk of the twelfth century, "the enemy of my spirit, come upon me, they claim me for their own, they thieve the private hour of prayer, they defraud the services of the sanctuary, they irritate me with their stings by day and infest my sleep; and what I can hardly speak of without tears, the creeping, furtive memory of disputes follows me miserable to the altar's sacraments."<sup>1</sup>

It is probable, all things considered, that the Middle Ages came nearer socializing the saint than any other period of history. Certainly there has never been a time before or since when saintly enthusiasm was so thoroughly exploited in the service of the whole social order. This specialization in spiritual matters would hardly have been possible apart from the patriarchal régime of the Middle Ages. The community was composed of definite classes and social groups with clearly determined status. Each class was, however, indispensable to the welfare of the whole and found its justification in the service of the community. Upon the laity devolved the duty of providing the economic support for society and of propagating the race. The saint or "athlete of God" could not by virtue of his own vows of poverty and chastity share in these social duties. Men looked to him, however, to point them by word and act to a higher life; he was the center of spiritual inspiration, of social and moral reform, of intellectual leadership. Furthermore, he assumed, though on a smaller scale, the vicarious functions of the great head of the church. His sufferings and intercessions and also his superior merit were looked upon as most valuable social assets by the other members of the community to be utilized by them in case of need since they were forced by the logic of circumstances to live on a lower moral plane. The liberality of mediaeval society toward the spiritual orders, resulting in the rise of luxury and abuses which became their undoing, was in reality a pious and well-intentioned tribute to holiness and was prompted by a very deep and sincere realization of the social value of the saint. For the saint, to be sure, the living of one's life in actual society was a most perilous venture. Nothing but the strong hand of Hildebrand kept the fiery reformer, Peter Damiani, at his work. Even then, with his heart set on the seclusion of fair Monte Cassino, Damiani could

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, II, 171.

write, "He errs, Father, errs indeed, who imagines he can be a monk and at the same time zealously serve the Curia. Ill he bargains, who presumes to desert the cloister, that he may take up the warfare of the world."<sup>1</sup> Anselm, deeply immersed in the metaphysical problem of finding a final and comprehensive proof for the existence of God, was chosen abbot of the monastery of Bec. He flung himself in tears at the feet of his brother monks and besought them, though in vain, not to imperil his immortal soul with this burden of worldly cares. All the saints, whether it was the politician Hildebrand, the stern preacher of righteousness Bernard of Clairvaux, or the lovable mystic Francis of Assisi, viewed the *vita contemplativa* as the supreme ideal of life.

In spite of the large moral good sense of the church which insisted that the saint place his spiritual powers at the service of the community it was inevitable that the inherent self-contradictions in the saintly ideal should emerge in the course of time. The loss of healthful social contacts soon produced a distortion of the moral perspective. The imaginative absorption in the love of God, though charmingly beautiful, tended to destroy personality and produced the "theopathic" type such as Saint Francis. Constant introspective analysis of the processes of the soul-life induced grotesque exaggerations of the personal sense such as appear in the "voluble egotism" and the "stereotyped humility" of Saint Theresa. The unnatural separation of the individual from the social activities for which nature had fitted him caused strange perversions of powerful human instincts. Saint Louis was forced to shun all female society including that of his mother. Often religion degenerated in the case of neurotic females into an "endless amatory flirtation" with the deity. Finally this ideal placed its sanction upon a cowardly flight to the monastery where, embosomed in its innocuous calm, the saint might selfishly seek the peace of soul he was not strong enough to win surrounded by the full tide of life.<sup>2</sup> Only the worldly wisdom of the church saved the saint from the gaunt and unlovely logic of his moral ideal. Having in her power the oracles of truth and the ultimate sanctions of conduct

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, I, 264.

<sup>2</sup> James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, chaps. xv, xvi.



she forced the saint to abandon his impossible dualism and to recognize the spiritual ties that bound nature, man, and God together in one whole. She thus provided for the saint even against his will a vast and indispensable arena for the development of his powers. The moral energy often aroused by ecclesiastical excesses was thus appropriated by the church and skilfully utilized in strengthening her hold upon the world.

It was in this wise that the saint, even in spite of himself, became the symbol and the interpreter of the essential spiritual solidarity of mediaeval society. For the effective interpretation of this solidarity, which must be felt rather than grasped by reason, a peculiar temperamental equipment was necessary. Mere religiousness did not make the saint. "It is not unlikely," writes Joly, "that the saints . . . are gifted, in matters concerning conscience and the spiritual life, with a delicate sensitiveness to which the ordinary run of men are strangers."<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that the striking vitality and charm of the mediaeval as contrasted with the Protestant idea of the saint is due to the recognition in the former of the human side. The Protestant saint is elected by divine grace; in a certain sense he is not responsible for his saintliness; it is thrust upon him. The mediaeval saint was born. Benedict XIV in laying down regulations for canonization was careful to stipulate that in addition to the "heroic virtues" of faith, hope, and love there should be an equipment of "natural virtues" such as courage, justice, sympathy, and the like.

The delicate sensitiveness of the saint to the deeper spiritual values of his age, when joined with the ascetic mode of life, easily led to the belief that he enjoyed supernatural power. The miracle became practically the sign manual of sainthood. But it would be a great mistake to imagine that the mediaeval crop of marvelous tales of some 25,000 saints that have been gathered by the Bollandist editors is mainly significant as illustrating the credulity and superstitions of men. Gregory's *Lives of the Saints*, one of the earliest of the collections, illustrates their purpose. They sought to show that the saint is the special receptacle of divine grace. He is a symbol of universal values. He bodies forth in life and thought

<sup>1</sup> *Psychology of the Saints*, p. 67.

the eternal plan. The divine grace he represents and not the mere accidents of its expression is the important thing. The chronicler is bent upon making the life of the saint tell a striking story of God's truth and love. Hence miracles abound. No saint's life was complete without them. Sprung from the pious needs of an uncritical age these beautiful legends flourished for a thousand years. To the modern, however, they are interesting mainly as the naïve and charming record of an age of faith or as valuable material for the study of man's moral and religious nature. "They are exotics not from another climate but from another age; the breath of scorn fell on them and having no root in the hearts and beliefs of men any more, but only in the sentimentalities of make-beliefs, they withered and sank."<sup>1</sup>

The unique position of the saint in the social order and the atmosphere of the supernatural that surrounded him proved in the end a handicap to his rôle as a moral leader. Because his person and all that concerned him were sacrosanct he became a law unto himself. This is strikingly illustrated in the curious perversion of moral standards attributed to the saints. Instances of saintly conduct abound which, according to more modern ethical ideals, are thoroughly reprehensible. Saint Verona, while the guest of a priest, made free use of his stores to provide for the wants of a neighboring leper colony. On being accused by a servant of stealing wine for the lepers the saint asserted that the jars contained water for the bathing of her patients. Upon examination the priest found that a miracle had been wrought and that the contents of the jars had been changed from wine to water. He at once fell at the saint's feet and begged absolution while the poor servant was stricken blind and afterward became the father of a family of defectives.<sup>2</sup> The questionable morality of such stories is of far greater significance than the matter of their historical verity. They indicate that the sacrosanct character of the saint because of its unnaturalness tended to defeat the moral value of the saint's life. It is of the very essence of immorality that the individual will should become a law unto itself.

<sup>1</sup> Froude, *Short Studies*, I, 440.

<sup>2</sup> Barry, "Saints and Sainthood," *Open Court*, XXVIII, 51 ff.; other similar instances are cited from the *Acta Sanctorum Bollandæ*.

The most extreme form of the sacrosanct nature of the saint appeared in the form of relic-worship. In this curious religious custom which came in time to be exceedingly widespread an uncritical age reproduced in Christian guise all the phenomena of fetishism. The custom even received the sanction of the great Aquinas: *reliquas Storum licet homini collo suspendere vel qualitercumque portare ad suam protectionem*.<sup>1</sup> And in spite of the repeated attempts to check this superstitious usage we find the Dominican preacher of Nuremberg, Johannes Herolt, justifying it as late as 1418 on the ground that the bodies of the saints were "temples and instruments of the Holy Ghost dwelling in them and operating through them. God by his presence in them performed miracles so that if any one believe contrary to this sentiment he is no longer to be called a Christian but a heretic."<sup>2</sup> At the close of the Middle Ages a church in Vienna boasted thirty-eight relics, among them a splinter from Noah's ark; Wittenberg, not to be outdone, claimed to have in its large collection a bit of the rust from the interior of Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace.<sup>3</sup> The "odor of sanctity" which for the modern has only a figurative significance, described for the man of the Middle Ages a physical fact. Saint Benedicta was reputed to have imbued all she touched with "a perfume that suffused all those near to her with the love of God and in her ecstasies the odor was so potent as to be overpowering."<sup>4</sup> Similar phenomena were recorded of the saints Polycarp, Severin, Xavier, and many others.

It is most interesting to trace the process by which the church in time sought to utilize the veneration of the saint for the purpose of regulating group values. Canonization is merely the attempt to control the saint's traditional rôle as the embodiment of religious values. *Sanctus*, "separated," was applied to the early Christian because he was "separated" from the world of his pagan environment. Martyrs, those separated from earth in spectacular fashion, were viewed as *sancti par excellence* and as such were venerated by

<sup>1</sup> *Summa* II. 2. 96.

<sup>2</sup> H. Siebert, *Beiträge zur vorreformatorischen Heiligen- und Reliquien-verehrung*, Band VI, Heft 1, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Siebert, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, V, 224; quoted by Brewer, *Dictionary of Miracles*, p. 511.

succeeding generations. Saintliness was later especially associated with the monks and nuns who had "separated" themselves from the world and as "athletes of God" had sought the mediaeval ideal in the *vita contemplativa*. Thus arose in time the mediaeval conception of the saint, which is still that of the Roman Catholic church, of one entitled to the veneration of all men because separate from the world and embodying in special measure the divine grace and energy and wisdom which is the source of all truth and the measure of all values. At first miracle-working power as the most striking evidence of divine favor was the test of the saint both living and dead, "whether his body, when touched, or his soul, when invoked in prayer, are capable of healing sick people, revealing guilt and accomplishing other wonders." The supernatural element has apparently always been of fundamental importance in the canonization of the saint. The miracles alleged to have been wrought upon those who sought her help played a most important part in the canonization of Joan of Arc by Pius X in 1909.<sup>1</sup>

But the church soon perceived the danger of allowing tradition and the uncritical moral sentiments of the masses to determine the status of the saint. Undoubtedly there was also the recognition on the part of ecclesiastical leaders of the unparalleled opportunity for shaping group-values through the personalities of the saints. Hence in his famous deliverance *de beatificatione et canonizatione sanctorum* we find Benedict XIV insisting that no one should be canonized who did not exhibit in addition to the essentially Christian virtues of faith, hope, and love the "natural virtues" of "prudence, fortitude, or strength of soul, temperance, and justice."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore it was insisted that, when inquiry was instituted for the purpose of "beatification or canonization," no examination for miracles was to be made "until after the heroic virtues or the martyrdom of the servant of God has been proven. These virtues are the first and most decisive witness to sanctity; visions, prophecies, and miracles are of only secondary importance and they are absolutely ignored if proof of heroic virtues is not forthcoming."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Söderblom, art. "Holiness," Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 741.

<sup>2</sup> Joly, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Joly, *op. cit.*, p. 80, quoting from *de beatificatione et canonizatione sanctorum*.

It was not demanded to be sure that these "heroic virtues" of the Christian life should be manifest to the same degree by all alike. It was sufficient that there be proof of the practice of these virtues in a measure commensurate with the "conditions in life, rank, circumstance, of the person."

Canonization thus became a most effective instrument for institutionalizing certain types of personality, thereby insuring the perpetuation of group ideals. There is no more powerful means of moral and spiritual education than that provided by an institution or a social setting in its dominant personalities. The child reared in a given institutional environment can no more resist absorbing the moral or spiritual atmosphere than the chameleon can prevent its skin from taking the color of the leaf upon which it basks. The problem of securing from generation to generation a certain intellectual attitude or certain spiritual loyalties is merely the problem of securing complete solidarity and continuity of traditions in a given institutional setting. This means of course that there must be a careful elimination of undesirable variations from the type desired. Canonization offers an unrivaled instrument for the control of such variations and has been utilized with telling effect. Abelard, for example, a spiritual genius and one of the most brilliant intellects of the Middle Ages, is excluded from the catalogue of the saints. He would have provided dangerous "social copy" for succeeding generations.

This continuity of tradition, of course, can be purchased only at the price of a certain hardening and narrowing of the outlook on life. The inevitable result is to encourage spiritual and intellectual inbreeding and the persistence of ideals long after they have served their day. On the other hand, the institution of canonization is based upon a profound insight into the laws of the social process. For no type of character and no set of ideals can long survive when the social setting that gives them vitality has disappeared. The canonized spiritual leader of the past secures through fête and ceremonial, through the concrete symbolization of shrine and image, through music and ritual, an institutional setting that safeguards him against the inevitable revolutions of society. Thus the saints, a company of elect and holy individuals, traverse the centuries

untarnished by the flight of time or the canker of criticism because hedged about by rite and churchly sanction, and stir even in the heart of the modern man enthusiasm for ideals which otherwise would seem like the fair vision of a long-vanished age.

As compared with the red-blooded saint of the Middle Ages the saint of Protestantism appears somewhat tenuous and unreal. Baxter has given us in his *Christian Directory*, in pious and repetitious prolixity, directions extending even to the smallest details for the ordering of the saint's life according to Calvinistic theology. But the Puritan saint even as portrayed by the gentle Baxter is singularly unattractive. We admire his stern moral strength but "he hath no form nor comeliness, and when we see him there is no beauty that we should desire him." The reason is not far to seek. For the saint of Calvinistic theology and of Protestantism in general is essentially a theological creation. He lives and moves and has his being for the most part in a realm of metaphysical values. The holiness he enjoys is primarily artificial in character. It is not his creation but is the result of a juridical pronouncement of infinite justice. His life in the community and the exercise of the civic virtues possess no intrinsic value of their own; they belong to the things that are "added"; they merely supplement the tale of his predestined moral worth.

In that great classic of Protestant Christianity, Baxter's *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*, we find the "persons for whom the heavenly rest remaineth" characterized as follows:

They are then only a part of lost mankind, whom God hath from eternity predestinated to this rest, for the glory of his mercy; whom Christ hath redeemed with an absolute intent of saving; whom the Holy Spirit renews by the power of his grace, and makes in some sort like himself, stamping his image on them, and making them holy as he is holy, and whom he will at length crown with glory, honor, and immortality in heaven [Bk. II, chap. v].

This conception of the saint, which is still that of orthodox Protestantism, differs fundamentally from that of the Middle Ages. The saint of Protestantism is a pale theological abstraction, the product of three metaphysical ideas, predestination, redemption, and sanctification. The mediaeval saint found his *raison d'être* in moral and spiritual endowments which enabled him to perform a

most necessary rôle in the community. To be sure Baxter's *Christian Directory* abounds as we have said in practical directions to the saint for the discharge of social duties. His congregation of Kidderminster weavers were enjoined to be obedient to authority, diligent, honest and thrifty in business. They were even exhorted to "become rich for the glory of God," an injunction which in time became entirely superfluous, for it has been pointed out that the beginnings of capitalism in England are to be traced to the thrifty manufacturing middle class most thoroughly impregnated with the Puritan ethic of industry and ascetic simplicity.<sup>1</sup> But it remained true that the measure of values for the saint after Baxter's own heart lay not in the community he served but in an eternal and predestinated moral order untouched by striving human wills. The saint was not the product of social needs; he was coined by a mysterious and eternal fiat of the divine will. The world of moiling and bargaining humanity was merely the dark foil that served to bring to light the implications of this remote impounding of the moral values of the universe.

It is evident that Baxter's conception of the saint depended upon the ability of men to vitalize in thought and life the stupendous fabric of Calvinistic theology which was the most logical interpretation of Protestantism. But the decay of this stern theology was inevitable. It could not hold its own against the growing values of the secular order. There is today no more interesting and at the same time melancholy evidence of the spiritual *elan* of the Protestantism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than this vast theological framework, once instinct with the breath of life, now almost as pulseless and inert as the bones of a dinosaur.

With the inevitable secularization of the moral and spiritual values, the Protestant conception of the saint was faced with a dilemma which we can state something after this fashion. The saint is dependent upon the institutional setting of the church with its traditions of thought and worship for the social discipline necessary to the development of the saintly character. But as the church becomes more and more departmental and the center of

<sup>1</sup> Levy, *Economic Liberalism*.

gravity for moral and spiritual values is transferred to the community the saint himself tends to become departmental, traditional, and conventional and ceases to play the rôle of moral and spiritual leadership characteristic of the saint of the Middle Ages. Here we have the explanation of the growing sense of unreality, not to say of antipathy, the modern world associates with the saint. There is apparently little or no place for him in the modern social order. This is unconsciously reflected in the thought of religious leaders themselves. "For the rest," writes a representative of liberal Protestantism, "that shining company seems to have retreated into the far distance behind the great fissure of the Reformation, and not all the efforts of hagiologists have made them real. They can hardly come to us, and our imagination can but feebly penetrate to their vanished world, so vast is our divergence from their thought, not simply as to this or that doctrine, but in our whole attitude, insight, and outlook upon life."<sup>1</sup>

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the idea of the saint, like many other traditions of the Middle Ages, has been shipwrecked upon the ineradicable individualism of Protestantism. The saint lived on, to be sure, enjoying a tenuous, metaphysical existence, thanks to John Calvin's heroic attempt to coerce the realm of spiritual values in the strait-jacket of his logic. But a "bloodless ballet" of theological categories was at best a poor and ineffective substitute for the warm, pervasive, and beneficent solidarity of mediaeval society. Not theology so much as the type of institutional life at Geneva, in Puritan England, Scotland, and New England, gave reality to Baxter's conception of the saint. With the triumph of sectarianism, the logical implication of Protestant individualism, the very heterogeneity of the saintly complexion destroyed the social significance of the saint. It is no accident that we must seek our modern saints, those who most nearly fulfil the rôle of Anselm or Bernard or Damiani, in men and women that for the most part are not identified with institutional Christianity. It is our Lincolns, our Florence Nightingales, our Booker T. Washingtons, that seem after all to have caught and interpreted the universal human values of the age.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Fort Newton, *What Have the Saints to Teach Us?* p. 17.



## ORGANIZED LEISURE AS A FACTOR IN CONSERVATION

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The last two decades in the life of the American democracy have been subject to the challenge which comes from a highly organized system of production, an intensification of the economic struggle for the division of the spoils of overproduction, and the middle-class aspirations of the working people. The struggle for democracy as a philosophic concept of our social order has been confused and overwhelmed by a struggle for economic acquisitiveness and independence.

The war has suddenly challenged the democracy of wealth, and it has become the supreme task of the United States to take up this challenge for the whole world. The masses are demanding a new and clearer definition of the basic principles of the democratic state that would be worthy of the sacrifices we are called upon to make in this great war, and we are learning day by day that the strength of a national democracy rests in its internationalism.

We have been hurled into a period of hasty and intensive mobilization and are utilizing the achievement of our inventive genius for the development of efficient brute force. All our energy, all our patriotism, all our intelligence, are bent on fighting the enemy from without. The most radical forms of government action, socialistic principles in matters of public ownership of utilities and resources, are the order of the day, but they are all the result of emergent conditions which must be met even though the present order of things is for the moment sacrificed to or regenerated through the task of winning the war. Almost every aspect of our economic and social life bears a decorum of democracy which was at first put on for the occasion, but is fast becoming a reality of our national life. The church, the school, the public platform, the newspapers, are vieing with each other in propaganda intended to

inspire confidence in this democracy and a lasting hatred of the Hun, who is described as anti-Christ, anti-democracy, and anti-civilization. We hear, however, little about what democracy really is and still less about the way we are to perpetuate, intensify, and purify democracy at home.

For the first time in the history of a people a great international cataclysm has created the moment for the perfecting of national unity on the basis of an ideal of state rather than of social superiorities or inferiorities attendant upon the race struggle. Fidelity to dynasty and race are measured in the balance with the social destiny of mankind, and the destiny of nations and national resources are for the first time facing the future with some hope of relieving the energies heretofore used in obtaining security from without toward increasing worth from within.

This country is already, at least in part, emancipated from the race struggle which has set Europe aflame. Internationalism was thrust upon this country by the very nature of its social and political organization and its populational make-up. Our present task must be to crystallize a political ideal worthy and capable of being upheld by people of all races and creeds.

The next quarter of a century in the history of the United States will be a period of readjustment and reconstruction. The glories of the war which we are bound to win threaten to become a great menace, as they may become the torchbearers of the greatest social and political advance in the history of the world.

The leaders, upon whom rests the main burden of defending democracy abroad and maintaining our sense of democracy at home, will be called upon to determine the new state. We must guard against that rigidity of mind that comes from overabundance of pride and achievement. We must prepare the masses for the leadership that the present crisis will produce, and prepare the leadership itself. Let us avoid confusing war efficiency with political efficiency and military generalship with democratic leadership.<sup>1</sup>

I have been asked to talk about community organization for conservation and other purposes. May I venture the suggestion

<sup>1</sup> The post-bellum days of the Civil War should be a warning against such confusion.

that we are already organized, perhaps overorganized, for conservation in its narrowest conception? We are conserving food, metals, building materials, labor; in a word, everything that may be of use in winning the war. What we are not conserving are the economic and social resources which exist in our midst and which in our ante-bellum days would have been no less valuable in preparing for the war than they are likely to be in the post-bellum days, in making the achievements of the war permanent and efficient in the perpetuation of democracy.

All great social movements and philosophies of state must be translated into emotionalism if they are to survive, but they must first bear the test of science and justice and good sense. Let us not emotionalize democracy before we have given it the full measure of the test of science and justice and good sense which comes from a common understanding of the people affected, and let it be a real democracy.

Idealistic movements fail, not because of their scientific unsoundness, but because of popular ignorance. My plea, therefore, is for broad practical education of the masses in matters of democracy, a task, to be sure, of almost unsurmountable difficulty, but one that can be achieved by community organization for democratic thinking and democratic action. The problem at present is not one of securing knowledge, but one of permitting knowledge to flow untainted by what is false or misleading in our social life. Thomas Hobbes realized the dangers of pollution which threaten science not only in the popular field, but even in university circles, and expressed himself as follows: "Seeing that the universities are the foundation of civil and moral doctrine, from which the preachers and the gentry, drawing such water as they find, use to sprinkle the same upon the people, there ought certainly to be great care taken to have it pure."

An active, intelligent, progressive democratic state depends for its existence upon the leisure of its people. In other words, civilization begins where leisure as a common privilege begins. Democracy ends where leisure as a class privilege begins. I believe with Edward Carpenter that "the faster the wheels of production are turning the faster they throw off a parasitic leisure class on the

one hand and an unemployed, leisure labor class on the other."<sup>1</sup> Production cannot achieve the high degree of efficiency that modern inventions are capable of without an intelligent and equitable distribution of leisure that is intended to conserve and create.

In the discussion of the general subject of conservation and leisure we have perhaps ventured a little too far afield, but the mental processes through which we often reach a practical issue may help not only to clarify the vision itself, but to give the issue its proper place and perspective in the general scheme of our activities, whether they be individual or social.

Leisure has from the very beginning of civilization played the most important part in all social achievement.<sup>2</sup> We have no time here to go into the history of leisure as an individual asset, as a class privilege, or as a social force. Suffice it to say that with the development of industrialism, with the destruction of the aesthetic creative element in individual production as exemplified by the early crafts, and with the introduction of the factory system, fatigue gave the first impetus for the demand of leisure as a common privilege. At first leisure threatened efficiency, and the leisure classes came slowly to realize that unorganized, unled, and uncontrolled leisure threatened rather than helped efficiency. The recreation movement was in the nature of a process of sublimation—as the psychoanalysts would call it—rather than a process of making leisure an asset to democracy or a means of intellectual and social self-expression. It was only after the so-called reformers and the men with vision, like Ruskin and Toynbee, took up the movement for conserving leisure that it became a powerful factor in our social thinking and in the leveling downward of the achievements of modern civilization.

The history of organized leisure in this country is associated with a few people and a few movements, such as the playground, the social settlement, the community theater, and the community center. The last, however, is merely the synthesis of the movements which have preceded it and which under its present impetus

<sup>1</sup> Edward Carpenter, *Towards Industrial Freedom*.

<sup>2</sup> Odin has shown and Ward has reinforced the scientific truth of this principle.

should become a democratic social institution instead of a quasi-social movement with a philanthropic background.

I have stated in outline the significance of leisure and its possibilities as an asset to democratic thinking and action. I shall now attempt to outline the main functions of leisure. It has been pointed out that modern production is intimately and inseparably related to the problem of avoiding fatigue and the providing of recuperative facilities where fatigue cannot be avoided. The increase in leisure should therefore be regarded as the first prerequisite of human conservation both socially and industrially. It has long been recognized, as Hobhouse says, that "people are not fully free in their political and social capacity when they are subject to industrial conditions which devitalize them to the extent of depriving them of their power to exercise these capabilities." That industrial productivity is also reduced when industry is devitalizing and fatiguing hardly needs emphasis.

I shall not limit my discussion to the utilization of leisure as a means of recuperation of one's productive power, but shall venture a bolder classification of the aspects of leisure even at the risk of appearing technical or visionary. The classification I venture to propose is as follows:

- I. Recuperation
- II. Recreation
- III. Conservation
- IV. Sublimation
- V. Education and culture
- VI. Aesthetic and emotional leisure
- VII. Social synergy (Ward)

I shall now take up each of the aspects of leisure in turn and discuss them briefly in relation to democracy, industry, and conservation.

#### I. RECUPERATION

This is perhaps the most essential element in production. Its value to the community and to the individual is static, and although not anti-social, it is non-social. It relates the individual to his industrial task without regard to the fitness of the individual for

the task to be performed. We might justly say that it is essentially a biological function of leisure. That the communities are slowly coming to a realization of the importance of organizing leisure for recuperative purposes is shown by our housing-reform movements, our free baths, our open spaces, agitations against unnecessary noises, summer outings and vacations, etc. The war will teach us many a lesson relative to the avoidance and control of fatigue as well as the best methods of recuperation, many of which we shall find applicable to industrial life.

Recognizing that fatigue tends to decrease the power to work, to reduce or destroy the pleasure taken in work, and to interfere with the social potentialities during the hours spent away from work, the avoidance of fatigue by readjustment of industrial processes and the lengthening of leisure hours becomes a social rather than an economic problem. The efficiency expert has done much toward reducing fatigue in the interest of production. Organized leisure should capitalize this reduction in fatigue in the interest of socialization.

## II. RECREATION

Objections may be raised to a division of leisure that would separate recuperation from recreation. Confusion and overlapping of service in recreational activities are responsible for the failure to differentiate between the two aspects or functions of leisure. It is clear, however, that while recuperation is a biological process involving mainly a passive condition, recreation is an active mental and physical process intended to call into play brain centers and physical organs not involved in the daily industrial tasks of the subject.

In providing recreational facilities as defined for the purpose of this paper, the playground, the settlement, the community center, the dance hall, as non-commercial agencies, the moving-picture, the saloon, the poolroom, the public dance hall, etc., have furnished ample, although not necessarily adequate, facilities.

In what relation the present recreational facilities stand to both the needs and the demands of the people as required by their physical and mental activities as wage-earners is yet to be ascertained. The normal activities of industry should be supplemented by providing recreational facilities which would balance the physical

and mental activities of the individual in a manner that would afford the maximum opportunities for recuperation of the organs and centers utilized in industrial life and the highest development of organs and centers that remain fallow during industrial production. The testing out of our recreational methods in relation to industry is still in the realm of speculation and has not reached the experimental state. The cantonments and the speeded-up war industries should afford a most unusual opportunity for both the psychologist and the sociologist, as these will prove of momentous importance in the production of war materials and during the reconstruction period which must follow this war.

### III. CONSERVATION

We have had much discussion of the problem of human conservation, and the achievement in this direction is not to be discounted. The point of view, however, of those engaged in the task of conserving our human resources has been static rather than dynamic. We have failed to realize that the coefficient of production and efficiency in a task performed need not necessarily be the coefficient of individual efficiency in the performance of a task which the individual is most capable of performing. The conservation of human resources has been centered upon the productive agents in their relation to a given task already being performed without seeking to ascertain the potential capabilities of the individual in new tasks.

The providing of facilities for discovering and capitalizing the aptitude of individuals which would afford opportunities for finding the most productive and individually the most suitable type of employment has been neglected. Through intimate contact with individual aptitudes and a knowledge of the individual problems of workers a few instances of conservation of a positive character can be called to mind by almost any experienced social worker. That careful organization for the conservation of individual potentialities coupled with a system of vocational analysis and guidance can be secured through proper utilization of leisure and adequate facilities for the use of such leisure is clear. Whether the playground, the community center, or some new agency should be intrusted with

this task it is not my intention to forecast. There is, however, a field of service here which claims attention, a field that is both industrially and socially in the nature of conservation. As soon as we give it recognition we shall have no difficulty in devising the machinery for its accomplishment.

Two or three years ago Mr. John Collier and some of his associates in community-center work conceived the idea that health work should be made part of the activities of the community center. A successful clinical experiment along this line was carried out on a co-operative basis, but the objections raised by the medical profession against interference with present individualistic methods of practicing medicine threaten to delay the further development of this movement. That the development of adequate leisure-time activities and the proper placing of labor in industries are matters that require medical as well as social analysis cannot be denied. Whether leisure-time agencies should be concerned at this moment with the adequate and democratic distribution of medical care and prophylaxis is still open to some discussion. That the problem of health is a problem of conservation we all agree. Whether we are still willing to trust to the charitable clinic and the individualistic methods of medical practice to meet the problem must soon be decided. If Havelock Ellis reads the signs of the times correctly, the nationalization of medicine is in process of becoming an accomplished fact. Are we justified in trying to accelerate it? Whatever our opinion regarding the administration of medical service, health is essentially a leisure-time problem.

Industry is essentially individualistic and competitive; leisure is essentially social and co-operative. The fostering of the co-operative spirit which is necessary in all effective social organization has frequently found its best medium in the economic co-operative movements of both producers and consumers. This movement has passed the experimental stage and is assuming proportions which are sufficiently impressive to become part of the general activities of the agencies dealing with the organization of leisure time. That a considerable part of the economic problem of the wage-earners can be attributed to bad financial management and inefficient selection of commodities, both as to price and utility, is well known



to every social worker. In what way the consumers' co-operative movement may be made to serve as an educational factor in the more intelligent selection of commodities has been amply demonstrated. The leisure-time agencies may be used as a medium for furthering this movement, as a means both of increasing the purchasing power of wages and of intensifying the co-operative instincts of the people. As Beatrice Potter says:

Exactly, the same qualities of public-spirited energy, capacity for compromise, dogged persistence and self-subordination, together with shrewd intelligence in choice of officials, watchfulness and generosity towards servants—precisely the same intellectual and moral gifts are needed in the members of the successful store as in the citizens of a well ordered and enterprising municipality.

That co-operation for the mere increase of the purchasing power of wages is conservational in the highest degree has been proved in England, France, Germany, Holland, and Denmark, and more recently in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. SUBLIMATION

Psychoanalysis is a comparatively new science, but psychoanalytic methods have been in use in organized leisure-time service ever since its inception. Sublimation, or the substitution of one activity for another to satisfy certain fundamental instincts, was in truth the dynamic force which produced the recreational movement in this country. From the opening up of Mulberry Bend in New York to the most recent and up-to-date community center recreation has been directed largely toward the substitutions of the commercialized, undesirable leisure-time activities by higher types of activities, whether these be in the nature of physical exercises or of intellectual and emotional expression.

To what extent the studies of criminality, vice, and other degenerative and anti-social leisure-time activities have found substitutes in the new movement for the organization of leisure would be difficult to state. There is, however, a new field of scientific inquiry which the psychoanalyst may undertake with a view to developing new and less ill-adjusted leisure-time activities

<sup>1</sup> Harris, *Co-operation the Hope of the Consumer*.

*en masse* that would open the way toward more adequate service in the prevention of vice and crime than we have been able to render with our present cruder knowledge and less scientific methods. That the development of psychoanalysis as an auxiliary science of leisure-time activities would be an element of conservation of no mean importance is apparent, but whether the effort required to bring this about should be made at this time must be determined by those closely associated with the recreational movement, and by the scientists who know what is available by way of scientific data bearing on this subject and what is yet to be learned and made applicable to the practical problems of leisure time.

#### V. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

*Education.*—The German philosopher Mock said that *the human brain is an organ of adaptation and not cogitation*. While we may be averse to recognizing the truth of such a thought, our political life, the attitude of the ruling classes, and the scantiness of general educational facilities for the adult classes would seem to justify Mock's contention. That our ordinary industrial life often renders clear thinking and accurate knowledge impossible of attainment we are all aware. *But even if we recognize Hobbe's dictum as to the inertia of the human mind, we must not forget the other dictum by the same thinker, namely, that the monopoly of ideas in one group is detrimental to the other.*

That the human mind is often inert must be admitted, but inactive minds are more likely to intensify than to reduce this inertia. Lack of continued education makes for a rigidity of mind that is akin to the physical rigidity attendant upon sedentary occupations and senility. *Society is ruled by certain fundamental ideas most in harmony with the interests of the ruling classes. If democracy is to be a reality, if the people are to determine their own social and political destiny, they should be the masters of these fundamental ideas, or "force thoughts," as Fouillée calls them.* That it is utopian to think of all the people as of sufficient intelligence and education to be intrusted with the destiny of the state is conceded, but progress toward such a democracy is only hampered by failure to recognize at least the remote possibility of such a state of affairs.

The obvious reason why continuous education of the masses is needed may be stated briefly as follows:

1. *To maintain a normal store of information necessary in the constant adjustment to daily life and problems.*—The complexities of intensive social life require constant adjustments and readjustments to the demands of one's own physical existence, protection against dangerous environmental conditions, changes in standards of living, new means of conservations of life and energy, etc. These alone are sufficient for the building up of a popular educational system for which community organization of the most effective and far-reaching type is needed. The dissemination of knowledge concerning the mean daily problems in the life of the people is an undertaking worthy of the best of our educators. That the present rate of progress is too rapid to depend upon the primary and secondary schools for its effective spread among the people must be conceded. The leveling downward of the daily achievements in the direction of improved living is a leisure-time problem of educational character affecting the adult population. The settlements, the community center, the school center, the popular lecture, the daily press, are adequate agencies for this work. The shaping of their policies as a means of developing methods for the teaching of efficient living in harmony with our daily progress is still in process of development and adjustment.

2. *To correct erroneous ideas acquired in so-called official education.*—The problems of correcting educational errors, as many of us have often found, is perhaps more difficult than the acquisition of new knowledge. The retentive powers of the human mind in matters of principles of life and conduct are greater than the assimilative powers that must be brought into play in the dissemination of new ideas.

3. *The sifting of ideas necessary in the protection of the masses against class education and class control.*—Those who can look back upon the political careers of many of our cities, say New York or Philadelphia, particularly the last elections in these two cities, will realize that discrimination in matters of political ideas and ideals is not to be expected of the public. The average voter is devoid of idealism and is incapable of discrimination between a practical

governmental concept and manifestations, either social or economic. *Organized leisure for the development of the powers of discrimination and selections of ideas and principles to be applied to our political and social life may well begin in the field of politics by the abolition of class reform in favor of popular and continuous political education in the masses.*

4. *Adjustment to changes in the political and social order.*—Much social legislation has been secured by reformers in the last two decades. The records of our legislative sessions sound like utopian dreams inflicted upon a wholly practical and unworthy human race. Many of our social reformers are at work today upon legislative schemes intended to make this country a better and safer place to live in. Should we dare stop, however, to measure the practical achievements that have resulted from this mass of humanitarian legislation we would find ourselves face to face with the problem of popularizing popular legislation. *The difficulty has been that most of the demands for social legislation have come from the expert, and the masses have been neglected as a factor in securing the legislation in which they should have been first to give expression to their needs and the first to benefit by them. The whole principle of popular government has been endangered, and social work has assumed the prerogative of a popular movement.*

Were the masses organized for a better understanding of their own needs and a more active co-operation in the securing of legislation and other facilities for meeting these needs, social reform would become an active, continuous, vitalized, practical, and popular manifestation of the life of the people. We have been legislating downward. Only through proper education in matters of social reform shall we reach a point where legislation shall emanate from the people and shall become part of the life of the people.

5. *The progress of science and the progress of society.*—Social workers are often impatient of their directing boards because of the apparent and sometimes actual shortsightedness in matters of social service. Antiquated and anti-social methods frequently prevail in the field of social work, where social science has reached a stage of positive knowledge which shows the futility and wastefulness of the methods in vogue. What is true of social service is

true of other fields of human endeavor, especially where the element of competition is eliminated or minimized. In the fields of medicine, law, engineering, sanitation, etc., the public seldom receives the full measure of service and protection produced by the development of the arts and sciences back of the above-named professions. There seems to be a wide gap between scientific achievement and the practical application of this achievement for common service. This is due to the lack of sufficient education of the masses to make them aware of these achievements and to assist in socializing them. That the failure of popular education in this direction is retarding social progress is plainly to be seen. The problem of popular education, therefore, is the development of machinery for the spread of the most advanced practical knowledge untainted by class or partisan interests and in harmony with the most pressing needs for the individual and social development of the people.

*Culture.*—We have heard so much about German *Kultur* within the last four years that one is fearful of using the word culture lest it be confused with *Kultur*. To avoid confusion I venture, therefore, to draw the distinction between "*Kultur*" as meaning social achievement in science, art, and industry, and culture, which is moral and spiritual development of the people in the attainment of which achievements in the arts, sciences, and industry are an essential part. The elements of culture are to be found in leisure, and until recently the leisure class alone claimed the privilege of culture. However that may be, modern education among the masses must guard against developing an educational system that would be akin to that soulless product of the German social order known as *Kultur*. Without the spiritual side science and art and even literature are devoid of that joy of mental power that makes educational acquisitiveness an end instead of a means to an end.

Darwin realized the danger of mental acquisitiveness and one-sided development when he complained that his mind had become a machine for extracting general laws, but that his faculties had been atrophied, which meant a loss of joy. How difficult it would be to give cultural value to our educational system and in particular to popular education can readily be seen. What is not so clear is

what methods and what kinds of popular education should be developed in order to give the masses a true perception of the spiritual value of education. True culture can be attained by the development of an educational system which tends to develop personality and to harmonize personal efforts with the needs and aspirations of all the people. Only when education ceases to be a class privilege and is established as a free, permanent, continuous, common right of all the people shall we be able to attain that higher sphere of social relationship that comes from the spiritualizing of knowledge or folk-culture.

#### VII. AESTHETIC AND EMOTIONAL LEISURE

One of the most inspiring aspects of anti-German feeling in this war is the great cry that has been raised against the destruction of works of art such as the Louvain and Rheims cathedrals and the beautiful public buildings in the Belgian cities. It seems almost as if the destruction of the treasures of human achievements in the field of art had been more mercilessly condemned as barbarous than the rape of Belgium as a state and the destruction of millions of human lives.

The aesthetic development of a people is crystallized in its arts. That the character and development of art forms are dependent not alone upon the innate power of achievement of the talent and genius in our midst, but upon the concept of art prevalent among the people, is conceded by everyone. Art cannot reach its highest forms unless it has the backing and understanding of a high aesthetic development of the people. The arts of Greece and Rome were the creation, not alone of Greek and Roman artists, but of an art-patron class which gave art its social and economic support.

In a democracy art can be removed from the sphere of class privileges and made a part of the life of the people. The forms that democratic art is to take will depend upon the freedom with which we afford opportunities for artistic creation and art enjoyment for all the people. I was told by an artist that the Aquarium in New York is attended yearly by three times as many people as the Metropolitan Museum of that city. One is prompted to ask whether our educational system, our press, our government agencies,

and the art groups themselves have not been so contemptuous of popular art education as to defeat the end of art in this country. One needs only to glance at our public monuments, public buildings, and our almost barbarous neglect of natural resources for creative landscape art to realize that so far democracy has not included among its achievements a democratic art. We need to popularize the wealth of art treasures at least in the degree in which the "fish circus" of New York is popularized, and this can be done only by community organization intended to meet this need. We shall never have a strong democratic art without first making art popular with democracy.

But aside from the popular passive enjoyment of art we must endeavor to develop the creative faculties of our people through the dance, the pageant, the festival, the mask, the choral society, the amateur theater, etc. A few leaders in this field have already laid the foundation of a great folk-art movement. The foreign elements in this country are freely offering their contribution toward this folk art, and the traditions of the United States afford no mean resources for the renaissance of neglected art forms created by the people as an expression of their creative powers. We need only organize to develop these heterogeneous masses of folk arts into a synthetic whole of American folk art which will bear the marks of a united people born of an international melting-pot.

The church is another element in the emotional sphere of leisure that needs not so much the force of organization as correlation with the needs of the community and its people. It is rather disheartening to watch the division of labor between organized politics and the organized church. One seems to arrogate to itself the guardianship of vice and degradation, the other the guardianship of virtue and spirituality. Between the two we find the vast majority of the people contentiously indifferent toward both. The church seems to have become divided on issues of creed, but has not become integrated and organized as the most potent and theoretically the most spiritual factor in the socialization of the world. That this point of view is now permeating the churches is evident from the many interchurch movements started in recent years, but that much of the activities of these movements has been

directed toward specific, flagrant evils in conflict with personal morality rather than social justice we are all aware. The task of socializing the church needs only the leadership that intensive community organization will produce. This will never be attained as long as the interests of the churches are not identified with the needs of the people as a whole, as long as the contact of the people with the church is confined to the safeguarding of the principles of intimate personal morality rather than the emotionalizing of broad social ideals in harmony with the potential social achievement of the present day.

#### VII. SOCIAL SYNERGY

There is in every department of nature, including the social order, a law which *conserves, creates, and constructs*. The rate of social conservation, creation, and construction depends upon the use of the social achievement of the past in its relation to the conditions which developed in favor of these three elements of the law of synergy, as Professor Ward calls it.

The organization of leisure, the conditions which are developed, consciously or unconsciously, in the social order for the most intensive development of social synergy, in the sense of conserving achievements already attained, creating new forms of achievement, and utilizing these achievements in the improvement of the present social order will control the rate of democratization of the people. The social reconstruction of America must depend upon the creative and constructive social faculties of the people. Leisure and its use in social synergy will determine the rate of democratic progress that we shall attain.

Trench warfare is breaking up class lines, it is bringing new inspiration to the struggle for ideals of freedom and equality, it is creating a new religion of social justice. The peaceful communities at home should join in the struggle and organize to prepare a social state for which the man in the trenches shall never be ashamed to have fought. By the way we use our leisure will the destiny of democracy be determined.



## TRAINING A SOCIALIZED RURAL LEADERSHIP

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Until the present time the training of elementary teachers of rural schools has been placed on a temporary basis only. The time has now come when some plan for permanent organization of this training should be formulated and adopted. The purpose of this article is to present a tentative outline of such a scheme. The discussion is restricted to conditions prevailing in Minnesota, with which the writer is most familiar.

*Scope of discussion.*—The article includes:

I. A brief survey of the present status of training elementary teachers for rural schools in Minnesota.

II. Types of training demanded by the present needs of the rural schools of the state.

III. A tentative outline of an organization providing these types of training.

*Principles underlying discussion.*—The discussion is based on three principles:

1. *The place of birth and the surroundings of early youth are beyond the control of the child, therefore these conditions should deprive no child of an opportunity to participate to the fullest extent of his capacity and ability in the minimum essentials of an elementary education adapted to his needs and capacity, fitted to the best interests of society, and provided at public expense.* Professor John Dewey stated the ideal toward which we should strive most impressively when he wrote,<sup>1</sup> "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy." In the statement of the financial needs of his school system, one of the leading city superintendents

<sup>1</sup> John Dewey, *School and Society*, p. 19.

of the country recently gave concrete application to this principle when he said, "In short, how deeply do the people of Minneapolis desire that every child and youth in the city be provided with educational opportunities equal to those provided at public expense for any child or youth in the city."<sup>1</sup> Minnesota has recognized the justice of this principle, and at the close of the school year 1915-16 paid out from the state treasury approximately two million dollars in an effort more equally to distribute the educational opportunities within the state.<sup>2</sup>

2. *If the boys and girls in the country are to be given an opportunity to participate in an elementary education equal to that provided at public expense for the children in the cities, then the elementary schools in the country should be provided with just as well-trained teachers as the elementary schools in the city.* It is quite generally recognized that such is not the case. The teacher-training departments in the high schools and the county training schools supply the rural school with the majority of its trained teachers. These are conceded to be short cuts to the teaching profession, and more or less makeshifts. Few graduates of a course in a normal school requiring two years beyond the completion of standard high school enter the rural schools. The teachers in the rural schools who have had training in a normal school consist largely of those who have had but one year of training beyond the high school in the course for teachers in city school systems, and those who have completed a special course for rural teachers which is less rigid than the one required of the teachers in the city. Many rural teachers have but barely met the minimum requirements for professional training prescribed by state legislation; others are only eighth-grade graduates with the most meager professional training; and many are without either professional training or experience.

Recent studies verify the prevalence of these conditions. The *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education* says, "The most careful estimates that can be made indicate that one-third

<sup>1</sup> Frank E. Spaulding, *The Price of Progress*, p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> The sum of \$2,594,909 was demanded, but the inadequacy of legislative appropriations left a deficit of \$654,000. See *Nineteenth Biennial Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*.

of the teachers, 122,000, have little or no professional preparation for their duties."<sup>1</sup> The Maryland Survey reports, "Over 75 per cent of the elementary teachers outside of the city of Baltimore when judged most liberally, have had less than a standard professional training."<sup>2</sup> In Wisconsin during 1913-14 there were 5,528 grade and kindergarten teachers employed in the schools, not including rural teachers. Of these, 3,238, or almost 60 per cent, were graduates of normal schools. The same year there were 6,639 teachers employed in the rural schools. Of this group, only 414, or slightly over 6 per cent, were normal-school graduates, and 192 of these had completed special courses for rural teachers which are not of as high standard as those required of elementary teachers in town and city schools.<sup>3</sup> If democracy of educational opportunities is to be afforded country children in the elementary school, the need of a rural teaching force with a training equal to that of other elementary teachers needs no further argument.

3. *If the rural school is to be provided with as well-trained teachers as are the city schools, then courses for elementary teachers in rural schools of the same standard as those offered to elementary teachers in city schools must be established.* Such courses are not common at the present time. The normal schools have been severely taxed to supply the demand of the city schools for trained teachers. Three teacher-training institutions—the First District Normal School at Kirksville, Missouri; the Illinois State Normal University at Normal, Illinois; and the Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls, Iowa—have made special efforts to meet the rural needs. These three institutions have been and are recognized as leaders in this field. In each of these institutions the completion of a course in a standard high school has been made an entrance requirement to those preparing for positions in town and city schools, but students with one and two years of high-school training

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education*, I (1915), 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Public Education in Maryland*, p. 73. See in greater detail on p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> The figures on which these percentages are based are taken from "Conditions and Needs of Wisconsin's Normal Schools," *Report of Co-operative Survey* (A. N. Farmer, Director), pp. 564a and 574-75.

and even with only eighth-grade preparation are freely admitted to the courses for rural teachers.<sup>1</sup>

The recent and vigorous attacks that have been made on rural problems have suddenly precipitated this new task on institutions already overworked. The rapid increase of educational expenditures for well-established teacher-training activities has made it difficult to obtain sufficient funds with which to organize new projects in a thorough manner. The movement has been besieged by all the difficulties confronting the organization of a new type of training. A supply of trained leaders familiar with the problems of rural education has not been available to fill teaching and administrative positions opened up by these new responsibilities. These positions have been filled either by persons trained in other fields or by those who have through long years of experience in the country schools reached a higher degree of efficiency than their less alert and more amateur fellow-workers. The former course has often resulted in an attempt to fit methods effective in other fields to the new conditions at the expense of differences inherent in the new situation. The immediacy of administrative problems has often superseded the need for fundamental adjustments. In the latter case a rich experience has often been secured at the cost of academic and professional training. The fact that one has out-distanced his peers through the method of trial and error and has come to be considered a superior teacher is not an adequate guaranty that he is able to transmit a proper training to the uninitiated. These leaders have put up a heroic fight to meet the needs of the new field, to overcome the lack of academic training, and to meet the demands for professional insight. Much progress has been made.<sup>2</sup> However, in general they have not succeeded in giving courses in rural education the same amount of respect that is enjoyed by those offered in preparation for teaching positions in city schools.

<sup>1</sup> See *First District Normal School Bulletin*, Kirksville, Missouri, 1915; the *Normal School Quarterly*, Normal, Illinois, 1915; and *Bulletin Iowa State Teachers College*, Vol. XV, No. 3, Cedar Falls, Iowa, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> See Ernest Burnham, "A Decade of Progress in the Training of Rural Teachers," *National Education Association Proceedings* (1915), pp. 801-7.

A normal-school president recently expressed the situation very concretely. On being asked in October how many teachers his institution would send into the rural schools in the coming year, he replied that it was too early to make a reliable estimate, because many of the students would not "confess such intentions" until the very last part of the year. A progressive county superintendent puts the matter just as squarely. His opinion was asked as to the comparative efficiency of the teacher-training departments in the high schools and the normal schools in supplying teachers for his rural schools. This superintendent has worked out an effective system of supervision. He has seven assistants working under him. His response was that if he went to the training departments he would find all kinds of abilities to select from; but if he went to the normal schools he would be put off until late in the season and then have his selection restricted to two classes of students: the one class desiring only temporary employment until sufficient funds might be accumulated to complete the regular normal-school course for elementary teachers of town and city schools; the other class consisting of those who had graduated from this course for teachers of city schools, but failed to secure a position in a city system. This county superintendent has exceptional inducements to offer to rural teachers. A teacher is started at a tempting salary determined by her training and experience; in many cases she is provided with a furnished home in which she may live with comfort and at a nominal expense; and his scheme for rating teachers makes it possible for her to draw a salary of \$99.50 at the end of a six-year term of service.

As a result of these honest, but hampered and more or less crude, attempts to meet the needs of rural teachers, a social stigma has been cast over courses in rural education. It is difficult to enlist in them students of the most promising abilities, of adequate training, and with red blood. Citizens of a democracy strive for the best. It is difficult to sell them "shoddy goods," especially if they are labeled and stamped as such. Nevertheless the solution of many rural problems depends on the efforts of well-prepared teachers of strong potential ability and alert to the vital needs of the field. There is nothing mystical about these problems; their

solutions are not brought about through the incantations of magicians; short and cheap methods avail little as permanent remedies; but the same careful, tedious, and painstaking efforts of skilled workers are demanded as are obligatory in other fields of educational progress. In this case the price of democracy of educational opportunities in the elementary schools of country and city is that courses of preparation be provided for prospective teachers which will challenge an equal degree of respect from them.

#### I. BRIEF SURVEY OF THE PRESENT STATUS OF TRAINING RURAL TEACHERS IN MINNESOTA

The several attempts which have been made in recent years to train rural teachers are to be commended and denote much progress. However, even in this state, where the State Department of Education has ever been in the vanguard of the movement; where the legislature has been most liberal in subsidizing the work from the state treasury; where the university through its College of Agriculture has done its share; where the normal schools have participated to some extent; and where the instructors in the teacher-training departments of the high schools, the state high-school inspectors, and the city and county superintendents have labored shoulder to shoulder for the advancement of the cause—even under these most favorable conditions the most optimistic supporters of the movement must confess that the training of these teachers is in an unsettled stage.

The majority of trained teachers entering the rural schools are graduates from the teacher-training departments in the high schools. There were 1,129 of these graduates in 1914, 1,318 recommended for certification in 1915, and 1,559 certificates granted in 1916.<sup>1</sup>

Of the five normal schools in the state two have organized departments of rural education. In the past these departments have offered only a one-year course. In one school only high-school graduates have been permitted to enter; in the other, students with less preparation have been admitted; and within the

<sup>1</sup> See twenty-second and twenty-third *Annual Reports of the State High-School Inspector*.

past year these two schools have organized a two-year course based on the completion of a standardized high-school course for prospective rural teachers. Only a few students are pursuing the second year of this course. All students expecting to teach in the rural schools are enrolled in the rural departments. This includes those who plan to teach in the country schools while earning the amount necessary to complete the course required of elementary teachers in the town and city schools.<sup>1</sup>

The only differentiation from the regular course offered to those planning for city school positions made in these two-year courses for rural teachers is that one-quarter of the time be spent in the special field of rural education. Elementary agriculture, home economics for rural teachers, rural methods, rural sociology, and rural practice teaching constitute this specialized work. There is no differentiation made in the common branches which these teachers must teach in the rural schools, but the prospective rural and city teachers pursue these courses in the same classes.<sup>2</sup>

In the other three normal schools no special efforts are made to encourage students to enter the rural schools. A course in rural-school management is provided for those who plan to teach in the country schools. No arrangements have been made to afford practice-teaching facilities under rural conditions.

The training of rural teachers is still a matter in which a number of teacher-training agencies are free to meddle. The work remains narrow in its scope and temporary in its character. It is still struggling to attain some degree of respectability. The fundamental problem confronting rural education in the state today is that of securing some adequate and permanent means of training the elementary teachers of rural schools. Some existing type of institution must be designated to take up this work, or a new one

<sup>1</sup> "Students who wish to do so may take a first-grade certificate at the end of their Junior year and go out to teach temporarily. They are required to take as their Junior work the first year of the rural-school course, including a unit and a half of practice teaching. . . . Students who complete the Junior rural-education year are credited with one full year toward the regular advanced diploma, so that if they wish later to change their field it will cause no loss of time to do so."—*Winona State Normal School Bulletin* (1916), p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

created to perform this special service. Until the state has made such a provision, the growth and development of rural education will be precarious and uncertain.

New teacher-training institutions are expensive. They are extravagantly dispersive and wasteful of both finances and energy. Overhead and administrative expenses are materially increased; buildings, equipment, and teaching forces are duplicated; and the upkeep costs are greatly increased. In a constantly widening and expanding school system new demands are continually made on teacher-training institutions. If these agencies prove flexible enough to meet the new needs through necessary readaptations, much progress is made. Existing organizations provide a ready mechanism for the immediate discharge of new activities; they are accelerated by the new responses; and society is given maximum returns for minimum expenditures. Separate teacher-training institutions are open to danger of dissipating energy through needless competition caused by artificial lines of segregation.

The normal schools of the state are confining themselves to the field of the elementary school.<sup>1</sup> Since the training of elementary teachers of rural schools is an adaptation of their present activities to the needs of many communities in the state, it seems logical that they should assume the responsibilities of adequately and permanently developing the necessary organization and technique for this training. Through these organized institutions vitally engaged in the solution of related problems this service should be rendered most adequately, efficiently, and economically.

## II. TYPES OF TRAINING DEMANDED BY NEEDS OF RURAL SCHOOLS

The present rural situation justifies the normal schools in making provision for three types of training: (1) preparation of teachers for one-room rural schools, (2) preparation of elementary teachers for consolidated schools, and (3) preparation of supervisors for rural schools.

1. *Preparation of teachers for one-room rural schools.*—A part of the pioneer work in this field has been performed by the system of training which has developed in the teacher-training depart-

<sup>1</sup> See President Maxwell's *Report of Winona State Normal School* (1910-12), p. 105.



ments of the high schools. By an act of the legislature in 1903 these departments were given official recognition by the state. Previous to the act a few departments had been supported through the initiative of local school systems. The movement grew slowly. In 1907-8 there were only 10 departments; in 1909-10 there were 27; a period of rapid growth followed, for 81 were reported in 1911-12; in 1913-14 the number had increased to 106;<sup>1</sup> and in 1915-16 the number reached 129.<sup>2</sup>

The curriculum of these training departments is overcrowded with subject-matter. Courses are given in pedagogy, rural-school management, and country life. Instruction in the common branches based on the Minnesota state course of study is required. Industrial work (including primary handwork, agriculture and nature-study, cooking and sewing, manual training, drawing, and music<sup>3</sup>) is provided in each department. At the beginning of the year three weeks of observation work are required of each student. This is followed by practice teaching, of which from forty to sixty minutes of actual practice teaching per day throughout the rest of the year is required of each student. Each student receives at least two weeks of practice teaching in a rural school. The organization of a spring primary class is recommended in order that each student may receive actual practice with beginners. At least one day each month is given to the instructor in the department to visit rural schools. Only one year is given to the course.<sup>4</sup>

Under the present plan of organization these departments are rapidly reaching their limitations. In the greater number of them the work in agriculture, cooking and sewing, and manual training is offered by the special instructors of these subjects in the high school. All other instruction is given by the instructor in the training department. The average enrolment of the department is thirteen.<sup>5</sup> This training instructor must direct the observation

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin F. Pittinger, *Rural Teachers' Training Departments in Minnesota High Schools*, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> See twenty-second and twenty-third *Annual Reports of the State High-School Inspector*.

<sup>3</sup> State High-School Board Rules, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> State High-School Board Rules, 1915.

<sup>5</sup> See twenty-third *Annual Report of the State High-School Inspector*.

work. In 1915-16 forty-one of the departments aided in the support of rural schools used for purposes of observation and demonstration. These must be supervised. Practice-teaching facilities are provided in the local school system; spring primary classes are organized in many departments; and affiliations are made with a number of rural schools providing for rural practice teaching. If these activities are to prove efficient they must be most carefully supervised. The extension activities of the departments draw heavily on the time of the training instructor.

The State Department of Education has had the insight to place these teacher-training departments under most capable supervision; the instructors are women with initiative and professional spirit of an exceptionally high order;<sup>1</sup> the city superintendents have given the departments most careful guidance; and the county superintendents have stood as a unit in consistently urging that the work be adapted to the needs of rural teachers. The entrance requirements to the departments have been gradually raised until only graduates of accredited high schools are admitted. The course is crowded with subject-matter, and pressure is being exerted to extend it through two years. The courses should be extended and intensified. The practice-teaching facilities should be extended and placed under competent supervision. In 1915-16 five of the departments had responded to the need for expansion and were employing two teachers.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible for the 120 high schools of the state maintaining departments to assume separately the responsibilities demanded by the movement for growth.

This work can be done much more advantageously by the normal schools. They possess the advantage of being able to place each subject in charge of a specialist. The practice teaching can be better organized and more closely supervised. In many other ways they possess such great advantages over other teacher-training agencies for performing this service as to enable them to demon-

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-third *Annual Report of the State High-School Inspector*. During the summer of 1916, 80 per cent of the instructors in the teacher-training departments either taught in, or attended, summer schools.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

strate their superior fitness with comparative ease. The normal schools are facing a most auspicious opportunity. The time for organizing this training on a more comprehensive and permanent basis has arrived. Their success depends very much on the care, zeal, and vision with which they enter the work. If either financing or vision is inadequate when the plan for training is adopted, it will fail to equal or surpass the standards set by the most successful among the teacher-training departments in the high schools. Such a catastrophe would result in disaster, for with superior advantages the normal schools must even raise these high standards.

2. *Preparation of elementary teachers for consolidated schools.*—Many times special teachers for these schools have been promised, but no provision has been made for their training. This responsibility has been placed on no one teacher-training agency, but has been intrusted to chance pure and simple. Patrons of rural schools have been assured that the consolidated system will provide them with a school adapted to their special needs. The potential advantages which the larger district unit provides for increased educational opportunities have been presented with much vigor. These communities have been inspired with a desire to make progress; they have assumed that the needs so glibly pointed out could be met; few have taken the precaution to hesitate and investigate; and immediate preparation should be made for a day when these matters shall be checked up. The type of training needed by these teachers differs in many respects from that demanded either by the teacher of a one-room rural school or by the teacher of the grades in a city school system. A new school has been pledged based on the assumption that teacher-training institutions would rally to meet the need and produce a new type of teacher.

To be sure, the principals of these consolidated schools have been required to offer work in manual training and technical agriculture among their many activities; but the rank and file of elementary teachers who have the actual charge of the children for a much longer time and who bear a much more intimate relationship to them have not been offered a training that will enable them to interpret the common branches from the rural point of view.

Under such conditions the instruction is likely to lack motivation; the school exercises in which the children participate become artificial because their past experiences have not been considered in the presentation of the school work; and there is a danger lest these consolidated schools be as formal as, and no more vitally concerned with, life-activities of the rural people than were their predecessors.

The rural people, under the encouragement of liberal state aid, are rapidly pledging themselves for better rural schools; in 1914-15 there were 90 consolidated schools; in 1915-16 the number had increased to 140; and in 1916-17 there were 217 such schools reported.<sup>1</sup> Strong emphasis has been placed on the organization of the administrative phases of these schools, but little effort has been expended to improve fundamentally the type of instruction in the elementary-school subjects offered in them. It is now up to the teacher-training agencies to redeem the pledge which has been given these communities for a new school. The one hope of making good lies in the training of a new type of teacher. Since the training of these teachers is but an adaptation of the present work of the normal schools to the needs of many communities in the state, it seems reasonable that they should assume the responsibilities involved in organizing and carrying out such a scheme of training. No other teacher-training institutions are so well prepared to perform this much-needed service.

3. *Preparation of supervisors for rural schools.*—Recent studies in the field of rural education have been placing much stress on a need for more adequate supervision.<sup>2</sup> The whole matter of supervision has been much talked about; the present practices have been most severely criticized; the entire system has been railed at; but little progress has been made toward the organization and application of an adequate and comprehensive system of training better supervisors.

The county as a unit of organization has been championed as a panacea. However, the Maryland Survey points out<sup>3</sup> that even

<sup>1</sup> See Minnesota state directories for the respective years.

<sup>2</sup> See *Public Education in Maryland* and the surveys made recently by the U.S. Bureau of Education in Iowa, Washington, North Dakota, Colorado, and Wyoming.

<sup>3</sup> *Public Education in Maryland*, p. 43.

in a state organized on this plan politicians are more or less carefully "groomed" for a few weeks and then placed in these very important supervisory positions. This situation may be anticipated just as long as politicians can perform these duties as well as, or even better than, other applicants for the positions. When the "tricks of the trade" could be acquired in a few weeks, the doctors were "dopesters" rather than physicians, in the common meaning of the term. The stable or office boy of the practicing doctor became the full-pledged physician of tomorrow. As the organization and technique of medicine became more fully developed, the profession began to draw its members from less humble and homely schools of preparation. When teacher-training institutions have placed the organization and technique of the supervisors' training on such a high plane that it cannot be mastered in a short time, the poorly prepared and incompetent will not be able to compete with this professionalized group. However, it can scarcely be expected that present incumbents of these positions, weak and incompetent as individual members may be, will be replaced by others until a class of trained supervisors who are able to demonstrate their superiority over the untrained group has been produced. The fundamental need is a profession of rural supervisors. This profession must be based on a course extending through at least three years beyond the high school and demanding a rigorous and systematic treatment of the problems arising in this special field of activity.

In this state the demand for such supervisors is not far off; already the need has been felt, and superintendents of associated districts<sup>1</sup> have been searching for persons to fill these important positions. In the future they will be sought in increasingly larger numbers. To what teacher-training institution in the state may a superintendent go with any assurance that he may secure competently trained candidates to fill these very responsible supervisory positions?

<sup>1</sup> In Minnesota an act of the legislature makes it possible for outlying rural schools to associate with a central town school. The rural schools receive the benefits of supervision and instruction in industrial subjects from the central school. The plan resembles the New England town system in many respects. See State School Laws. In 1915-16 there were 52 central, and 281 outlying rural districts operating under this law. See twenty-third *Annual Report of the State High-School Inspector*.

The county superintendents insist that these rural-school supervisors be placed under their direction. In some cases the superintendents of associated districts urge that the movement may be more quickly developed under their management and are exerting some initiative in opening up the field. A matter of much more common concern and much more fundamental importance is that these supervisors be thoroughly trained to perform the duties which they assume. The chances are that a poorly prepared supervisor will make a failure under either system; that a supervisor trained for the city schools will urbanize and make artificial the school experiences of the children under either system; but that a supervisor competently trained from the rural point of view will work changes for the betterment of rural schools under either system.

Perhaps the most important step that is being taken by the state in rural education today is that of placing these schools under supervision. So far the movement is approaching Minnesota under most ideal circumstances. It is coming by slow degrees rather than by sudden state-wide compulsory legislation. This gives an opportunity for the development of the work in a cautious and thorough manner. It is quite likely that the time is ripe for permissive legislation on this matter. Those counties which have reached the point where the advantages of supervision are appreciated should not only be allowed to add members to their supervisory forces, but should be encouraged to do so by aid from the state.

No other state in the union has at its command so versatile, so well prepared, and so efficient a group of persons to fill immediately these very important supervisory positions as Minnesota through its instructors in the teacher-training departments of the high schools. If the normal schools of the state assume the responsibilities of these teacher-training departments, the gradually increasing demand for these supervisors will absorb those instructors from the teacher-training departments who are gradually released during the period of transition. The supervisory positions will be filled by experts from the beginning, and the state will be able to retain in its service every instructor in the teacher-training depart-

ments who is capable of rendering efficient service in these positions. Minnesota can ill afford to pursue a *laissez faire* policy toward securing competently prepared supervisors for these positions. The state will do well to insist on an adequate training of those employed rather than merely to boast of the large number of untrained supervisors in its service.

In the meantime the present critical stage offers a most promising field to the teacher-training institution which will provide an adequate preparation for such supervisors. Recent studies and investigations in the field of rural education have given a basis on which to begin with some degree of intelligence to develop such a training. These prospective supervisors must not only know the principles and theory underlying their work, but must also be trained in giving suggestions and offering criticisms in such a manner as to gain the hearty support of rural teachers. This training must consist to an appreciable degree of actual field work. Again the normal schools seem best equipped to develop this training. By act of the Normal School Board on August 10, 1915, three-year courses were established in the normal schools for supervisors of other phases of elementary-school work. The demonstration and rural-practice schools maintained by the normal schools in the training of teachers for one-room rural and consolidated schools will afford abundant opportunities for field work. No other teacher-training institutions in the state have such varied resources for the development of the practical phase of this training as have the normal schools.

### III. OUTLINE OF PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

The organization and co-ordination of training rural teachers and supervisors such as has been suggested above, with the present work of the normal schools in preparing elementary teachers of town and city schools and supervisors of other phases of elementary-school work are more simple than the problems at first appear. In much of the professional training—such as psychology, principles and technique of teaching, etc.—those preparing for rural and city schools may pursue the courses in the same classes. This will also be true in courses of a more general and less strictly professional

character—such as English, music, penmanship, etc. Unless the instructors in these courses at the present time are being taxed to the maximum, no additional members to the teaching force will be required for them. Provided that these courses are being presented in such a manner as to meet the needs of elementary teachers in city schools, there will be no call to revise either subject-matter or methods of presentation.

In other courses, such as school management, it will be necessary to separate rural and city teachers. In this subject it will be profitable to subdivide the rural group by offering a course adapted to teachers of one-room rural schools and one meeting the needs of teachers of consolidated schools. The management of the school is different for each of these three types. Specialized rural courses should be taught by members of the rural department.

In such common branches as arithmetic, geography, nature-study, etc., prospective rural and city teachers should receive instruction in separate sections. This segregation into separate groups does not mean that the arithmetic, geography, etc., taught to rural and city children shall differ fundamentally, but it does give the instructor in the normal school a better opportunity to present the subjects to each group of students under conditions much more similar to those found in their practice teaching and in the schools in which they will later teach. The conditions under which the groups will eventually teach will require them to use different methods in the effective presentation of the same subject-matter. The training in the normal school should attempt to meet, as far as possible, the actual conditions under which each group will be teaching.

In the organization of these courses two precautions should be taken. On the one hand, the instructors in the normal school should be protected. These courses are new and unorganized. Each one will require much more time and effort, if it is to be presented in a satisfactory manner, than an additional section of the regular course for elementary teachers of city schools. In case the instructor is already working full time, relief should be provided from part of the regular duties. It would be fair neither to the instructor nor to the course to thrust this extra work on him.



On the other hand, if the instructor in any course feels, and persists in so feeling, that he is unable to serve the teachers better by offering a special course to each group of students, in fairness to the rural-education department such an instructor should not be compelled to offer the course, even if he has the time at his disposal.

It seems quite reasonable to assume that any instructor who is well grounded in his subject-matter and who has a purpose to do so can make the necessary adaptations. Consideration of the limitations of the field and co-operation in its development should be the common possession of those working in it. Too much should not be expected from these courses at the outset by rural-education departments, when instructors are working under the tremendous handicaps inseparable from the present situation. Opportunity should be given these instructors to visit the rural teachers in their schools in an attempt to ascertain a first-hand knowledge of their problems. It seems only fair in return that the instructor give his hearty support to the work and put forth an honest effort to grow in efficiency. It is not fair to an instructor to urge him to accept a task which he considers a burden rather than an opportunity; nor is it fair to the growth of a new department to have its courses forced on one who cannot give them his enthusiastic support. In cases in which it is impossible to make a satisfactory adjustment some more promising method should be made of meeting the situation.

As has been suggested, much practice teaching should be required of each student. In practice teaching, the purpose of which is to instil general principles fundamental to all good teaching, the regular facilities of the normal school will supply the rural teachers. A rural school is by no means absolutely essential for effective drill in these fundamentals and certainly is not feasible from a practical standpoint. After these proper teaching habits have been firmly fixed, no practice teaching should be tolerated which is not given under conditions as nearly like those under which the teacher will work as it is possible to provide.

A rural demonstration school readily accessible from the normal school should be maintained. It should be in charge of an expert

rural teacher. This school should be used for purposes of observation and demonstration, and practice teaching in it should not be permitted. A close relationship with the rural department should be retained; and at all times when students visit it, they should see good teaching adapted to the needs of rural schools.

Affiliations should be made with rural schools in the immediate vicinity of the normal school providing practice-teaching facilities. These schools should be placed in charge of competent teachers, and the instruction should be put under the supervision of the rural-education department. The student should be led gradually to assume full charge and responsibility of the entire school. A real touch of country life should be given the students by requiring them to live in the community and participate in its activities.

Finally provision should be made for some teaching experience in rural schools outside of the area under the control of the normal school. If the rural-education department proves really efficient, the schools under its influence will soon cease to be typical of rural schools in general. This difference will become more exaggerated with the growth of the department. Advantages should be taken of opportunities to do substitute work and any other available means of securing practice teaching under typically rural conditions.

Prospective teachers of consolidated schools should be given practice in typical consolidated schools. Arrangements should be made with accessible consolidated schools providing such facilities. An attempt should be made to secure substitute teaching, and such other plans as may be feasible should be made to supply a variety of practice teaching in representative consolidated schools.

Throughout this discussion a conscious effort has been made to emphasize the importance of giving the students actual practice in performing the activities in which the training is intended to give skill. Not only knowledge of methods of teaching, but also skill in application of them should be outcomes of practice teaching. Under the most favorable conditions into which the product of the rural departments may be sent, these teachers will need much more independence than those who enter the city schools, for geographical distances make as close supervision impossible. In order to secure proper results from the practice teaching in the rural schools, all

such facilities should be placed in charge of a rural supervisor. This supervisor should be provided with ready and rapid means of communication and transportation. Telephone connections with the schools should be established and automobile service made available.

In the training of rural-school supervisors much detailed practice in judging instruction should be required. These prospective supervisors should accompany the supervisor in the field work; report to the supervisor their individual judgment of the instruction observed; study the methods used in presenting suggestions and criticisms; and be given the responsibility of making suggestions and criticisms to the practice teachers. Finally, arrangements should be made with county superintendents, providing an opportunity for each of the prospective supervisors to secure actual practice in supervising typically rural schools. A working knowledge of the records and reports required of supervisors should be secured, but the student should be more than a mere addition to the office force. Under the close supervision of the county superintendent and the rural-education department each student should be assigned a limited number of rural schools and held responsible for the discharge of all duties pertaining to a supervisor of them.

The supervisor of these activities will hold one of the most important positions in the entire system. Too much care cannot be taken in the selection of a capable person. A respectable degree of academic training should be demanded, not, however to the exclusion of other just as desirable qualifications. Close sympathy and much experience in dealing with the problems of the rural schools and training of rural teachers should be required. A tactful and constructive supervisor with a broad training and wide experience in elementary-school work should be sought; and a person of strong personality must be secured. On this person will devolve much of the responsibility in the training of rural-school supervisors. This type of instruction requires much individual work among the students. Only a person of broad training, actual experience, and strong personality may attempt the task with reasonable assurance of being successful. A properly trained

person will earn all the remuneration offered, but a poorly prepared person will defeat much of the efficiency that may be gained in other parts of the system. The many important duties which fall on this person point to the fact that a salary somewhat commensurate with the responsibilities assumed must be provided.

The writer maintains that a policy similar to the one outlined when put into operation will place the profession of rural education on a par with the same grade of work in other elementary schools; that the social stigma on courses in rural education will be removed; that the profession will attract its share of the best abilities; that the opening up of supervisory and administrative positions will induce men as well as women to enter the field; that no longer will "years of successful experience in the country schools" alone suffice as an adequate preparation for assuming the responsibilities of training rural teachers; that the profession of teaching in rural elementary schools will be given a greater degree of permanency; that the system may ultimately be organized on a basis broad enough to insure a highly trained teacher to every elementary rural school in the state; and that this teacher will be inspired and aided by an expert supervisor.

It may be contended that this program will cost too much. Assuming the validity of the principles advocating the democracy of educational opportunities which underlie this discussion, the problem is to ascertain the most efficient and effective and at the same time the most economical method of arriving at these standards. It is self-evident that it will cost more to train all rural teachers for a period of two years than it does to train a portion of them for only one year, as is done under existing conditions. For the year 1915-16 Minnesota paid out \$153,953 toward the support of teacher-training departments in the high schools.<sup>1</sup> This amounts to \$92 per student enrolled, or \$98 per certificated student, which represents an increase of approximately \$11 per student over the expenses of the preceding year. These figures do not include the cost of state supervision, nor provisions for maintenance, interest on capital invested in buildings, upkeep of buildings, rent, fuel,

<sup>1</sup> See twenty-third *Annual Report of the State High-School Inspector*.

and such other incidental expenses as the local school systems are asked to bear.

In an investigation reported by President Felmey, of the Illinois State Normal University<sup>1</sup> the cost of instruction per student enrolled in twenty-five of fifty-one normal schools included in the investigation is placed at \$100. This figure includes only the cost of instruction as determined by the average salary paid to the instructors and by the number of students enrolled. It does not include interest on capital invested, cost of maintenance, and administrative and operating expenses. In a rough way these two estimates are comparable. It must be held in mind that the instruction purchased by the \$100 per student in the normal school represents the work of specialists in each of the branches in which instruction is given; that it includes the salaries paid to a force of critic teachers in the training school and the salary of the supervisors of these training departments. The \$92 per student enrolled in the teacher-training departments of the high schools of Minnesota bought the services of only one instructor in each department, who gave the largest part of the instruction offered, and paid a part of the salaries of teachers in forty-one demonstration schools. When compared with the cost of giving to other elementary teachers an equal degree of skill, the costs do not seem exorbitant.

In the further expansion of this training a limited number of normal schools are able to enjoy the advantages of a large-scale enterprise without impairing their efficiency; while the 120 teacher-training departments in the high schools attempting to meet the demands for growth separately are compelled to struggle toward the same standards of efficiency handicapped by all the limitations of a small-scale enterprise. The rural question has been dealt with in too trivial a manner in the past. Too often its advocates have been clever and alert advertisers, but shortsighted and stupid educators; too often they have been attentive listeners to the approval of the press and calls to the platform, but unprofitable for genuinely interested students of rural problems to meet in the classroom; too often they have been superficial and destructive proclaimers, but not intensive and constructive modifiers of

<sup>1</sup> See *Minnesota State Normal School Quarterly Journal*, September, 1916.

present situations; too often they have sought inspiration, but neglected duties demanding concentration and intensive investigation; and at times they have been so unpatriotic as to seek eagerly for personal gain, but have not shown a real artist's pride in accomplishing a worth-while task for the social welfare. The solution of the problem has by no means been reached. Until the field has been more scientifically organized rural education has failed to meet the demands made on it. Intensive rather than extensive methods should be employed. A sudden solution of the problems cannot be hoped for, but in the immediate expansion of the work, which is inevitable in Minnesota, a firm foundation should be built for future developments in this most promising field.

## BUILDING A CHILD-WELFARE PROGRAM IN WAR TIME

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On April 6, 1918, one year after the entry of the United States into the war, the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in co-operation with the Child Welfare Department of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, launched a child-welfare program to be carried out during the war. This program was designed to offer suggestions for a Children's Year, a twelve months' campaign during which, it was hoped, every community throughout the country might undertake some sort of organized activity for the protection and ultimate welfare of mothers and children.

The Children's Year program had its foundations in the peacetime investigations made by the Children's Bureau. The act of Congress that established the bureau provided that it "investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children." During its six years of existence, the bureau had been able to gather together information concerning the children of the United States, their condition, their needs, and the existing provisions for safeguarding their health and happiness, that furnished a valuable basis upon which to build a program for child welfare. As a guide in adapting this program to war-time conditions the bureau had before it the experience of European countries. From the time of the entry of the United States into the war, the available facts concerning the effect of war upon the children of European countries had been collected by the bureau. These facts served to indicate what special problems in child welfare the United States might expect to face as a result of war and suggested ways in which those problems might be met.

On the whole, European experience showed that the war-time conditions that react to the disadvantage of children are for the most part conditions that exist in times of peace, exaggerated by

war to unusual proportions. This exaggeration results, of course, in making the conditions more easily recognizable. A study of the European situation reveals, however, that every country has experienced a common difficulty, not only in instituting new work for child welfare, but in keeping alive work begun before the war. There has been a tendency on the part of the public to devote time and subscriptions to the more unusual and dramatic forms of war work. Most private organizations for child welfare have suffered, accordingly, from lack of funds; and both public and private organizations have found their opportunities for usefulness curtailed by the withdrawal for war service of nurses and doctors, teachers and playground instructors, probation officers, in fact, trained workers of every sort.

In view of these facts, it was felt that the war-time program of the Children's Bureau should be primarily a program of education, emphasizing the importance, as a patriotic task, of increasing measures for the protection of mothers and children in the home and in industry. It was felt that such work is not only "war work" in every sense of the word, but the most significant work that can be done toward putting the country on a sound basis for peace. As the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education of Great Britain points out, "the future and strength of the nation unquestionably depend upon the vitality of the child, upon his health and development, and upon his education and equipment for citizenship."<sup>1</sup>

The co-operation of the local committees of the Council of National Defense put into service with the Children's Bureau an army of workers for carrying out a war-time program—mothers, fathers, teachers, physicians, infant-welfare nurses, and other social workers, men and women experienced in organization, and persons with no especial equipment save leisure and good-will. This army is now actively engaged in putting the bureau's suggestions into execution.

The completed program for Children's Year calls attention to four great needs of childhood: the need for public protection

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education*, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1917, (Cd. 8746).



of the health of mothers, infants, and young children; the need for establishing such standards of living as will insure to the child the care of his mother in her own home; the need for protecting children from industrial exploitation and for providing them with suitable opportunities for education; and the need for abundant facilities for healthful recreation.

Since the beginning of the war measures for the protection of mothers, babies, and young children have increased in every country. The necessity for such measures has been brought home by the losses of war, losses that occur not only upon the battlefield, but in the inevitable and enormous reduction in the birth-rate. According to the estimate of Sir Bernard Mallet, registrar general of England and Wales, the losses in potential lives alone, during the first three years of the war, amount to over 500,000 or about 10,000 per million of population in the case of the United Kingdom; to about 2,600,000 or approximately 40,000 per million of population in the case of Germany; and to about 1,500,000 or approximately 70,000 per million of population in the case of Hungary.<sup>1</sup> These losses, added to the losses of the battlefield, present a total that is appalling. And there is but one way in which the losses can be met, even in part, that of reducing the mortality rate for infancy and childhood.

It is because European countries realize this fact that we find them, from the beginning of the war, taking extraordinary measures to protect mothers and babies. As early as August, 1914, the city of Paris, under military government, organized *l'Office Central d'Assistance Maternelle et Infantile*, the published program of which declares its purpose to be "to assure to every woman who is pregnant or who has a baby less than three years old, the social, legal, and medical protection to which she has a right in civilized society." In England, practically from the first day of the war, emphasis has been laid upon the necessity of maintaining and increasing all means looking to the protection of mothers and babies, and government grants for this purpose have steadily increased with each year of the war. In Germany, infant-welfare work, begun

<sup>1</sup> "Vital Statistics as Affected by the War," *Journal Royal Statistical Society*, January, 1918.

in peace time, has been continued and in many instances expanded. The persons in charge of the work, a German writer tells us, "have been conscious that it is just as important a patriotic task to serve children who need care as to serve the soldiers in the field." It can safely be assumed that it is largely as a result of increased work for the welfare of mothers and babies that England, in 1916, was able to point to the lowest infant mortality rate for any year on record. The rate for Germany for the same year, while it had been equaled in 1913, had been exceeded only in 1912. Although there was a slight rise in both countries in 1917, the rates are still low as compared with pre-war figures.

When the United States entered the war and prepared to send to the front thousands of young husbands and men of marriageable age, some of them never to return, it became evident that our country, like the European countries, would suffer losses in potential lives, in addition to the losses of the battlefield. The protection of those babies already born seemed, accordingly, more than ever a matter for national solicitude. Of the 300,000 children under five years of age who died in the United States during our first year of war, at least half, it is estimated, might have been saved by proper care. Many of those who survived, moreover, undoubtedly were the worse for the conditions that meant death for their less fortunate brothers and sisters.

The first goal named for Children's Year was felt, in view of these facts, to be a modest one—to save the lives of 100,000 babies during 1918. Each state was assigned a quota of lives to be saved, on the basis of the number of children under five included in its population, and as a means of drawing the attention of the public to the work of Children's Year, the program suggested a nationwide weighing and measuring test for children under six years. Since weight and height constitute a rough index of physical condition, it was thought that such a test might serve to awaken a realization, not only of the needs of individual children, but of the need for public measures for promoting the health of the children in each community. Printed suggestions concerning the best manner of conducting the test and record cards upon which the results of the test might be entered were furnished by the

bureau. One-half the record card was designed to be given to the child's parents. On the back of this half was printed a table of average weights and heights for children at various ages; on its face were spaces in which the results of future tests might be entered. The second half of the card was designed to be returned to the Children's Bureau for use in compiling tables of average weights and heights for the children of the United States. Committees in charge of the test were urged to point out to parents any serious deviation from the normal as cause for consulting a physician concerning the child's health. Among the measures suggested to committees for following up the test were the provision of public-health nurses, the establishment and development of infant-welfare stations and prenatal centers, and the provision of medical care for mothers before, at, and after confinement.

The value of the educational work that can be done by centers for infant and maternal welfare and by nurses working in co-operation with them has been amply demonstrated both in this country and abroad. The public-health nurse is recognized as having been an important factor in making New Zealand's infant mortality rate the lowest in the world. In England the number of health visitors, trained women giving instruction to mothers in their own homes, increased from 600 in March, 1914, to 1,445 in February, 1917. The number of centers for the welfare of mothers and children established under government aid increased between February, 1917, and the end of the year from 842 to over 1,100. Work to make similar provisions for the health of the mothers and children of the United States was felt to be an important part of Children's Year.

Other follow-up measures for the weighing and measuring test that were suggested by the Children's Year program are educational work concerning the advantages, both to the child and the community, of prompt, complete birth registration; community studies of infant mortality, as a means of drawing the attention of the public to the underlying causes of the baby death rate; the fostering of divisions of child hygiene in state and local departments of health; the safeguarding of the milk supply for children and the conduct of educational campaigns to emphasize the

importance of milk in the diet of children and of expectant and nursing mothers; and the providing of courses in the care and feeding of children for mothers and young girls.

All these are suggestions for community action. The bureau, in making out its war-time program, realized, however, that no measures for the prevention of infant mortality could be satisfactory unless the homes where the individual children lived reached a fair standard of wholesome comfort. The Children's Year program emphasized, accordingly, the need of every child for the right sort of home and a mother's care—a need that, even in the stress caused by long-continued war, Europe has recognized and sought, so far as possible, to satisfy.

The kind of home a child has, is, of course, largely dependent upon the family income. It has been shown that, even in normal times, many incomes are much too low to do more than cover the bare essentials for life, and now that the war has sent prices soaring and has taken from many homes the natural bread-winner, the problem of supporting a family on a small income in anything approaching comfort has grown almost beyond solution. An increasing number of mothers are going to work, not because they wish to, but because they must. Figures furnished by the Children's Bureau for an industrial town where a very large proportion of the married women are employed, show that the proportion of working mothers reduces itself from 73.3 per cent when the father earns under \$450 to 9.6 per cent when he earns \$1,050 or more.

European reports point to the absence from home of mothers employed in factories as a cause, not only of infant mortality, but of the poor physical condition of older children and of the increase in juvenile delinquency that has been so marked since the war. To enable the American mother to stay in the home and to help her to make that home a suitable place in which to bring up her children is a purpose to be emphasized in every community of the United States. The program for Children's Year pointed out that for its accomplishment, it would be necessary in some cases to provide supplementary funds for families from which the father is absent on military service. Securing public pensions for widows with children and offering women and girls an oppor-

tunity for training in the economical handling of household funds was another suggestion for keeping homes on a firm basis. But, it was urged, the most important work to be done in this connection, though less immediate in its consequences, is to foster and uphold an adequate standard of living. The War-Risk Insurance Law, which provides a system of allotments and allowances for soldiers' dependents, and furnishes insurance at rates within the reach of every enlisted man, was a war-time step in this direction, the value of which can scarcely be overestimated.

The third need which Children's Year was designed to meet is the need for keeping young children out of industry and for regulating the conditions affecting working children. During the early months of the war, among most of the belligerents, restrictions against the employment of children were thrown aside in the pressing need for war materials. It did not take long, however, for the nations to discover that child labor is not worth its cost either from a dollars-and-cents point of view or from the point of view of the nation's future. The physical ills that threatened as a result of the strain on the undeveloped body of long hours and confining work were alone sufficient to give the nations pause, without considering the moral and mental effects of child labor. Now, the old restrictions have in most cases been restored, and even those, it is coming to be recognized, are far from adequate. New regulations for increased education and shortened hours of work for children are being discussed in every country.

At the beginning of the war the United States was armored, to a certain degree, against the industrial exploitation of children by the new Federal Child Labor Law, then in operation, which prohibited the employment of children under fourteen in the manufacture of commodities circulated in interstate commerce. On June 3, that law was declared unconstitutional. It had been in operation long enough, however, to demonstrate its value. It proved that co-operation between state and federal enforcing agencies was possible and mutually advantageous; it showed that with federal backing state laws would be better enforced; it had taken the children out of the mills and mines in those states where the standards were low; and it had resulted, in some states, in

legislative action that put the state statutes into conformity with the federal law.

Even with the federal law in force, many children were dependent upon the state laws for protection in industry. While the standards of some of these laws are lower than those set by the federal enactment, the standards of others are as high or higher. Their success in safeguarding the children of the state from the evil of premature employment is dependent upon the faithfulness with which they are enforced. If it was felt, accordingly, that any adequate program for child-welfare work in war time must show the necessity, not only of upholding such state standards for child labor as already exist and securing their proper enforcement, but of offering steady opposition to proposals to shorten the school term and of arousing public opinion to the advisability and necessity of raising the standards of education and employment of children. In some states provision had been made for the temporary suspension of child labor or school-attendance laws as a "war measure."

A Children's Year program must take into account the play life of children as well as their industrial life. The fourth need which the war-time program of the Children's Bureau is designated to show, is, accordingly, the need of every child for healthful recreation. Especially in war time, when fathers are away and mothers are unusually busy, and the very atmosphere breathes unrest, some sort of active, organized play must be provided for the normal child. English authorities point to the failure to furnish facilities for recreation as a cause of juvenile delinquency. During the past two years, the British Board of Education has assisted in the establishment and maintenance of evening play centers, the popularity of which has been a testimony to the need which they are designed to satisfy.

In this country the value of recreation in keeping life wholesome under abnormal conditions has been proved beyond all doubt in camps and cantonments. Facilities for healthful play must be provided for our children as well as for our soldiers. The Children's Year program suggests for American communities the encouragement of every organization interested in recreation or wholesome leisure-time activities for children and young persons.

It points out that there is a need for the sort of play that will develop boys and girls physically as well as afford a suitable outlet for youthful energy. It urges the maintenance of such playgrounds and recreation centers as already exist and the establishment of new ones where they are needed, especially in crowded city districts, and emphasizes the need for providing intelligent leadership for play in both country and city.

The Children's Year program is concerned, it will be seen, primarily with the normal child living in his own home. It is realized, however, that its work cannot stop there, but must extend to the children who are different from the majority and who are handicapped by physical or mental defects. Such children are always in need of special care, but they are likely to be lost sight of in war time, when there are so many urgent demands upon time and money. Then, there are the dependent children, who are in no wise different from other children except that unfortunate circumstances have thrown them upon the community for support. In war time, however, they become a special problem, because they are likely to be more numerous. Finally, there are the delinquent children, who are, again, not so very different from their playmates, but who must have wise supervision and guidance if they are to become good citizens. To the needs of all these children, the program for Children's Year calls attention.

That program is a large one. It is not expected that any community will be able to carry out all its plans at once. It is hoped, however, that seeds will be planted as a result of the activities of the local committees that will bear fruit for years to come.

The response that has already been made to the suggestions embodied in the program gives ground for that hope. Over six million children were weighed and measured during the first three months of Children's Year. In the city of New Orleans, 32,000 out of 40,000 children under five were tested. That the purpose of the test was intelligently comprehended by the communities in which it was carried out is evident from the reports that the Children's Bureau has received of community efforts to make available simple, practicable information about the best methods

of child care. The demand for the bureau's publications on pre-natal and infant care has increased, since the test, to nearly 2,000 copies a day. In many communities these pamphlets are being distributed by local committees as a follow-up measure for the test. In some places the tests have resulted in the establishment of public or private funds for the support of public-health nurses and consultation centers.

During the summer months a widespread recreation "drive," culminating in a patriotic play week, called attention to the need for the sort of recreation that would react to the physical betterment of older children, and would serve as an antidote to the unwholesome influences that are likely to result in juvenile delinquency. Badge tests of physical efficiency played a prominent part in this drive. Community singing was developed in several localities, and the work of organizations interested in recreation and leisure-time activities gained new impetus. Recreation, abundant, wholesome, and free from exploitation, achieved the importance of a war measure.

The activities of Children's Year did not cease with the signing of the armistice. On the contrary, the local committees of the Council of National Defense are now engaged in one of the most spirited "drives" of the year, a "Back to School Drive," designed, not only to return to their books some of the thousands of children who left school in response to the war-time demand for labor, but to keep in school other children who may show signs of restlessness. The aim of the drive is to secure the establishment of a volunteer committee for each of the 281,900 schoolhouses in the United States. Thirty-six states have announced their intention of participating in this drive. In many places school welfare committees have been formed, and the homes of the boys and girls who have left schools during the past year are being visited, and parents and children are being told of the advantages to be gained from a few additional years of schooling. A knowledge of the facts will be all that is necessary to convince many parents and many ambitious children that school is of more immediate advantage than a job. In some places scholarship funds are being established from which money will be forthcoming to keep in school



some of the boys and girls who would otherwise be forced by poverty to go to work. It is felt that scholarships for children between fourteen and sixteen are as sound as those established in universities and promise quite as rich a return. The methods suggested by the Children's Bureau for raising and disbursing the scholarships are based upon the experience of several cities of the United States and are carefully worked out to stimulate ambition and scholarship and self-respect.

All this is only a beginning. But it is a good one. It gives hope that Children's Year will mean, not only that there will be no relaxation of existing standards for the protection of children as a result of the war, but that new and better standards will come into being.

President Wilson has said:

Next to the duty of doing everything possible for the soldiers at the front, there could be, it seems to me, no more patriotic duty than that of protecting the children, who constitute one-third of our population. . . .

I hope that Children's Year will not only see the goal reached of saving 100,000 lives of infants and young children, but that the work may so successfully develop as to set up certain irreducible minimum standards for the health, education, and work of the American child.

Already, there is promise that some such standards, in which the growth and development of the future may take root, may be evolved during Children's Year. While we were still at war the War Labor Policies Board established fourteen years as the minimum age for all minors directly or indirectly employed in the carrying out of government contracts, a step that insures to many children the protection formerly afforded by the Federal Child Labor Law. In December, 1918, the Senate approved a "rider" to the new revenue bill which is designed to tax out of existence child labor in mines and factories. A measure of fundamental importance is embodied in a bill for the protection of maternity and infancy recently introduced in Congress. This bill proposes the co-operation of the government with the respective states, in the manner already successfully tried out in the Smith-Lever Act, to secure public aid for mothers and babies through a system of traveling rural nurses, public instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy

and the provision of proper medical and hospital care for mothers and babies in rural districts. A second bill, for the protection of older children, is in process of being drafted by a committee formed as a result of a conference on physical education called by the Commissioner of Education. It is designed to promote physical education, again by the means employed under the Smith-Lever Act, with the following purpose in view:

More fully and thoroughly to prepare the boys and girls of the nation for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship through the development of bodily vigor and endurance, muscular strength and skill, bodily and mental poise, and such desirable moral and social qualities as courage, self-control, self-subordination, and obedience to authority, co-operation under leadership, and disciplined initiative; through adequate physical examination and the correction of postural and other remediable defects; through promotion of hygienic school and home life; and through scientific sanitation of school buildings, playgrounds, and athletic fields and the equipment thereof.

Such steps as these will go a long way toward preventing the reckless waste of life that we, in common with other nations, have permitted in the past. It is very true, again to quote the Chief Medical Officer of Great Britain's Board of Education, that there is "no waste so irretrievable as that of a nation which is careless of its rising generation. And the goal is not an industrial machine, a technical workman, a 'hand,' available merely for the increase of material output and the acquisition of a wage at the earliest moment, but a human personality, well grown and ready in body and mind, able to work, able to play, a good citizen, the healthy parent of a future generation."

## THE SUPERVISION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER. II

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According to the conception presented in this article, which seems to conform more closely to the life-history of society in its struggle with the problem of distribution in the social order, society is not conceived as supervising the entire social order with all its complicated social institutions under the guidance of only one supreme controlling idea or value. The supervision of the social order is carried on by society under the guidance of several groups of ideas and values. These values give use and purpose to the vast, organized activity of the social order. The social machinery is not run in an aimless, purposeless manner, but is so directed that it serves more or less efficiently the members of society in certain desirable ways. It serves to promote their welfare in the form in which that welfare is conceived by society.

We generally think of this welfare, not in terms of desirable, satisfactory human experiences, but in terms of things or services which are the outward condition of the enjoyment of these inward experiences. Thus we think of human welfare more in terms of wholesome foods, facilities for recreation and amusement, music, literature, friends, comfortable and pretty homes, etc., and not so much in terms of the satisfactory experiences afforded us by these things. Such things serve that group of human values called social welfare; these values give purpose and direction to part of the organized activity of society. In a well-directed social order the organized effort of society would be guided toward the highly efficient production of the conceived forms of social welfare.

However, this does not cover all the aims and forms of organized activity of society. There is a process of distribution as well as a process of production. This also must be directed. Moreover, there is a group of social values and ideas evolved separately from

the welfare group of ideas for the special purpose of serving to guide the process of distribution, to keep it from being aimless, and to give it purpose and direction. One group of social values and ideas is the answer to the question, "In what does human welfare consist?" The other is the answer to the question, "Whose welfare?" The one group of values is placed upon the things which give desirable experience and thus directs our creative energy in such channels as will result in the production of these valuable things. The other group of values is placed upon the human beings who may possess these valued things and experiences and serves to guide the process of distributing these things among the members of society. The one group of values is placed upon the things and services with regard to the various forms and degrees of human satisfaction they afford; the other is placed upon the persons with regard to their claims and rights to possess and enjoy these things and satisfactions. One guides the productive processes in the social order; the other guides the distributing processes.

If we value pictures, music, and pretty homes, we will direct our energies toward having them produced. If we value a neighbor or a friend, we will want him to share in these things and will be generous toward him. If we are selfish and value ourselves above all else, we will try to gain as many of these things as we can without regard to others and give in return only what we are compelled to give. Here the processes of production and distribution are each guided by separate sets of values: the one by individual tastes, liking for this or that thing; the other by personal attitudes of like or dislike for this or that person.

Again, both of these processes may be guided by social values. When they are socially directed, society forms public values; for example, whether or not it wants saloons, good water, clean streets, and good homes. It directs its productive machinery accordingly, trying more or less efficiently to attain the valued among these things. This productive process is accompanied by a distributive process, a division of these desired fruits and the burdens of producing them. The distributive process may then be guided by a different set of social values: by a valuation, not of things and the experiences they afford, but of the members of society, and that,

not for purposes of co-operative production or efficiency ratings with regard to fitness for taking part in such work, but for purposes of distribution; a valuation of the members of society who receive the benefits and assume the burdens; a valuation apart from and above that of kinship, personal love, and friendship, or personal enmity, selfishness, indifference, and hatred; an impersonal social valuation of the members of society as equal members or brothers in a community—equal in their claims upon nature, hence the right of equal opportunity of access to the benefits of the globe with its natural resources; equal in their claim upon the social order, hence the right of equal opportunity of access to the benefits of the organized activity in society; equal in their claim upon each other, hence the right to a return of service equal to that rendered to the other members of society. When the process of distribution in the social order is guided by these social values it is placed upon an ethical basis.

Current teleological ethics, the doctrine which sets up a *summum bonum* as the criterion, makes the process of apportionment in the social order subservient to that *summum bonum*, a mere instrument for realizing the conceived highest good by offering prize shares to persuade contribution of services in the cause of the highest good, or by withholding shares to coerce such contributions. The very offering, however, the very withholding of such special shares in the joint product, implies claims already established. For where is the extra stimulation, the extra inducement, unless it be in the offering of more than already belongs to you, and where the coercion in withholding what does not? This doctrine unconsciously admits within its own scheme of distribution the fundamental rule of justice and then violates it in the interests of a non-ethical end.

The error was made at the outset, for the exponents of this doctrine began with the wrong problem. They endeavored to find a way of utilizing the apportionment of the burdens and benefits of the social order instead of finding the ethical values and principles that should govern this apportionment among the members of society. They confuse the problem of what is to be produced and how with the problem of who is to share in the products and to what extent.

The one-to-one rule of division—the equilibrium of give-and-take, social justice—then should be the goal to guide the evolution of the process of distribution in the social order. To summarize the argument, it is the principle that satisfies the social valuation which society places upon its members as being inherently of equal value, and this rules out all other factors, fictitious or otherwise, leaving the contribution in services to the social order as the ethical basis of a claim upon the services of others. The balance of give-and-take in the pans of the scales of social justice should not be disturbed by personal favor or disfavor. If a member gives his services and those services are acceptable, it would be unethical, unjust, to deny a claim for an equal return in exchange for such services because of any personal attitude of like or dislike toward the contributor. Special privileges in the social order not arising from individual personal attitudes but due to misconceived social evaluations of inherent differences of the worth of human beings in society, apart from the services rendered by them to the social order, are also ruled out by the disillusionment of society concerning such mythical valuations of inferiority and superiority, thus leaving the scales measuring the give-and-take balanced.

It is a fundamental proposition that ultimately the social order will exist for the benefit of all the members of society without favor or prejudice toward any of its members. There are no grounds for elect members or chosen groups within society. Therefore the benefits of nature and the social order with its life-history belong to all the members of society. The only additional worth to society which a member can have above his value as a human being or a fellow- or brother-member is the services he contributes toward the creative processes in the several institutions of the social order. He is a member of society and contributes toward the organized effort his services with their content, a segment of human life, thought, time, energy, and feelings, and his sacrifices of alternate possibilities. These services and sacrifices are the grounds for his claims for a share of the blessings created in the social order, and society is ethically bound to reward these claims, in the first place, by giving equally as brothers the privilege of enjoying the blessings of nature and the social machinery; and, in the second

place, by giving an equal service in return for the service he contributes. A distribution of the burdens and blessings of the social order such that each may feel secure that he may have equal access to the opportunities of nature and the social order, that without fear or favor he will receive a just reward for the services he contributes in the organized team work of society—this is our interpretation of the place and purpose of ethics in the social order—ethics the superb achievement of society in evolving social values, ideas, and ideals for the supervision of the vast mechanism of its remarkable system of social institutions.

The moral code did not grow to larger and larger proportions because there exists in the order of the universe a group of upper-handed and underhanded practices which are in themselves eternally unethical, and because human beings in the life-history of society discovered first one, then another, of these practices and added it to the code. Ethics is not merely a matter of an accumulation of prohibitions against a group of acts or forms of conduct wrong in themselves.

The growing moral code represents rather a struggle, a tremendous, often bitter, but a winning struggle against injustice in the social order. Social justice is the far-off goal toward which we have been moving and will continue to move indefinitely. The struggle to approach that goal will go on probably by the same means—a growing negative moral code which will weed out injustice more and more, leaving a fairer and fairer field. And as we approach the goal, the goal itself will ever move ahead of us, for we shall work out a finer and yet finer conception of social justice, a better and better conception of the content of the contribution that each makes in the organized social team work, and thus, the scales of justice balancing the give-and-take in social service will show as fine an equilibrium as they do now when held empty in the hands of symbolic justice.

#### DEMOCRACY

The single-handed promotion of individual welfare is now out of the question. The individual must join the organized effort of a community of people. In such organized effort social machinery

is employed to create the things and services that promote the welfare of the members, and each member contributes to the common cause by taking some highly specialized part in the army of workers required to operate such social-service machines.

The organized effort of a community of people, however, does not constitute an automatic, self-directing, self-energizing machine. It must be guided and controlled by human ideas and ideals and energized by human impulses, motives, desires, and values. If this organized effort must be controlled and directed, the questions inevitably arise: Whose ideas and desires of all those joining in the team work in the community are to control? Who, among all the members of a society, is to have a voice in controlling the social machinery? In everyday terms, Who is to boss the society and its system of social team work? Are all to have a voice in directing the common endeavor or only a select few? And if a select few, how are they to be selected?

When a man works apart from others he directs his activities himself. His own will decides. No other will is imposed upon his. But when he joins his efforts with those of a community in team work, dovetailing his efforts with the activity of the others in the group, the question is unavoidable: Can he then be entirely self-directing, doing just as he pleases, or will he lose part of his power of self-direction? Will the others, whose activities are dovetailed with his, whose activities are even a part of his, have an interest in what is done and how it is done, and accordingly assert their wills? Conflict in such a situation is natural and difficult to avoid.

Organized, dovetailed, concerted effort is essential, but the activities of men do not naturally dovetail themselves into forms of smoothly flowing team work. Some force is necessary to bring about this organization of activities, and the means for doing this is not ready at hand. The desires and impulses which control the free or unorganized effort of man will not serve the purpose, for they do not parallel each other but often aim at cross-purposes. These desires and impulses do not naturally coalesce to form the community of will and purpose needed to guide a community of effort and activity. Such a concerted will needed on the part of those



participating in concerted action to guide their joint activity is something which must be built up through the prolonged efforts of generations of mankind. It is not an easy matter to socialize the will of man.

Organized activity is so essential that the efforts of the people must be directed into organized forms of endeavor operating toward selected ends, even if these efforts are not directed by the organized wills of those whose efforts are thus joined. If these forces, the feelings and wills of individuals, are not then reduced to order by means of social principles and social values, the unsocialized and hampered wills and feelings of the people will cause them to enter upon a brute struggle for supremacy in the control over that part of the effort of the community which is necessarily organized. Primitive man was unable to rise to a social solution of this problem of control over organized effort. So in the life-history of society a long and bitter struggle for domination and for a voice in the control over the social order ensued.

The distribution of participation in the successive social orders of man was determined by might, and with the use of force the control over the social orders became concentrated into the hands of small ruling classes. The instruments of power employed to gain and maintain this division of control were much the same as those which were employed to grasp a monopoly share of the most valued products and services created by the organized effort in these social orders. The same groups that were a leisure, exploiting, consuming class in one sphere were a self-selecting, tyrannical, ruling class in the other sphere.

But concerted effort secured at such a sacrifice of freedom and liberty directed largely toward ends not desired by those whose efforts were involved was obtained at too great a cost and could not endure as a permanent characteristic of the social orders of mankind. Those whose efforts were controlled sought to have a voice in the control over their efforts. The struggle against such powerful classes for a voice or share in the control of the social order resulted in the extension of a voice to an ever-widening circle of the members of society. Professor Ogg in his *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe* has compactly presented these progressive

changes in the distribution of control over the social orders of Western Europe in recent times.

The problem of participation in the control over the social order is unavoidable, because we must have organized effort. Team work is so superior in efficiency to conflicting, jangling, crisscross, or isolated effort that society must increasingly employ this social process in serving itself as fast as it works out the practical problems involved in the technique of organizing effort. It is absurd to try to escape the problem of the division of control in society, to secure freedom and liberty by resorting to the independence of the jungle, the frontier, or the pseudo-independence of individually directed, chaotic, conflicting efforts. Social team work may be fought back, may be retarded, but its continued growth is inevitable.

The distribution of participation in the control of the organized effort of a society may be determined by brute force, by various forms of power, and by strategic advantages; or it may be divided according to some social rubric, a principle that rests upon some fundamental social value. As society develops it may progressively escape from the individual, personal solution of this problem to a social solution; it may rise from the individual, personal determination to a social determination of participation in the control over the social order.

Society has evolved the one-to-one rule called justice to govern the division of service and services in the social order. It has also evolved the equal-division or one-to-one rule called the democratic order to govern the division of participation in the organized activity in society. This participation is accomplished by means of the device of suffrage or voting.

The political scientists, looking through one facet of the multifocal lenses through which the social order is studied by the social scientists, have stressed a so-called theory of the distribution of control which bases the division upon an educational test. It is only seemingly a theory of division, for it deals fundamentally with the question not of *who* but of *how*. The educational-qualification theory deals fundamentally with the question, not of who shall decide, but of how to get the matters decided as certain interests wish them decided. Here again, as in the ethical discussion, we have a

theory which reduces the process of distribution of participation to a mere tool, the means of attaining some ulterior end.

Every group in society, whether clearly apprehended by it or not, has a feeling of how it wants affairs in the social order. There is also this class feeling in the background of the consciousness of those classes who have access to a more liberal education. It is with class feelings or values that such a group starts in its reasoning processes to build up a theory of participation in control, but sometimes it does not seem to be clearly conscious of the fact. The problem to these classes is how to have the social order directed according to the half-hidden heart's desires of their particular group, and what division of control will secure it. Clearly a principle to govern the distribution of control which would rule out the uneducated, leaving the educated to control the social order, to direct its activities, and to decide the questions arising, would result in decisions more nearly according to their views.

We have another illustration of the attempt to use the distribution of participation in control as a means of gaining an ulterior end in the desire to give or to withhold the vote from women according to whether they will vote for prohibition or against it, will vote to reorganize family life or against it, will vote for conscription or against it, etc. Property-qualification tests are of a similar nature, put forth as the answer to the question how, not who—how to preserve and further the interests of a class.

Referring again to the educational test, it is urged that the educated class is better able to decide questions which arise in the process of supervising the social order. It is better able, can decide more according to the feelings and wishes of this particular group in society than can those not of this group. The test of ability to decide is after all whether you decide with or against us. All educational or other qualification tests other than the mere question of whether one is a member, takes part in the team work, and has a will, feelings, impulses, and desires, rest solely upon the question of how you decide, whether with us or not, and not upon ability to decide, for such ability is already granted when nature does not rule one out; but the restrictionist does deprive such a one of a vote because he fears that the very potential

decisions which he denies are possible may not coincide with his own. He thus desires to set himself up as dictator over the lives of others that he may have his way. Such a taking of power of control without giving in return is undemocratic.

This is intended to be a fundamental criticism. It may be urged: "Yes; in principle, in the abstract it sounds well, but in the concrete, in the work-a-day world it is different." Let us examine further into the matter.

The entire social order with all its social machinery seems so vast and complex that the questions that are to be decided in its supervision seem interminable in variety. They readily fall into four groups of social questions: (1) questions of welfare, such as what impulses are we to gratify, what forms of pleasurable and happy experiences are we to attempt to secure, etc.; (2) questions, technical questions, of how to secure the conditions necessary to gain these experiences; (3) questions of distributing service and services, of who is to assume the burdens entailed in the production of these forms of welfare, and who is to share in these desired products; (4) questions of division of control, of who is to have a voice in deciding all the preceding questions, including this last group itself.

These questions involve on the one hand feelings, wants, desires, and values, and on the other information and technical knowledge. Any person capable of joining the social team work is able to understand the question put forth in a political campaign if the question is one of desires or values, but if it is a question of how, involving technical information, then only a few members may be able to pass an efficient judgment, and no one can decide efficiently upon all the technical questions that arise for public decision. Anyone understands the questions: Do you favor prohibition? Do you favor the suppression of lewd pictures and dramas? Do you favor baseball on Sunday? Should women have a vote? Should negroes vote? Do we want to be fair toward labor, the railroad stockholders, etc.? But when the question is, Do you favor a central bank or a central reserve system, a multiple monetary standard, vaccination, protection or free trade, the metric system, the Gary system? many would not even understand the question, aside

from possessing the technical information requisite to reach an efficient decision upon these questions. The first group of questions involves feelings of what we want, what we like or do not like, feelings of whether we do or do not want the other person to have a share in control, and so on.

In an educational test on these questions all would pass alike, for each feels the way he feels and knows better how he feels than anyone else and is better able to vote his will than anyone else for him. But in the case of technical questions of how to go about producing what we want, few could vote efficiently, and even these only upon a limited group of technical questions. If informational tests were applied in the case of technical questions, even most of the graduates of our universities would be ruled out of a vote. Even the most learned would be deprived of a voice in the deciding of many technical matters. The social-service machines have grown so complex and the body of technical information has grown so vast that the members of a society have to become specialists and are able to decide technical matters intelligently only in narrow fields.

This brings to view a striking characteristic of our social order, namely, the struggles that center about technical questions. Why do the voters themselves have to decide technical questions which they do not understand, which lie outside their particular fields of information? Why do we select a group of miscellaneously informed men for Congress and then impose upon these men the duty of deciding all manner of technical questions, often quite foreign to their training? Why are not technical questions left to the experts to decide? Further, why is there so often even an intense struggle waged against a decision in favor of efficient methods?

This anomalous condition in our political system, it seems, is due not to defects in the distribution of suffrage but to a defect in another part of the social order, a defect in the ethical code. According to the ethical code in its present stage of development the might of circumstance makes right. In the division of give-and-take a member is permitted to take advantage of the circumstances of a brother-member to exact as much and give as little in return as circumstances, and not morals, warrant.

Changes in the methods used to produce things in the social order alter the circumstances of its members, and the altered circumstances may be used to increase or decrease the shares in distribution. Thus people will struggle over questions of methods, even shelving efficient methods that advantageous circumstances may be retained or made more advantageous, and thus they preserve their income or even increase it.

Consider the case of the people of a city who need electricity for lighting and other purposes. The current for the lamps is generated in a coal-burning power plant. Near the city there is a waterfall which could be used to generate electric current, and this latter method would really be the more efficient method of supplying current for the lamps. But certain people within the community fought the proposed change to the hydroelectric method. Why did they oppose it? Certainly not because they were opposed to efficient methods as such, nor because they hated the community and wanted to impose a greater burden upon it in securing light. The reason was that they thought that the change would alter their circumstances and weaken their advantageous position, and that this would be taken advantage of to give them a smaller income, a smaller share in the social distribution.

If the might of circumstances did not make right and no one was permitted to take advantage of his fellow-member's circumstances to influence the shares in the give-and-take, then the change in this case to the more efficient method would have affected no one's share adversely; on the contrary, it would have increased the shares because of the increased effectiveness of the hydroelectric process. In this case would anyone have struggled against the improvement? If each one would receive his just share, and that no matter what technical methods were employed, would labor unions, as long as the more efficient methods increase shares of benefits and reduce burdens, fight the introduction of labor-saving devices; would railroad presidents and stockholders struggle against the adoption of efficient methods of transportation; and would business interests, through politicians, seek to deceive the people in questions of efficiency? Could we not then trust the expert because he would not be influenced by ulterior motives?

And could not Congress and the legislatures then leave technical questions to the decision of experts? But since the might of circumstance is used against the voter, he must not only examine into the question of relative efficiencies involved in such questions as bimetallism, the tariff, the Federal Reserve banking system, patent medicines, canals, building regulations, water supply, and irrigation, but must also judge how the adoption of one method or the other will affect his circumstances, and these in turn his income. If the more efficient methods affect his strategic circumstances adversely, and so his income, then he opposes the efficient methods which would enlarge the social dividends as a whole.

Thus society, because of the backward condition of its moral code, permitting and considering it ethically right, indeed quite the respectable thing, for its members to use force against each other, doubly sacrifices its welfare by the employment of inefficient methods and also by the great waste of energy dissipated in the resulting struggle over the choice of technical methods.

As long as the questions before the public involve mere evaluation and feelings the voters themselves promote the discussion of them and carry on the campaign, as in the case of prohibition, the social evil, woman's suffrage, etc. The politicians generally steer clear of such questions.

When technical questions are in the foreground the voter, in his paucity of the technical information needed to decide such questions efficiently and to perceive correctly the effects of the different proposed methods upon his own particular interests, looks to the politician or statesman for a solution. These questions are the politician's forte. He leads the voter into strange fields of argument and information and traps him with oratory. The voter substitutes the feelings aroused by orators for the technical information he does not possess, but needs in order to decide wisely, and often votes against efficient methods and his own interests.

When the banking-reform question was before Congress some of the members of that body had to deal with the double problem of designing a technically efficient system for the social order and also of watching its effects upon the special interests of their own constituents. Others considered solely its effect upon the narrow

interests of a favored portion of their constituents. So Congress, although it called before its committee the experts in banking, could not accept their ideas without question. This was not because there was any doubt of the ability of the experts to design a more efficient banking system, but because there was doubt concerning whose interests it would efficiently serve. Such experts may be partisan; in fact they often do have in mind the interests of a particular class in society. As long as the might of circumstances makes right in our social order, just so long will the members of that order have to sacrifice their larger, their social, interests when socially efficient methods affect adversely those circumstances which serve to give a member a special leverage in the process of distribution. The voter will not accept the decision of the social expert but will seek the advice of the partisan expert, and this prevents the growth of groups of trusted social experts or social engineers who would think, not in terms of classes, but in terms of society as a whole.

The ethical doctrine that the might of circumstances makes right is so all-pervasive in its evil influence that the voters in a community, even when they wish to rise beyond immediate personal, selfish interests to a higher, more social point of view, even to the desire to promote the general welfare, after all conceive of this general welfare in terms of class welfare and advantages. The business man, when he thinks he is rising to an unselfish point of view, thinks of the general welfare in terms of general business prosperity. He thinks that the general welfare is promoted when there are fewer strikes, when business is not being muckraked, when the consumers are paying advantageous prices without complaint, and when business is booming and flourishing. The laborers think of the general welfare in terms of shorter hours for themselves, plentiful opportunities for employment, increases in wages, and improvements in working conditions. Each class thinks in such conceptions, not so much because of sheer crass selfishness—the desire to hold the other group down—but because degree of welfare at best is measured in terms of group welfare.

The incomes in such groups depend upon advantageous circumstances in the social order. It seems to be almost impossible



to work out methods of improving the conditions of any group or of all groups without in so doing modifying for some class within the social order the strategic circumstances upon which is based its power to secure a certain portion of the benefits of the joint effort in the social order. And such a group does not want these circumstances, which are the source of its control over that share, modified or weakened by technical changes in the organization of the social order, even if such changes constitute a more efficient means of promoting the welfare of other groups. Since it is ethically right to take advantage of the changing circumstances arising with technical changes in the organizations of the social order to gain more, to disturb the relative sharing in the social dividend by the various classes, they are forced to think of promotion of the social welfare in terms of shares in the benefits of the social order rather than in terms of increases in the total dividend of benefits and methods of promoting such total increases. No class can see that socially efficient methods of promoting the social welfare, that is, the total dividend of benefits, are such and will vote in favor of them if that class by such a change incurs a loss in its share of the social dividend. And this dog-in-the-manger doctrine that might of circumstance makes right blocks social improvements in methods, causing classes to fight such improvements because they have just that disturbing effect upon the shares.

As long as this situation remains it is absurd to urge, as is done in some high quarters, that in order to run successfully a democratic social order with its increasingly difficult technical problems the people must learn to trust the experts. The experts to whom they refer are not societal experts but partisan class experts. The trouble does not lie with democracy. It is not a matter of distribution of participation in control over the social order. These particular troubles of a democracy are to be cured not by more democracy but by more ethics. The people cannot build up and employ the services of a group of social experts, that is, specialists in information upon the technical methods of promoting the welfare of all society, until the prohibition against the upperhanded method, the might of circumstances, is established in the ethical code. When the progress of one group in the community can be attained

without jeopardizing the favorable circumstances of other groups the partisan expert's services will no longer be needed, and the social expert can be given a larger measure of trust in deciding technical questions of improvement.

This would not be a violation of the rule of democracy in the division of voice in control, for these experts would not be self-selecting nor arbitrarily forcing their will upon the community, but would be selected by the members of society. By this means the voter has his will, for he defers or not as he chooses to the judgment of the expert, which of course would not be the case if the experts were self-chosen.

Since even the efficient selection of experts involves technical information to some degree, the voters would not have equal ability to decide the question of selecting the experts. So in order to preserve the democratic rule of division of participation in such decisions it probably will be necessary to evolve complex machinery for the indirect selection of experts. Growth in this direction is evidenced by the greater power of appointment which is being conferred upon executives and by the development of the civil service. What is clearly needed is the development of a body of general rules popularly understood and accepted as the means of testing degrees of expertness. Then the voters would not have to select experts directly, which selection after all is now guided by response to personal appeal and personal attitude and prejudice. The ability of the voters to make efficiently a direct selection of experts is entirely unequal. Their task should be restricted to the simple one of selecting and adopting standards of efficiency and methods of testing expertness. Then the standards and methods employed by the voters in the selection of experts to whose judgment in technical matters the people would defer would be used by those experts in turn in the selection of other experts. There are many indications that point to this as the line of development.

The decisions of the people in a community upon technical matters are more or less efficient. The desires or values of the people are higher or lower, ethical or unethical, democratic or undemocratic. The inequalities in efficiency among the voters in deciding technical matters has been discussed at some length.

Now the question of the inequalities among them in level of desire or of values presents itself. If there is too great a discrepancy between the levels of people's desires they cannot engage in voluntary team work or socially organized effort of a voluntary character. However, the discrepancies in levels of desires or values among the people of a society do not present a problem so difficult of solution as to prevent or disrupt the major forms of organized activity.

Those whose desires come within the very lowest level, consisting mainly of cravings for sensual pleasures, will gradually have the gratification of these lower forms of desire denied them by the large majority whose feelings are of a higher order. But we know from the observation of the working of the social order that when such groups are denied what they want, that is, the gratification of the desire for the very lowest forms of sensual experience, they will not attempt by withdrawing or by other means to disrupt the organized effort of society. They soon learn to adapt themselves to a somewhat higher plane of desire and satisfaction.

If those whose desires come within the highest level were to impose their standards upon those lower in the scale the latter would, if they could, refuse to do team work with them and would disrupt the social order. If there then existed organized activity participated in by both of these groups it would have to be involuntary on the part of one, if that one could not rise to the higher plane of desires. If their desires were ungratified and they were unable to displace them with others by means of rising to the higher levels of desires, life would be empty, unsatisfactory; so why should they voluntarily join their efforts in team work directed toward the production of fruits in the sharing of which they could not participate because these fruits were beyond their appreciation and enjoyment? Such an enforced will would lead to discontent, unrest, and instability in the social order.

Fortunately for organized forms of human endeavor the minor differences in levels of desire that develop within a society can exist side by side and be gratified without seriously tending to disintegrate and hinder the growth of efficient forms of the social team work that takes place in most of the major institutions of the social order. These differences, however, do seriously interfere

with the team work of social intercourse. They disintegrate friendships and families and make small groups for purposes of congenial social intercourse difficult to form and maintain.

When one group in society advances beyond the others in ethical or democratic values and ideals, and appropriate ideas are conceived in the form of proposed additions to the ethical code or a proposed extension of the suffrage, the result will be unrest, an unrest that will persist until this group has its will, even if it is necessary to gain it by violent forms of force. Then the less advanced group, having another will enforced upon it, becomes the discontented group, but this condition will not be permanent and will not disrupt the social order, for all the people are capable of feeling such values, even if they do resist them during the period of transition. The rising generation will be brought up in them, will accept them, and will finally become so habituated to them that such values and ideas will become customary with them. Thus after a time the newer order will be according to their will. Any group that will not with time rise to the level of the desires and values that are imposed upon it becomes an involuntary part of the social order and will always be a danger to the stability of that order.

The great social-service machines of society are the instruments through which the productive energies of the people are gathered and translated into organized or socialized forms of productive effort and activity. But it does not necessarily follow that where the effort and activity of the people of a society are organized, that such socialized activity is motivated by socialized wills. The organized effort in our society is directed for the most part by unsocialized separatistic motives.

The organization of the effort of the people in the societies ever tends to outrun the organization of the wills behind that effort. The socialization of outward overt activity tends to outrun the socialization of inward thought and feeling, for organized effort, because of its superior efficiency, is vital to a large community. So great is this superiority in efficiency that one hundred millions of people with organized effort are able to live where only one hundred thousand could survive with a relatively unorganized

effort. Who gain the major shares in the benefits of such organized endeavor and are thereby enabled to gratify their less important needs is not so vital to the community as the possibility of at least a subsistence level of existence for the others. Thus more of the thought and energy of man has been centered upon the organization of overt activity for purposes of production than upon the organization of the wills of the people for the purpose of directing such organized activity; that is, of directing it in the production of general social services and the distribution of such services in socially just ways.

People following their impulses, unable to socialize their wills, submitted to the rise of small, tyrannical ruling classes, even though these ruling classes took the tyrant's share of the benefits, because such classes under the circumstances made themselves the instruments to force the forms of organized activity requisite to at least a subsistence level of existence. The more desirable and coveted fruits of the organized activity thus established were looked upon as spoils and were fought for by rival powerful classes who used the masses as ammunition in this warfare. Nearly all the struggles the written records of which fill the pages of the history of mankind have been over the spoils of the concerted effort of man in his social orders. Finally the masses, gaining under this régime of control only a mere precarious existence, and that at a sacrifice of freedom and liberty, entered upon the struggle for a larger share in the control over their efforts.

The question arises: Do such changes in control follow some social ideal, or do the changes reflect disturbances in balance of power which permit now one class in society then another to have its will? Is this particular evolution in the social order a mere struggle of will against will in which now one group, through powerful strategic advantages, such as the army, the church, education, communication, prestige due to grandeur of background, superstitions, and group delusions about class stratification and social position, dominates and has its way? Then when its grip upon these engines of might loosens, do others rise to power in society and assert their will? And so is the shifting of control a mere reflection of shifting advantages in the struggle for control over the

social order, like the shifting winds and waves of the sea? Or is this evolution not a mere aimless change but a change in a certain direction, real social growth, growth toward a social ideal? Is it a struggle to establish a distribution and a participation in control according to a social rubric, a principle which rests upon a social value? The movement has probably developed far enough to permit an interpretation of it, to see its direction and what goal lies ahead.

The reaction of the people against the undemocratic ruling classes and the attempt to gain a share in the control over their efforts by means of the overthrow of these classes which controlled their organized activities absorbed their attention so completely that they lost sight of the value of concerted activity. As an easement toward the solution of the problem of control they tried to minimize the amount of socialized or concerted activity employed in the newer social order. The individual was to control or direct his own activities himself in as wide a sphere as possible and share with others on a seemingly one-to-one basis the control over the necessary minimum of team work or joint activity. "That government is best which governs least" seemed to phrase their feeling. This simply meant that that condition of society is best in which there is least socialized activity, not because team work is an evil in itself, but because that condition minimizes the difficulty of securing freedom and liberty. Freedom and liberty suddenly gained by a long-oppressed people seemed so precious that they would not risk the possibility of having it jeopardized by the difficulty of working out a socialized control over socialized effort. They would rather sacrifice the efficiency of concerted effort. From this individualistic point of view the one-to-one rule of suffrage seemed to preserve liberty and freedom. It was one individual set over against another individual. The price of such liberty was eternal friction. Each was to have a sphere of separatist activity and keep everyone else out. Each was to assert himself, be self-reliant and independent, struggling in a fight in which there was a more nearly equal chance of winning because the overwhelming handicaps that formerly prevailed in the unequal struggle for self-assertion and control had been removed.

There is an idea prevalent that the wills of people are just so many units of force. Then by means of some device of voting these units may be registered as to direction, and a majority or plurality of those tending in some direction will serve to give direction to the organized activity of society. Such a will is not a pan-will, a social will, for all do not participate in it. The efforts of the minority in the community are directed, not by their wills, but by the wills of others. To that extent they do not have freedom and liberty. The group in a society that says, "We have the votes; what are you going to do about it?" is using might, is just as undemocratic as the group that says, "We have the men, the money, and the ships; what are you going to do about it?" The majority can enforce their will because they fall heir to the engines of power and the machinery of control built up in the social order.

The social device, however, does broaden participation in control and changes the form of the struggle between wills to have their own way. The powerful classes have to resort to new sources of power and set up a new sort of militarism, so to speak. They employ an army of sophists and political strategists, manipulators and corruptionists, as an engine to afford them leverage in the newer sort of struggle. The device of voting, however, does much more than modify the form of the struggle for control over the organized effort of society, for it does tend, in addition, to develop sincere discussion, acquaintance with one another's feelings and ideas, and, greatest and best of all, a mutual consideration for these feelings. Social ideals become involved, and the will in the process of operating this social device tends to become socialized.

Unified activity requires a unified control—a single direction, not a conflicting, crisscross chaos of aims. This unity of purpose and activity may be secured in several ways: by means of a powerful class, or by means of a unity of wills—a joint or pan-will. A concert of wills may be employed to direct a concert of activity; the socialized wills of the people may serve to direct the socialized activity of the people.

Let it be clear that there is or may be an organization of the wills of the people, a real participation in control, and not a mere struggle of wills. It is a mere contest of wills that results when we

cross each other's paths if the valuation of the social order or the attitude toward it is that it is merely an environment. Society and its social order may be regarded by a person as merely an environment in which he is born and which he, as best he can, is to use and exploit to further his own particular aims. The community and its social organizations are not of him but are something apart, as things in nature which he merely uses to serve his own ends. Thus he uses the people about him and the social machinery as he would the stones in a hillside or electrical energy. These things are not part of us; they are environment. They follow their natural ways with no regard for humans, and we treat them the same way. When we use electrical energy we feel no obligation to it. We do not say, "Electricity, you did this for me, now I will do this for you in return." It does nothing for our sakes. We just use it. So some may regard and treat accordingly society and the social order.

The social order is not the mere environment of the various people in a community, something apart from each one. It is an illusion to regard the social order as something apart from one, as a piece of iron or stone. It is a part of you and you are a part of it in action and reaction, in effort and enjoyment, and perhaps in purpose and will. The social order is not a thing above or otherwise apart from the members of society; it is pan-psychic, pan-human, and has infinite possibilities of becoming more so.

The social will is not something apart from the wills of the members of society, an environmental force merely to be utilized by anyone in his interests, as he would utilize the power of steam. Nor is the social will a sort of supra-will into which the individual may merge and lose himself. It is a pan-will, a will that is a force which is the resultant of all the wills in society, a part of each member. The will of each person, instead of losing itself in, or being displaced by, a supra-will, or struggling against, dominating, and utilizing the social will as an external thing in the environment of the individual, becomes a part of the pan-will. This is not a struggle of wills for domination, but a participation in the formation of a common will to control the social order.



There is a deceptive quality about the extensive team work which takes place in modern societies. The visible, outward, overt activity is so orderly and dovetails so nicely that it seems to indicate a corresponding inner harmony of directive thought and feeling among the people. And yet all the time there is an inner strife, a feeling of coercion and rebellion. It is quite possible for the team work of a people to be improperly motivated. Such is largely the case now, for our organized or socialized overt activity is not motivated by democratic feelings or by socialized wills. The socialized will is guided by social ideals, not by the impulses of the moment, nor by habits founded upon such native impulses.

Democracy is not a particular form of organization of government, nor even the extensive team work in the other overt activities that take place in the social order. Democracy refers to the will. It is the will to co-operate. It is the team work of the wills of the members of a society which is built up to serve the purpose of guiding the inevitable team work in the overt activities of its members. It is not an outward dovetailing of arm, leg, and trunk movements, but an inner team work of feeling and purpose; not the outer acts of co-operation, but the spirit of co-operation. The first essential for a democratic society is that the people should have democratic feelings, that is, that they should really want the other person whose effort is united with theirs to have a participating voice in the control of the team work. They must desire to be democratic, feel that desire to be worth while. The will should be socialized, idealized, and democratized. The person who is controlled by his impulses as they well up in him, at one time listening to the others concerned and giving in to their wishes according to his mood, at another time riding roughshod over others and forcing his will upon them if he can, has no more a socialized will than have the animals in the grip of their natural impulses—impulses adapted to animal life and animal environment, not to a social order. Nor is that person's will democratized who is controlled by his feelings of good-will or ill-will, according a voice in affairs to those he likes and not heeding the will of those not in his favor.

We can rise from a personal solution of the question of participation in control over the forms of team work in society, industry, government, education, and the family, as this leads inevitably to coercion and servitude, to inner strife and discontent, to a social solution which gives freedom and allays strife. When the members of the face-to-face groups in society seek in an undemocratic manner their own will without regard for the wills of the others involved, strife ensues, strife of a petty order. But when powerful groups in society do not heed the wills of the other members and ride over them if they can by means of the power of their advantageous circumstances, widespread discontent and inner strife, if not outward acts of violence, prevail. They who do not consider the wills of others and who would have their own way when the efforts of others are necessarily dovetailed with their own are not democratic in spirit. This is not team work of wills but contending of wills. It results in a coerced co-operation of outward activity. Such organized activity in society is not properly motivated.

Those who seek to control their outward overt activities can find satisfaction and can realize their purpose in the face of the necessary inevitable dovetailing of that activity with the activity of others by tyrannizing over the wills of others, by denying them satisfaction and freedom, by directing the team work according to their own whims or interests, or by having their wills undergo a socializing process. The latter means that the natural animal feelings and impulses that well up in us and induce and guide overt activity will upon occasion have to be inhibited and displaced by social values and ideals.

Man has inherited a few forms of instinctive, overt activity, that is, skeletal activity, which dovetails with that of the other people about him. Man now satisfies his hunger, his need for bodily comfort, excitement, pleasure, etc., by means of highly complicated forms of activity that are far removed from the forms of activity that were employed as the means of securing the gratification of these needs in the jungle or other natural environments of primitive man and the animals. Much of this artificially organized activity may be quite monotonous and irksome and may be carried

to the point of painful fatigue. Society may organize itself in more efficient ways that will reduce such burdens. But that is another problem apart from the one under immediate discussion. These forms of highly organized activity necessarily give rise to a group of artificial situations in which, if we react according to our natural animal impulses, strife and loss of liberty and freedom result. When we engage in the artificially organized activity of the social order we then are necessarily confronted with the fundamental problems of dividing the burdens entailed and the desirable products created, of deciding what is to be done, how it is to be done, and who is to have a voice in deciding these questions. Now nature has not equipped us with a group of impulses that are well adapted to the successful solution of these particular artificial problem situations arising in a social order—an order that is quite remote from the environment in which man received his endowment for the life-struggle. Nature would have us grasp and fight for ourselves, share with the young, and so on. Such a personal and animal-like solution of these modern social problems arising with highly civilized forms of team work in the social order simply leads to strife over these shares and fighting to carry out one's will and impulses against those of others.

The question is, How can we preserve freedom and liberty and allay strife in the face of inevitably organized endeavor? Certainly not by reacting in these social situations according to personal feelings and impulses. It seems that this can be achieved by replacing these ill-fitting animal impulses and feelings with social values and ideals. We can motivate the social order by social values and ideals instead of by personal feelings and impulses. We may rise to an impersonal social valuation or appraisal of the claims and rights of each person in these new social situations. This social appraisal denies any sound foundation for special privileges and claims upon the part of certain persons and classes in society upon nature, upon the social order, or upon other persons, as if nature were specially created for certain persons, or as if the social order were historically evolved for the benefit of certain persons favored over others, or as if some people were created merely for the purpose of being used by other specially favored persons.

A person, a class, or a people may inherit superior powers or go to the trouble of creating forms of might. Now they may assert that they thereby gain superior claims upon nature, man, and the social order, and it is their right, their mission, to use these powers against the others to establish such claims. The others will then contend that it is their right to resist such pretensions and use of might, and the struggle will be on. So this whole proposition ultimately rests upon the conception that the setting of man in the universe was for the purpose of becoming the theater of unending forms of strife and contention. I would suggest a pragmatic philosophy to those who submit to the view that a study of the history of the universe does seem to indicate that the function of man in it is to be the bear pit for the the entertainment of the stars. Why not go on a strike, stop these periods of carnage, and see what the stars will do about it? Those who persist in carrying out such a conception of the rights and mission of might in the world succeed only in building up an environment that finally overwhelms them and with superior power strips them of their forms of might and uses such power to establish a social order with rights that rest upon nobler bases.

If we deny that the possession of forms of might constitutes in itself the ground for superior claims and justifies the use of such powers in enforcing these claims, then other grounds than the possession of might must be sought as the basis of the rights and the claims of the members of society.

There are no chosen classes or peoples. The social appraisalment of these claims rates them all as equal. The members are equal in their right of access to nature, equal in their right of opportunity to the privileges of the social order, equal in their claims upon each other, so that each member who contributes of himself and his energies to the organized activity of the social order has the right to an equal return from the others for his contribution. Otherwise some members are specially privileged and use others as mere tools, while they stand apart from the common endeavor. There is also an equality of right of participation in the control over the organized activity among those whose energies are thus joined. The recognition of these claims as social rights which are to guide

us in the solution of the problems created by organizing our efforts instead of using our ill-adapted and self-conflicting animal impulses as guides will serve to allay strife and establish liberty and freedom among the members in organized society. The public officials in the social order should suppress their personal feelings and impulses, class prejudices and interests, in adjudicating these claims and rights and be guided instead by social values and ideals.

The rank and file of the members of the social order in acquiring similar social habits of reaction in the social situations created by their organized endeavors will then be participating in a joint will, in common social purposes. And their wills will thus find freedom from the strife, discontent, and coercion that result when these matters are decided by impulse, fear, and favor. They now find satisfaction and freedom, not in the gratification of their animal impulses in these social situations, but in the realization of social ideals—the ideals of social democracy, social justice, social welfare, and social efficiency. The will of such a socialized person finds freedom, even though his overt activity is necessarily circumscribed by organized or institutionalized activity, because his will is not contending against, trying to thwart, the wills of others in the interest of unsocial impulses and satisfactions but has the same common purpose and tends in the same direction as the wills of the other members; for each of these socialized persons wants to be just toward the others, wants to be democratic toward the others, wants the best welfare of the others, and wants all these things efficiently realized.

How can there be a co-operation of wills and inner freedom and tranquillity between those who do not want to be just toward each other? He who denies justice to another is against the other person. The other one feels that he is not with him. It is strife and coercion, not inner team work and freedom. They who do not wish the best welfare of the other persons who are inevitably bound up with them in the social order are against them. This is contention and hostility, not community of purpose and will, even though there be outward order of overt activity. Those who are indifferent to social efficiency are against the other members of the

society, for the energy and time of people are naturally precious, and those who would wastefully use the time and energies of others are against them. This again is not team work in purpose but rank individualism, a using of each other as mere environment, a pitting of one against the other. Such attitudes do not result in an inner harmony of feeling and purpose, the sort of team work of wills that should be built up for the purpose of enabling the members of society to supervise properly the team work of effort in their social order.

The fundamental points of strife among the members of a society of people whose overt activities must, for purposes of existence and higher standards of living, be denied freedom of range and be circumscribed by organization are the division of the work and burdens in the organized effort and the products and services thus produced, the distribution of participation in the control over such organized activity, the purpose of this organized activity, and the manner of organizing this activity. These are points of strife because the native impulses of man are not adequate to achieve the orderly solution of these social problems. The unsocialized jungle impulse tries to grasp all it wants or to bestow without regard to the just claims of others. Man in addition sometimes possesses an unnatural cancerous desire, namely, vanity. The desires may have present among them foreign hostile desires, a germ disease, as cellular life may have foreign hostile cells in it. The character may be subject to sickness, as is the body. This insatiable desire causes man, when afflicted with it, far to outreach the animals in the magnitude of his selfishness. Man will then not merely eat to satisfy his appetite and bodily needs, while others unjustly go hungry, but extravagantly waste food for the show of it. He will indulge in costly decoration, not for the beauty in it, but for the sake of display. Natural jungle impulse does not weigh, except for fear or favor, the cost to others of producing desirable things. It will work to excess, kill, and maim, provided these costs are sustained by others. Such a one has no conception of social efficiency, but rates efficiency in accomplishing desired ends only in terms of cost to himself, ignoring all the costs to others that are entailed and that he does not have to recompense.

For the comparatively limited extent of team work which is necessary among the animals, nature, as we say, has provided them with impulses that are adapted to such dovetailing of overt activity. Some of these impulses have been inherited by man, but such limited natural impulses, which in part constitute the original nature of man, are not adequate to bring about the proper motivation of the vastly greater team work required in the populous societies of man. Consequently inner strife will ensue unless the original nature of man is modified, his will becoming socialized in order that there may thus be a concert of purpose and will to direct and supervise the necessary concert of effort and activity in the social order. We may call these forms of organized activity social processes. Such social processes, the processes of producing, dividing, deciding, or controlling, need for their supervision social aims or ideals as distinguished from personal attitudes and impulses. The social problems arising in a social order, as contrasted with the natural problems arising in the natural environment, require for their solution social values, ideals, and principles, as contrasted with the inadequate natural impulses that constitute the original nature of man but are apparently well adapted to the natural environment. Conscious social endeavor within a social order should be guided by known and explored social values and social ideals, as contrasted with primitive reactions within a jungle, guided by blind impulses and attitudes.

The people and the officers of a society, in so far as they are directing these social processes, should not be guided by immediate personal impulses but should suppress them and be guided by the social ideas and ideals of justice, democracy, welfare, and efficiency. We sometimes speak of such officers as having the judicial temperament, refers to the difference between being governed by fear or favor, or by the impulse of the moment, and being governed by certain more stable social feelings and ideas.

It is not necessary of course that the conception of these ideals should be identical among the members of society. It is not the judgment but the will that is involved, the attitude, the aim—whether or not one wants to be just, wants to be democratic, wants the other person to have a say—that makes for strife or for the

team work of wills, the common aim. Given the common aim, the members of society will work out the ways and means of moving toward the realization of their common purpose to be just, to be democratic, to promote their best welfare, etc.

This process of working out ways and means requires the development and use of social machinery and technical information and judgment. Throughout the social order in all its various institutions questions will arise which will be decided, not by the expert, but by the laity involved. Among them, even among those guided by a unity of purpose and a willingness for unity of action, differences in information and judgment are inevitable. But all action cannot be halted until a unanimous opinion is formed, for the loss due to paralysis of activity while the form of action was being debated would be too great. It is often better to have action, perhaps not the wisest, than to halt endeavor. Since some sacrifice is necessary under these conditions, after first threshing out the problem for a time in public debate and discussion for the purpose of forming public opinion, the question may then be submitted to a vote. This device serves to keep the social machinery going without unanimity of judgment.

A majority judgment prevails on the ground of least sacrifice, not on the ground of better efficiency in judgment. The presumption that the more efficient or correct judgment would have a greater appeal and win over more voters is hardly supported by the facts of social life and the registered decisions of the voters. It is not always true that it would be less sacrifice for a minority of voters to forego having their judgment prevail than for a majority. Among the people imbued with the spirit of democracy, if such a condition arose the majority would not say, "Well, we have the votes, what are you going to do about it?" but would consider the relative sacrifice that would be incurred by the minority if the decision went against them. If the majority perceived that the minority felt keenly that their sacrifice would be the greater, the majority would then arrange a middle or less severe course, or would give in until a further period of educational campaigning had taken place and then submit the question again for a vote. Perhaps public opinions would, during this period, undergo a change.



Within the small, face-to-face groups in society, for instance in the family, democratically minded people often differ in judgment upon matters that come up for mutual consideration. Such persons consider the sacrifice it would mean to the other if the decision went against the other and give in if the sacrifice of the other is perceived to be felt more keenly. This act of giving in, either in part or altogether, may then be reciprocated by the other when upon another occasion the situation is reversed. Such persons defer to the judgment of others involved even when this is quite contrary to their own judgment, provided it does not offend against the attitude or will to be just, democratic, etc. One's attitude toward justice and the democratic spirit is not to be compromised; but one can differ with another upon the best ways and means of attaining justice, democracy, etc., and can forego his judgment in part and arrange with others for some modified method of attaining social welfare, justice, and democracy. There is no reason why this same spirit of democracy may not pervade a larger group.

The ideal of democracy as the rule to govern participation in the control and supervision of the social order may not of course be the goal toward which society is moving. It may be in some entirely unseen direction, our segment of the movement toward the great goal being so insignificant that it is after all too small to disclose the true direction of the entire movement. Yet the ideal of democracy has the earmarks of a great social goal, for it has infinite possibilities of development, and there are always at hand ways and means of making it workable in the successively unfolding conditions arising in the social order.

## NEWS AND NOTES

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### THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The meeting this year was held at Richmond, Virginia, Friday and Saturday, December 27 and 28, in the Jefferson Hotel. The meetings were very well attended considering the war-time conditions which have prevailed during the past year. The Jefferson Hotel, in the words of President Cooley, was "just the right sort of a place for our purpose." We missed the familiar faces of some of our members, namely Giddings, Ross, Small, Vincent, Howard, Dealey, Blackmar, and Lichtenberger. The meetings were unusually spirited in impromptu discussions.

President Cooley refused re-election for a second term. In his stead Professor F. W. Blackmar, of the University of Kansas, was elected. The other officers for the year 1919 are First Vice-President James Q. Dealey, Brown University; Second Vice-President, Edward C. Hayes, University of Illinois; Secretary-Treasurer, Scott E. W. Bedford, University of Chicago; members of the Executive Committee, Cecil C. North, J. E. Cutler, F. Stuart Chapin, Wm. J. Kerby, E. L. Earp, and Miss Grace Abbott.

President Cooley read a message of greetings from the Institut International Sociologie, René Worms, secretary. The business meeting instructed the President to send the greetings of our society to our sister society in France, and suggested an effort at co-operation between our Society and similar organizations in France, England, Italy, and Belgium.

A Committee was appointed to "inquire into what is and what may be done in teaching sociology in the grades and in the high schools."

The meeting next year will perhaps be held in Lexington, Kentucky.

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### UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Among the five extension courses of lectures on problems relating to war and reconstruction arranged by the University are the courses "Race Psychology" offered by Professor Ernest L. Talbert, and "Principles and Methods of Social Service" given by members of the faculty and by local and national social workers.

## COLGATE UNIVERSITY

Professor Roy W. Foley has leave of absence for the year and is serving as district educational director for the National War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A. in the camps around Baltimore.

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## LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

James H. S. Bossard, M.A., Ph.D., has joined the faculty of Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, as professor of sociology and economics. Professor Bossard received his Doctor's degree at the University of Pennsylvania, and during the past year has been engaged as editorial and civic writer on the staff of the *Allentown Morning Call*. Before that he had been head of the department of history and social science at Muhlenberg College.

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## UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Professor E. C. Branson has been invited to go to France as agriculture specialist in rural life for the Army Overseas Educational Commission.

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## UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

Professor G. S. Dow, formerly professor of sociology in Oberlin College, is head of the department of sociology and economics. The establishment of the department of sociology in this developing western university is indicative of the growth of interest in sociology in the Southwest.

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## RICE INSTITUTE

The curriculum has been enlarged by the establishment of a lectureship in civics and philanthropy. Courses for credit and public lectures, designed to train professional and lay workers for social service in the South, are being given this year. If the interest of Houston and environs justifies it, the lectureship will be continued. The present incumbent is Herbert Knight Dennis, Ph.D., Harvard, 1918, formerly assistant in sociology at the University of Illinois and a former undergraduate pupil of Professors Ward and Dealey at Brown University.

## UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Assistant Professor H. J. McClean has been elected president of the Los Angeles Social Service Commission.

Miss Sarah Bundy, A.M., is offering a new course this quarter entitled "The Sociological Content of Modern Drama."

The Sociology Seminar is giving its attention this year to "Social Problems and the War."

## REVIEWS

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*Instincts in Industry.* By ORDWAY TEAD. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. xv+221. \$1.40.

This little book is an attempt to popularize certain conclusions of social psychology and to apply them to American industrial conditions. It is a study of working-class psychology with the general thesis that there is reason to believe "that an examination of human behavior in industry will disclose vital relationships between those maladjustments which we call 'labor problems,' and the functioning of that complex of inherent tendencies and acquired characteristics which is human nature." Why working-class psychology? Because industrial unrest is the result of repression, because the mind of the worker is grievously misunderstood, and because the psychology of employers has already been exploited. The main body of the book is given over to a discussion of ten fundamental instincts as they apply to industry, namely the parental and sex instincts; the instinct of workmanship, contrivance, or constructiveness; of possession, ownership, property, or acquisitiveness; of self-assertion, self-display, mastery, domination, emulation, or "give-a-lead"; of submissiveness or self-abasement; of the herd; of pugnacity; of play; of curiosity, trial, and error, or thought. We may quibble about whether these are all general instincts, but remembering that the book is not addressed to scientific psychologists but to business men, it has a useful and stimulating message of social engineering; and, in any event, it carries a very sober and restrained view of instincts. The professional social psychologist will find a great many illustrations from industrial life with which to refresh his categories.

The author shows clearly the relationship of family feeling to strikes, scabs, riots, and "ca'canny." He should have added that one motive for shortening the twelve-hour day is to eliminate that absentee parent-hood which was so clearly brought out in the Pittsburgh Survey and other industrial studies. The chapter on sex is largely a summary of the work of Patten, Wallas, Freud, and C. H. Parker. Employers in the great raw industries would do well to heed the facts brought out. On the instinct of workmanship the author follows Wallas, Münsterberg, and Veblen. The loss of fine, skilled workmanship on the one hand and

the opposition to both sabotage and Taylorism on the other are both, so the author thinks, referable to this fundamental instinct. His two suggestions for getting back the sense of art in industry have been often made, namely, giving the workers a sense of the place in the scheme of things which their product occupies and giving them a greater control over the conduct of industry. In the discussion of the instinct of possession (of a job, land, home, etc.) the author emphasizes the desire for prestige, and that is true enough; but it should be completed by pointing out the discipline which property confers.

Mr. Tead is on sound sociological ground when he declares that "Individuals in whom the tendency to submit is strong are more numerous than those in whom the tendency of self-assertion assumes influential proportions." Our present productive system fosters "the nemesis of docility" through its placing in the hands of even a benevolent despot the right to hire, fire, promote, demote, fix hours, wages, and other working conditions, and which, moreover, tends to convince the employer that his employees are really his servants—his things. That we knew only too well. But to this a new point is brought out in the discussion, namely, that a considerable part of economic subjection is really pathological and might be called a definite industrial psychosis in men who are so frequently "jobless, voteless, and womanless." The analysis of the instinct of the herd frankly acknowledges that, so far, the possibility of sublimating it either in general or as it applies to industrial affairs is largely a field for future inquiry. Sublimating the instinct of pugnacity, however, seems more clearly realizable. "It is not only conceivable but likely that the struggle for sound, social, and industrial organization can for some decades to come give substantial satisfaction for the fighting spirit of many men." Another moral equivalent of war? The chapter on the play impulse is perhaps the least suggestive in the book. It might have been enriched by experiences from community centers, factory welfare work, etc. On page 173 there is a faulty citation in the footnote which credits Kirkpatrick instead of Patrick with "The Psychology of Relaxation." The debate between the supporters of instinct and intelligence as the core of social processes will find some rather fresh materials in the chapter on the instinct of curiosity or thought. Two points of special importance to industry are brought out, namely, that leisure is a prerequisite to sound thinking and that fear paralyzes thought.

The general conclusion of this stimulating little book is simply a plea for that individualization and humanizing of industry which will mean

giving human personality a chance to express itself in and through a democratized industry. While the book does not pretend to be for the use of scholars, it certainly would be valuable as collateral reading for sociology classes. I should recommend it particularly, however, to tired and harried business men who are beginning to question if, after all, discontented, clamorous, restive, heedless, and uninterested workers are simply creations of the devil. It ought to be helpful in the ministry of reconciliation.

ARTHUR J. TODD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*What Is National Honor? The Challenge of the Reconstruction.*

By LEO PERLA. With an introduction by Norman Angell.

New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. xlv+211. \$1.50.

This book is symptomatic of the current tendency to appeal from intellectualism to instinct under the influence of great crises demanding quick action. The author finds that the emotional complex of national honor is the chief cause of wars and that to secure permanent peace we must rationalize the concept of national honor. To this end he recommends the establishment of a court of international honor, which will give definition to the fact and analyze the claims of states to vital interest in specific instances. It should also give international publicity to those claims, thus serving as an effective check upon unjust national ambitions and jingoistic demonstrations. A league for peace would be a useful adjunct to such a court. In addition it is advocated that a sentiment or emotion complex supporting peace should be created internationally to take the place of the emotional sanctions for war which now exist. This could be done through advertising, prizes, honors, literature, setting forth the benefits of peace and the irrationality of war, etc. These are the practical proposals.

Intertwined with the above-mentioned program is a rather questionable psychological assumption to the effect that the causes of war are not economic but emotional and (apparently—though the exposition is not clear here) that the emotions supporting war are instinctive or inherited. Hence the problem of peace is ultimately the problem of building up emotions supporting peace, but we are left confused as to how this is to be done. If the emotions favoring war are instinctive and underived how can we be sure that we can build up substitute (acquired) emotional complexes of sufficient power to keep the instinctive ones in check? If the war emotions are derived—as the common experience

of mankind would seem to indicate—do they not either directly or indirectly and in very large degree arise out of economic situations? Can we prevent the formation of bellicose emotions except by the removal of their economic or other irritability causes? The author seems to be content with an explanation in terms of subjective states and does not push the analysis back to objective facts. However, his psychological theory is not vital to his practical proposals.

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*Use of Factory Statistics in the Investigation of Industrial Fatigue; a Manual for Field Research.* By PHILIP SARGANT FLORENCE.  
New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. v+153. \$1.25.

The case for the shorter workday has been founded on theory and general observation rather than on actual figures, analyzed statistically. Mr. Florence in this book has formulated the procedure for scientific investigation of the effect of working hours. His outline is not theoretical. It shows in every section that it has stood the test of use. Mr. Florence' work has mainly been done in England where he was associated with the well-known studies of fatigue in munition plants. At present he is carrying on research work of a similar nature in this country. Manuals such as Mr. Florence', and studies such as he has made and is making will go far to put the case for the shorter work day on a scientific basis.

JANET R. HUNTINGTON

ILLINOIS INDUSTRIAL SURVEY COMMISSION

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*Instinct in Man. A Contribution to the Psychology of Education.*  
By JAMES DREVER, PH.D. Cambridge: University Press,  
1917. Pp. x+281.

An assembling of scattered literature on instinct coupled with an interpretative point of view has been needed for some years. In this study the first three chapters are devoted to preliminary definition, history of the opinions of descriptive psychologists from Hobbes to Dugald Stewart, of philosophers from Leibnitz to von Hartmann, and of the biological school stimulated by Darwin. Then follows the author's psychological analysis, using as controversial material such typical writers as Bergson, Lloyd Morgan, Stout, Myers, Shand; Hobhouse, Titchener, Thorndike, and McDougall. The concluding chapters



contain applications to education of the "specific" instincts, the sentiments, and sundry "general" tendencies—as play, imitation, and sympathy.

The author repudiates behaviorism, holding that an element of meaning is essential in defining instinct, and that the psychologist as such is not concerned with the mechanisms described by the biologist. To a considerable extent he agrees with McDougall. It is a gap in the investigation that the historical and critical chapters do not deal carefully with Dewey's article in the *Psychological Review*, 1894-95. The bibliography does not list this notable revision of the status of instinct and emotion which Darwin and James had established.

E. L. TALBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

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*The Responsible State.* By FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. xii + 108.

The name of this little volume would seem to imply a discussion of the paramount structural problem of political science—the satisfactory adjustment of the conflicting demands for scientific efficiency and for popular control. But in this respect the reader will be disappointed. The volume, which contains the Colver Lectures for 1918, is rather a sketchy and readable discussion of some of the problems of government which the World-War has emphasized in the mind of its author.

Patriotism is not merely blind instinct but is "a growing volume of emotion shot through with thought." The state is not omnipotent or supreme for historically, moral rights preceded the state and they are the foundations upon which it must be builded. Unlimited sovereignty, therefore, does not exist in fact, for authority is limited by considerations of human nature and morality. It follows, therefore, that the German theory that the state can do no wrong is vicious. But the state, as a guardian of the ethical rights which preceded it, has a moral claim to existence, and equality of opportunity for nations is the only basis of an enduring peace.

The duty of the modern state is to guard its people from invasion and protect civilization. Its dangers are twofold, absolutism from without and radical democracy from within. Its hope is the golden mean of democratic republicanism. As between the extreme claims of the individualist and the socialist there is as yet no basis for dogmatic statement. There must first be more experience and experimentation.

It is not through authority, revolution, or dogmatism that justice will come but only "through mental and moral evolution."

The work as a whole represents the personal opinions of an eminent sociologist upon some current political problems, which opinions are both interesting and suggestive though not always thorough and convincing.

ARNOLD B. HALL

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

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*Welfare and Housing.* A practical report of war-time management.

By J. E. HUTTON. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918.

Pp. 192. \$1.50.

As manager of the Labor and Catering Department of the Vicker's Limited, the largest commercial undertaking in England, Mr. Hutton's experience in the handling of large masses of employees and in providing their welfare as related in this book is a valuable record.

Divided into thirteen chapters, *Welfare and Housing* deals with welfare supervision, housing, catering, canteens, food values, motor transit, hospital and medical service, amusements, work's police, the women's point of view, and industrial unrest. Approaching the subject of industrial welfare from the efficiency expert's point of view, the author recognizes "that the environment and condition of life which not only render possible, but also maintain a vigorous and healthy staff of workers, are as much a part of successful factory management as the devising of machinery and the perfection of bases in the fixing of rates of wages." In the discussion of the technique of industrial welfare, Mr. Hutton substitutes "physiological management" as an expression preferable to "industrial welfare work." Throughout the discussion of the practical aspects of physiological management, one gains the impression that the few fundamental principles laid down by the author are based upon experiences derived from a wide field and under extremely varied conditions.

The chapter on "Temporary Housing" would prove of little value to the American reader since the experience of the United States during the war has made a more telling contribution toward the solution of the problem of the temporary housing than seems to have been made by the Vicker's Limited. The details relating to the industrial villages of Crayford and Erith are more interesting, both from the point of view of the method of organizing the financing and from that of management. This chapter could perhaps have been improved by more details as to

the basis upon which the types of houses were determined, particularly with regard to the size, arrangement of rooms, etc.

The chapter on "Industrial Unrest" might have been sacrificed in order to make room for a more detailed discussion of some of the processes which have led Mr. Hutton to his conclusions. The practical side of the problem as revealed from Mr. Hutton's unusual experience seems to be more in his field than a broad discussion of economic and social problems which he has attempted in his chapter on "Industrial Unrest."

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

CAROL ARONOVICI

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*Housing Conditions in the City of Saint Paul.* By CAROL ARONOVICI, PH.D. St. Paul: Amherst H. Wilder Co., 1918. Pp. 120. \$0.50.

This report was made to the Housing Commission in St. Paul concerning the conditions under which people live in that city, but the year in which the report or the survey was made is not indicated. Eighteen selected sections of St. Paul, inhabited by 18,425 people from many races, were included in the study. Thirty-four tables, several charts, a large number of splendid photographs, maps, and drawings are used to support and to illustrate the housing facts which have been obtained by the investigators, working under the direction of Dr. Carol Aronovici.

The recommendations for a new housing code for St. Paul appear to be excellent; they deserve study by the housing authorities in other large cities of the United States. For the urban housing and health worker, another valuable feature is an extended analysis of the housing ordinances in many large American cities; the regulations concerning ventilation, fire protection, water supply, plumbing, and so forth are concisely given and arranged for comparative purposes.

E. S. BOGARDUS

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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*The Psychology of Handling Men in the Army.* By JOSEPH PETERSON, M.D., and QUENTIN J. DAVID, L.L.B. Minneapolis, Minn.: Perine Book Company, 1918. Pp. 146. \$1.00.

This small book is fairly interesting and would prove helpful to an officer whose task was the immediate handling of privates if he were not familiar with the elements of psychology. It presents nothing new and is not based on any inductive study made during the present war,

except that opinions of certain officers are quoted. Psychological tests are not referred to, nor is there an adequate treatment of the psychology of large groups of men torn out of civilian environment and thrust into a camp with its greatly increased stimulation to certain normal impulses and repression of others. The chapter on leadership restates Cooley and presents general considerations of a practical philosophy sort; but will give little aid to the officer attempting to lead by offering stimuli to instincts of individuals, as the hypothesis of the text would suggest. Group response to social stimuli is so complex that principles of leadership are more profitably determined by inductive sociological methods than by deduction from principles of individual psychology.

There are three parts to most of the chapters, the first consisting of general remarks on the subjects by the junior author, the second of a theoretical discussion by the senior author, and the third of a few practical deductions and quotations from officers. Such subjects as competition, team play, discipline, leadership, and loyalty are treated.

LEROY E. BOWMAN

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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*Rural Problems of Today.* By ERNEST R. GROVES. New York: Association Press, 1918. Pp. viii+181. \$1.00.

A series of papers, many of them reprints, treating briefly but sanely and suggestively the following topics: "The Country Home," "The Country School," "The Country Church," "Mental Hygiene," "The Social Value of Rural Experience," "Rural vs. Urban Environment," "The Mind of the Farmer," "Psychic Causes of Rural Migration," "Rural Socializing Agencies," and "The World-War and Rural Life."

The book "attempts to approach rural social life from the psychological angle," but the psychology is of the applied variety with no attempt at abstract analyses or discussions. There is little new in the book, but it is wholesome, suggestive, stimulating, and especially well adapted for sociological laymen and for students in rural sociology as supplementary reading. The most original parts seem to be the discussions of "The Social Value of Rural Experience," "Rural vs. Urban Environment," and "Psychic Causes of Rural Migrations." Professor Groves holds that city life stands for the power of money, for the power of man over man, and for a sharp demarcation between capital and labor; whereas, rural life stands for the power of man over nature, for the development of imagination sobered by experience of hand-to-hand conflict

with nature, and for a combined labor-capital interpretation of life. "Healthy national ideals," the author concludes, "require a contribution from both urban and rural experience. The first we have in quantity. It is the second we lack. It is the business of those who conserve social welfare to respect the conclusions of rural thinkers and to discover how rural experience may make its largest contribution to national policy and social opinion."

L. M. BRISTOL

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

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*Child Welfare in Oklahoma.* An inquiry by the National Child Labor Committee for the University of Oklahoma, under the direction of EDWARD N. CLOPPER. New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1917. Pp. 285.

This investigation represents one of the most ambitious attempts to make a state survey of the problems of child welfare. The information is based on studies of representative counties and cities, a sufficient number having been included to justify the conclusion that the conditions portrayed are general throughout the state. The problems of child welfare are divided into eleven parts covering such subjects as health, recreation, education, child labor, delinquency, dependency, child protection, and administration of laws. A corps of seven investigators spent the larger part of a year in gathering and compiling the information.

Many important facts are presented: frequently conditions are described as most unsatisfactory, and laws are found to be inadequate, and public opinion dormant. For example, the survey of public health work shows that birth registration is inadequate, contagious disease is not effectively controlled, the majority of schools have no provision for medical inspection of children, the state health department does not meet the needs of the state, the educational work of the schools is unsatisfactory, milk inspection is lagging, and free hospital service is practically nonexistent. On the basis of these discoveries a series of recommendations is made designed to improve the enforcement of existing laws or to erect new administrative machinery for carrying out the needed reforms.

A similar situation holds for recreation and juvenile delinquency. The needs of dependent children have, however, received considerable attention, while the most serious aspects of child labor are those relating to the street trades and to agricultural work. A very important part of the report consists of a summary of the laws dealing with parentage,

property and general protection of children. The chapter on "Agriculture," although necessary for an understanding of the local problems, deals largely with questions affecting the general welfare of the state and illustrates the danger of drawing too close a line of demarcation between problems of child welfare and other social problems.

The culminating features of the report are the practical suggestions for the improvement of child welfare throughout the state. The suggestions are conservative and seem to develop naturally from a knowledge of existing conditions in Oklahoma and of the effects of remedial efforts elsewhere.

This investigation is not an intensive study of problems aiming to gather original information and develop new principles, but rather an extensive survey attempting to discover actual conditions and the extent of their deviation from accepted standards. Reports of this kind will greatly accelerate the development of state programs of child welfare. They need to be supplemented, however, by intensive research into special problems about too many of which very little is as yet known.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

THE MISSOURI SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY

*Religion and the New American Democracy.* By JOSEPH E. MCAFEE. Brooklyn: 200 Clermont Ave., 1918. Pp. 98.

The religious system needs rebuilding to fit into the new democracy. The author sees the beginning of such reorganization in the impulse which has given rise to the community-church movement.

*Ancient Peoples at New Tasks.* By WILLARD PRICE. New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1918. Pp. xl+208. \$0.40.

This book illustrates the spirit of the modern missionary movement. It presents a view of the missionary as a leader in the industrial development of backward foreign peoples.

*The American Spirit, A Basis for World-Democracy.* By PAUL MONROE, PH.D., LL.D. and IRVING E. MILLER, PH.D. New York: World Book Co., 1918. Pp. xv+336. \$1.00.

This book is a compilation of selections from the speeches and writings of prominent Americans. It is designed to serve as a reader which shall "focus attention upon the constructive aspect of patriotism."

*The Arbitral Determination of Railway Wages.* By J. NOBLE STOCKETT, JR. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. xxv+198. \$1.50.

The chief significance of this book is that the author recognizes that political economy has furnished no generally accepted workable principles to serve as guides for adjustment of wage disputes. The writer seeks to find such principles in the standards that have been set forth and debated and in some cases applied in actual wage disputes and settlements. These standards or principles are (1) standardization, (2) the living wage, (3) the increased cost of living, and (4) increased productive efficiency. These standards are critically weighed and the conclusions set forth.

*The Peace of Roaring River.* By GEORGE VAN SCHAICK. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1918. Pp. 313. \$1.50.

A wholesome novel involving the experiences of an underpaid working girl of New York who finds romance and refuge in the Canadian North. It is unimportant from a sociological standpoint.

*Hindu Achievements in Exact Science.* By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. xiii+82. \$1.00.

A suggestive little book for the occidental student. The writer sketches the main scientific achievements of ancient and mediaeval India "in the perspective of developments in other lands." He defines his main object as an effort to "furnish some of the chronological links and logical affinities between the scientific investigations of the Hindus and those of the Greeks, Chinese, and Saracens."

*The Holy Spirit, A Laymans Conception.* By WILLIAM IVES WASHBURN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Pp. viii+133. \$1.25.

A conventional treatment without sociological significance.

*You Who Can Help.* By MARY SMITH CHURCHILL. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1918. Pp. 296. \$1.25.

This is a volume of letters written by the wife of an American army officer in France. They give an interesting intimate account of French life as the author found it in connection with her work as an agent of the American Fund for the French Wounded.

*The German Secret Service in America, 1914-1918.* By JOHN PRICE JONES and PAUL MERRICK HOLLISTER. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1918. Pp. 340. \$2.00.

This book, as the title indicates, endeavors to give a rounded account of the work of the German secret agents in America from the beginning of the war.

*Home and Community Hygiene.* By JEAN BROADHURST, PH.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1918. Pp. xiii+427. \$2.00.

The purpose of this book is to present in usable form scientific knowledge of essential hygienic measures. It is an interesting, yet accurate summary. It is worthy of a place in most home and school libraries.

*The Church and the Crowd.* By RICHARD WALLACE HOGUE, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1917. Pp. 84. \$0.60.

The volume frankly acknowledges that the church has lost its hold on the "crowd" but sees its reinstatement by an exercise of a larger place of leadership in the solution of the social problems of everyday life.

*Democracy Today.* By CHRISTIAN GAUSS. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1917. Pp. 102.

Democracy and America's rôle therein as interpreted by speeches of representative Americans. Speeches of President Wilson make up the larger part of the book.

*The Collapse of Capitalism.* By HERMAN CAHN. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1918. Pp. 119. \$0.50.

This is an effort, from the Marxian point of view, to show how the war is bringing about the collapse of capitalism through the breakdown of the currency system on which it rests.

*Capital Today.* By HERMAN CAHN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918. Pp. ix+376. \$2.00.

A second edition made necessary by changes in the monetary situation brought on by the war. This change consists chiefly in the enormous increase of "credit-money ordinarily created by the banks and heretofore in existence in but moderate volume."



*Religion and Common Sense.* By DONALD HANKEY. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1918. Pp. ix+82. \$0.60.

A non-scholarly attempt to defend the dogma of the Christian revelation against modern scholarship.

*Fire: From Holocaust to Beneficence.* By CHARLES W. GARRETT. Puyallup, Wash.: The Author. 1918. Pp. 142. \$0.50.

A semiliterary, romantic, and popular description and interpretation from the socialist standpoint of human achievement.

*The Psychology of Behavior.* By DR. ELIZABETH SEVERN. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1917. Pp. 349. \$1.50.

The author, who is engaged in the practice of psychotherapy, endeavors to "bring out of the dry dust of polemical discussion into the liveness and activity of everyday affairs" the facts discovered by scientific research. The point of view is "frankly metaphysical rather than biological, and idealistic and suggestive rather than materialistic and positive."

*Principles Governing the Retirement of Public Employees.* By LEWIS MERIAM. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1918. Pp. xxx+477. \$2.75.

This is one of the volumes published for the Institute for Government Research, Washington, D.C., within the field of "Principles of Administration." The aim of the book is to set forth the principal economic, social, administrative, and financial questions involved in the retirement of public employees and to discuss the principles which should govern in meeting these questions. It is a significant contribution to the pension problem.

*The Chartist Movement.* By MARK HOVELL, M.A. Edited and completed by PROFESSOR T. F. TOUT. Manchester: The University Press, 1918. Pp. xxxvii+327. \$2.50.

This is a posthumous work the author of which was killed in France in August, 1917. It is a history and interpretation of the Chartists in England. As here interpreted the Chartist movement represents an important part in the development of democracy in England. Contrary to the generally accepted view, the author believes that the movement has had an important influence on subsequent history in England and on the larger social movement of the past century.

## RECENT LITERATURE

### NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**Making the World Safe for Democracy.**—Democracy is a form of social life of which the rule of the people is only one aspect. Modern democracy is a wholly new stage of social evolution, and may truly be called "the great adventure of our civilization." It is the hope of mankind, because it is to the group what self-determination and self-realization are for the individual. It represents nothing less than the final phase of social control and of political evolution, the goal toward which all human history has been striving. Also, its success depends upon the possibility of vast masses of men forming rational opinions and executing rational decisions as a group. Now this is only possible when there is adequate machinery to develop rational likemindedness and a rational will in the group as a whole. As part of this development we must remove the forms of industry causing poverty. To this end the family, the school, the church, and even "polite society" itself must be democratized as essential to this stage in the evolution of the social mind and of social control which expresses the recognition of the social worth and brotherhood of all men. Given peace, social and international, for its safety, free public criticism for its healthy expression, there is no reason why, with trained leaders and with the masses at large trained to take the social point of view, democratic societies should not be as efficient socially as authoritarian societies.—Charles A. Ellwood, *Scientific Monthly*, December, 1918. C. W. C.

**The Eugenic and Social Influence of the War.**—There are two theories regarding the eugenic and social influence of war in general: (1) war is, in the main, dysgenic and anti-social, wasteful of the best life of the nations, destructive of capital and of the fruits of industry, a propagator of disease, hurtful of the stock, a well-spring of international hatred and alienation; (2) the alternative theory is the view that war is a tonic, though admittedly a severe tonic, to the nations; that it promotes the virile virtues courage, endurance, self-sacrifice; that it imposes a wholesome discipline; that it is a great school of patriotism, efficiency, and solidarity; that prolonged peace leads to softness of manners and racial decadence. In counting up the gains and losses of the present war, the nations will have lost heavily in man-power, in brain-power, in capital, and in industrial resources, but out of it will come some gains also to the individual, to industry, and to education. Mr. Savorgnan calculates that it will take Germany twelve years, France sixty-six years, England ten years, and Italy thirty-eight years for the recoupment of man force. An obvious result of the war will be a disproportion of the sexes, the social effects of which will be intricate and far-reaching from the standpoint of matrimony and of the employment of women in industry. During the war both marriage rates and birth rates have decreased, infant mortality and disease have decreased, crime has decreased but juvenile delinquency has increased, and insanity is said to have decreased. After the war increase in cost of living will increase thrift and tend to depress still further the birth rate. A large emigration will surely follow. Perhaps the most fundamental gain of the war will be the increased interest in education—J. A. Lindsay, *Eugenic Review*, October, 1918. F. O. D.

**War and the Balance of Sexes.**—The maintenance of the balance of sexes is a desirable principle in eugenics. There is preponderance of females in all European countries. It is greatest in Great Britain. The disturbance in the balance of sexes is most profound in the class of ages between twenty-one and sixty. The excess of females in this class is greatest in the Central Empires. Shrinkage of the male element in Europe will be accentuated by the resumption of emigration from Europe. The factors affecting the sex distribution are: (1) the sex ratio at birth; (2) the sex ratio at death; and (3) emigration. The sex ratio at birth increased in favor of males during

the war more than ever before during the period of the last forty years. In England the excess of males is due chiefly to migration and slightly to a more persistent vitality of females. A plan of colonization to equalize the sexes, as it was proposed in England, could be applicable only in case of Canada. A real remedy would be a greater preservation of male lives between the ages of fifteen and sixty.—S. de Jastrzebski, *Eugenics Review*, July, 1918. J. H.

**The Religion of the Russian Revolution.**—Russian revolution can achieve no other object than to bring Russia up to the level of the Western nations. Being essentially religious it is permeated with the pure spirit of martyrdom. It takes up the tragedy of universal freedom where the French Revolution left it off. The ideal of the Russian Revolution is a new religious realization: socialism without a state. The non-participation of the Russians in the state was a spiritual gain for them. While they have retained real Christianity, which the Westerners have corrupted by their materialism and individualism, they have become "the only instinctive universal people of the world." Their faith is that the last word in human freedom will come from religion. Russia did not follow Western culture and scientific advancement, because it was accompanied by relentless struggle of individual against individual. According to Merezhkovsky "socialism without state is a new religious realization and activity, new religious unity of individual and society, limitless freedom and limitless love. We believe that sooner or later we will reach the masses, and that this immense voice of the Russian Revolution will send over European cemeteries the trumpet of the archangel announcing terrible judgment and resurrection of the dead."—Lancelot Lawton, *English Review*, June, 1918. J. H.

**The Effect of the War on Religion in College.**—The war has brought the fighting man face to face with religion—not traditional religion but real religion. The soldier has experienced God as companion. This changed condition will necessitate a change in the place and function of religion in colleges: (1) religion and philosophy will belong together; (2) the college chapel service should take on an air of reality and reasonableness and of personal sympathy free from formalism and touched by variety; (3) a higher place should be given to the social sciences; (4) every teacher should be a religious man; (5) the steady power of religion in a democratic movement, academic or communal, should be recognized; (6) the doctrine of forgiveness should be sought.—Charles Franklin Thwing, *Religious Education*, August, 1918. F. O. D.

**Labor Questions in the Peace Settlement.**—Agreements of secure international standards of industrial law should not form part of the peace settlement, because such matters are, on the whole, too complex to be dealt with satisfactorily by present diplomatic means. With possibly a few exceptions questions concerning the position of persons working in foreign countries would be also best left alone by the peace conference. However, it would be of immense value if, in settling the terms of peace, the conference could agree to refer all questions of industrial regulation and the protection of immigrants to a permanent international council, which could be really representative of the interests concerned, which would really understand the questions at issue and have time to discuss them thoroughly, and which could deal, not only with any immediately required labor treaties, but also with amendments and developments found to be necessary in the future. By this means a reasonably elastic system of international industrial regulations could be devised and enforced, and the danger of too low an industrial standard acting as a drag in more progressive states would be removed to the advantage of the workers and society in general in all industrial countries.—Sophy Sanger, *Contemporary Review*, October, 1918. F. O. D.

**The Problem of the Returning Soldier.**—The first market to feel the shock of peace is the labor market. The direction of the soldiers in their return to civilian life must proceed in two lines: (1) the qualifications of the men and (2) the conditions of industry. The machinery of reconstruction will have four classes of men to deal with: (1) the able-bodied man without position, or seeking a change; (2) slightly wounded men able to work without special training; (3) disabled men dependent on re-education for a livelihood; (4) permanently disabled men incapable of training.

The foundation for all work should be the centralized control of the complex functions to be performed. France, England, and Canada have met the problem of centralization through special departments. The development in Italy has been similar to that in France with emphasis on the disabled soldier. Australia has a Department of Repatriation and is emphasizing a land scheme to put all returning soldiers, wounded or otherwise, on farms. In the United States the tendency has been to charge separate bodies with different functions of reconstruction. The ideal plan would be to create a Department of Administration of Return for the period of reconstruction. Actually this cannot be. In June, 1918, a Vocational Rehabilitation Bill was passed with reference to disabled soldiers only. Even for it to be effective expert social investigation and a joint commission to co-ordinate the work of different branches are necessary. Just now no phase of reconstruction is so important as the plan of the whole.—Barbara Spofford Morgan, *North American Review*, October, 1918. F. O. D.

**Effects of the War on Southern Labor.**—Nowhere in the world have the conditions brought about by the Great War more affected labor than in the South. In 1914 the cotton price demoralization and later the boll-weevil ravages and the flood devastations made labor restless. Then entered the following new elements further complicating the situation: (1) the change from a one-crop system to a diversification of crops and the handling of livestock in order that the South might feed herself; (2) the increase in the number of money crops; (3) the demand for labor that had arisen in the South in connection with the erection of cantonments, aviation fields, the construction of ships, etc.; (4) the increase in wages and abundance of surplus money; (5) the migration of negroes to the North. In connection with this migration movement the negro labor has assumed a new attitude toward the South. The white and black people have held meetings to discuss candidly the causes which have brought about the migration and the remedies proposed for bettering conditions.—Monroe N. Work, *The Southern Workman*, August, 1918. C. N.

**A Negro Exodus.**—Although no definite census has been taken it is generally estimated that about 300,000 negroes went north during the year 1916-17. There were two causes for this: (1) in the South the immediate reason was the depression following the crop failures together with bad housing, low wages, high rentals, and racial discrimination in courts, in education, and in franchise; (2) in the North the cessation of immigration during the war made necessary the recruiting of negro labor. White employers of the South endeavored to meet the emergency by stopping migration instead of removing its causes. The influx brought to the North the social problems of insufficient clothing, inadequate housing, and the evils of the saloon. In Detroit the National Urban League is endeavoring to meet the situation by establishing a vocational bureau to assist the negro in finding employment, taking practical steps to meet deficient housing, providing wholesome recreation, persuading the police commissioner to appoint a special officer to look after the welfare of the newcomers, and enlisting the co-operation of local religious and public-welfare agencies. The problem now to be solved is: (1) to remove the disabilities that have driven the negro from the South, and (2) to curb the general spirit of lawlessness throughout the country.—Herbert W. Horwill, *Contemporary Review*, September, 1918. F. O. D.

**Social Science and Culture.**—Social science may take its place with art and religion as a part of our daily consciousness. It in its way can no more afford to scrap into the discard all form in presentation than can religion or art, both of which have used every device and resource to carry their matter into men's very blood itself. Social science must manage a synthesis that will hold fast in it the quality of humanism, which is a citizenship in the world of human spirit. Humanistic culture works toward the understanding from which kindness is bred. It works to find out what any form already established and loved among men really means and how far it can be practicable or built on before the destruction begins. The perfection of the quality of men's living is the end of the social sciences, and their final success is measured by this attainment. They have the power to deepen the meaning of humanism itself, they may be among the first of those agencies that induce that just relation of the single human spirit to the universe which we think of as culture. Culture is the light reflected

by all things upon one another. Social sciences become humanistic through remembering their birth and end in human living.—Stark Young, *The New Republic*, August, 1918. C. N.

**Feeble-mindedness and Social Environment.**—Social ethics should be built up by the inductive methods of social psychology with biology as a basis. This subject should receive more attention, especially, as the duties of citizens are concerned alike with the duty of conservation of energies, with a view to transmitting to the coming generation the physical, mental, and moral traditions. Degeneracy is appearing among the old American stock. Mimeticism is one of its symptoms. It is aping and imitating someone else's manners, and reminds us of feeble-mindedness. There is a marked absence of determining and discriminating conscious mind, a weakness of will, which makes impossible the control of obsessions, impulses, and concentration of thoughts. Epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, and insanity are results of the urban mal-environment. Anatomical basis is the inherited instability, defective metabolism, and tendency to premature degeneration of the nerve cell. The actual exciting cause of the disease is supplied by toxins and stress incident to the modern life, the degenerative influence of the urban environment. Our problem is how to check this process.—Peter H. Bryce, *American Journal of Public Health*, September, 1918. J. H.

**The Unit Plan of Health Administration.**—The experiment is one branch of the work of a unique community organization called "The Social Unit" which has as its basic ideas the mobilization of all available social skill into groups to diagnose the needs of the community and formulate a program for these needs. This experiment is operating in an area of Cincinnati comprising a population of 15,000. The medical administration is under the control of thirty local physicians who elect from their group a council of nine with an executive responsible to them. This council with the council of nurses formulates a health program for the district consisting of specific services such as general nursing service, home care of sick patients, a pre-natal service for expectant mothers, a maternity service, a tuberculosis service, and an infant welfare and pre-school service. The noteworthy points of this administration are: (1) the democratic form of the organization. Programs for socializing medicine have, in the past, been formulated by social workers and reformers; in this community they are planned and carried out by the physicians and nurses with the approval of the occupational and citizens' councils; (2) the intensiveness with which detail of the program can be carried out. Through the block workers every person can be approached; (3) the educative effect on the medical profession; (4) the greater responsibility in the nursing service; (5) the possibility of extending the unit organization throughout the city until it covers the total population supplying an effective mechanism for the administration of health work of the city.—Dorothy Thompson, *The National Municipal Review*, November, 1918. C. N.

**Wages and the Cost of Living.**—Including the ever-increasing cost of food, fuel, clothes, rentals, amusements, and sundries under the general term "cost of living," labor has conducted 3,000 war-time strikes and on July 20 had in process over 350 strikes in important machine shops in New Jersey alone; all this time labor leaders have sturdily maintained the patriotism of labor despite the fact that in Bridgeport, Connecticut, the 61.4 per cent increase in cost of living for the past three years is offset with an 81 per cent wage increase, that the State of New York's Bureau of Statistics finds there has not been a month since June, 1914, in the State of New York when the increase in wages did not exceed the increase in the cost of living, that in Chicago a 66 per cent increase in living cost—which is the average for the country—has been met by a 109 per cent wage increase in the great meat-packing industry. Adding the statement of Dr. Sprague of Harvard that "the laboring class is better off in a financial way now than a year ago, while the middle class or those receiving salaries are worse off than a year ago by reason of salaries not having been increased by leaps, as has been the case with wages," with the declarations of the Labor War Board that "in fixing wages, hours, and conditions of labor, regard should always be had to the labor standards," also, "there should be no strikes or lockouts during the war," to the telegram of President Wilson that "the war can be lost in America as well as on the

fields of France, and ill-considered or unjustified interruptions of the essential labor of the country may make it impossible to win it" places labor in a position requiring vindication.—L. A. Brown, *Forum*, September, 1918. C. W. C.

**The Housing Question: with Special Reference to the Country.**—The proper housing of many farms in several counties of England is of vital importance. At conferences plans are exhibited on the screen and recommendations which accompany them embody most of the mistakes which would paralyze any scheme of housing whatever. Among the points the neglect or miscalculation of which would be disastrous are: (1) many of the plans have been based on the idea of one common room for the meals of a pair of cottages or even four cottages. The meal time in the cottage is the meeting time of the family. It loses all its force if the meal is to be taken with one or three other entire families; (2) the plans provide a common washhouse and the like for groups of cottages as an economy of space and saving of cost; (3) the family bath or tub is sunk in front of the kitchen fire to be covered with floor-boards when not in use; (4) architects omit parlor or sitting-room, saying that cottagers have their meals in the kitchen and that any other sitting-room is a senseless worship of respectability; (5) every cottage should have a reasonable space of garden ground; (6) the cottage should be attractive; (7) the standardization of cottages is unattainable or should not be attained because price cannot be standardized. Whatever we do, let us have homes for our people whose memory will go pleasantly along with them through life.—Gerald S. Davies, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, November, 1918. C. N.

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## THE CHURCH AND CLASS CONFLICTS

### AN OPEN LETTER TO THE LAYMEN'S COMMITTEE ON INTER- CHURCH SURVEY

On January 18, 1919, it was privately stated in New York that the latest phase of the so-called "Laymen's Movement" was an agreement reached that morning to concentrate the resources of the organization upon an "Inter-Church Survey." Imagination at once suggested that "the business man's point of view" will doubtless penetrate into phases of contemporary life in a way which will alter the relations of light and shadow in the usual religious surveys of the world. For some time the present writer had been asking himself what modifications he would make in the direction of religious effort if it were within his power to determine the policies of American churches for the next generation. He had been jotting down a record of his reflections in attempting to frame an answer to that question. The result is not an academic man's discussion of merely abstract theory. It is a faithful reflection of an academic man's attempt to get his bearings within present obscurities which are not academic. In the writer's judgment, the most serious question which religious men can ask today is, What may and should religion mean to the world in the immediate future? The memoranda which follow, in the form of an open letter, are faithful transcripts from the writer's notes while he was trying to clarify his own judgment, first, about the most Christian course that can be advised in general, and, second, with respect to that particular factor of the religious problem which, if the past is an index of probabilities, is least likely to receive adequate attention from organized Christianity. The contents of the letter will sufficiently indicate the writer's further conviction that the faulty sense of proportion thus in evidence in the history of Christianity

accounts in large measure for the margin between what religion actually does count for, and what by essential fitness it should count for, in the present generation.

GENTLEMEN:

It makes no difference what our private opinions are about class conflicts. It would be incautious to doubt that the world is to have more of them before it has fewer, and that the United States will be no exception to this rule.

It makes no difference what our private opinions are about Bolshevism. Decent prudence dictates that each country in the world should be prepared to cope with it. In every western country there are certain symptoms of and certain materials for the same outbreak of one class against all others.

There are men of wide acquaintance throughout the world, men who think themselves competent to compare conditions elsewhere with those in the United States, who declare that Americans are living upon a slumbering volcano; that not merely something distantly like Bolshevism, but Bolshevism itself, with all its extravagance of theory, with all its intolerance, with all its brutal ruthlessness, is to run its course in this country not less than in each country of Europe. These men declare that we are not to have the privilege of learning how wide are the differences between social classes today by assisting as mere spectators at a tragedy staged in Russia; on the contrary they assert that, along with Western Europe, North America must pass through a bloody convulsion before civilization can make its final reckoning with this latest type of assault upon its ideals and its achievements.

For the purposes of this letter it is not necessary to become prophetic, one way or the other, about this particular prognosis. It would amount to dilatory tactics if we should allow ourselves, without more facts than are now available, to be drawn into a discussion of the probability of this forecast. It would retard more than it would advance my main purpose if I should digress into an examination of the likenesses and unlikenesses between Bolshevism and those types of class protest which have been recognized factors in our American situation for more than a generation. Certain things may be assumed as matters of common knowledge, and they justify

appeal to certain considerations which the facts urge with extraordinary force.

In the first place, it is notorious that all over the world, in proportion as industry has passed from the type which we may call one-man enterprise to the type which may be called mass enterprise, class distinctions have come into the open between those who have nothing but their current earnings and those who control in their own legal right land or capital, or both. In the United States few people began to be aware of this particular class cleavage until after the Civil War. Since that time it has grown more and more real and evident, yet we Americans are still trying to ignore its existence. One of our American peculiarities is our illusion that the word "democracy" in our talk guarantees democracy in our lives.

Everyone who has given fairly mature thought to the facts knows, further, that the class distinctions which the words "labor" and "capital" draw are not precise. There is a no-man's-land between members of the two classes. In this zone are people who in the main fall under the one description, while their decisive interests group them with the class indicated by the other description. Thus, on the one hand, the interests and the sympathies of certain small proprietors carry them for practical purposes into the class known in Europe as the proletariat, while many men of the professional and employee types, who would often have difficulty in putting up collateral enough to get a small loan at a bank, are committed by their bread-and-butter interests to solidarity with the capitalist class.

It is common knowledge, too, among people who pry into these things, that this latter fact has been an efficient stabilizer of our social conditions. The people in this intermediate zone have actually served as effective social shock absorbers. Because of them the differences which definitions make out between the capitalist and the non-capitalist groups have been less absolute in practice.

It is well known, again, among both theoretical and practical students of the subject, that from the beginning of actual stratification between the capitalist and the non-capitalist types, and

especially in times of outbreking conflict between them, many men have stoutly contended that the reasons for conflict between these classes are more imaginary than real. They have maintained that the interests of capitalists and non-capitalists, of employers and employees, are essentially identical. Up to the present time there has been much less exchange of opinion between the capitalistic and the non-capitalistic interests on this fundamental issue in the United States than there has been in Europe, especially in England. Such discussion as has been carried on here about the precise underlying principle has been chiefly within academic circles, while the actual collisions between the two interests have been mostly sheer trials of endurance between certain capitalists on the one hand and certain non-capitalists on the other. This has been the gist of the case both in direct struggles between employers and employees and in certain political struggles in which the issues were almost as sharply drawn between capitalists and non-capitalists.

Least doubtful among these things which may be taken for granted is that, for better or for worse, the war has changed all this. Nobody needs to be convinced that we do not live in the same world which we lived in before the war. A short time ago a professor of botany was asked how much botanists could tell about the immediate future of such a formal garden as the one at Versailles, or those in many of our public parks and private estates in America, if it were demolished as thoroughly as the war areas had been on the Western Front. How much could be told about the first growth that would spring up on that war-plowed ground? His prompt answer was: "Not very much, but we could set down one thing as certain, viz., that whatever grew at first would be something very different from what was growing before." Every civilization is a formal garden. Our American civilization is a formal garden. It is not a state of nature. It is not virgin soil. It is not first-growth. From the time the first charter was granted for a colony on these strange shores, from the time of the Articles of Confederation under which the colonies banded together to resist George III, from the time that the successful colonies reluctantly consented to adopt a constitution as the only alternative with anarchy and loss of the independence that they had gained, from the time of our first adop-



tion of the Washingtonian creed of avoidance of entangling alliances, from the time of committing ourselves to the dubious and ambiguous but all the more insistent Monroe Doctrine of "hands off" in South America, down to our latest constitutional amendment and federal or state statute, together with all the private adjustments we have made under this public and private law, Americans have been laying out and cultivating a vast formal garden—our own special type of society—with its own products. Some of these are more or less peculiar to our own soil and climate; others are exotics which in a few cases flourish as though they were natives; but all together they form a system of traditions and conventions which, like all conventions and traditions, are secure only so long as the circumstances which produced them and favored them remain.

Suddenly the circumstances which produced our American civilization and favored it are revolutionized. Our formal garden has been turned into a war area. Our national isolation has become involuntary and unavoidable world-community. Our internal arrangements which enabled us to maintain a higher degree of national complacency than any other western nation have become a collection of unstable and more or less temporary and provisional makeshifts. We do not know which of these arrangements will become parts of our next formal garden, which will be abandoned, and which will merge into variations which do not yet appear. For war purposes we are now in grim practice of programs which were regarded as impossible only two years ago. We have acted upon a theory of the relation of the government to the citizen which reverses presumptions and doctrines that came over in the Mayflower and had dominated our imagination, in spite of much contrary practice, until 1917. For war purposes we changed ourselves in a few weeks from the most self-determining nation in the world to a people yielding up control to government in ways which an unquestionable majority would have vetoed as impossibly socialistic up to the beginning of the war. Most of us, our present Chief Magistrate apparently among the number, supposed we still held with Thomas Jefferson, "that government is best which governs least"; that the only proper business of government is to be a big policeman, preserving order while individuals make their own fortunes in a free

field with no favor. We have temporarily out-Germaned the Germans in some particulars in allowing our government for the time being to take the place of an earthly Providence. We have taken orders from the government of a sort which none but a few dreamers supposed anyone now living would ever see the American people permitting their government to issue. We have tolerated the government in our sugar bowls and flour barrels, and from those household privacies out to our industries, our transportation, our news supplies, our diplomacy, our amusements, and in some cases our religious worship. No wise man supposes that in all its details this change is here to stay. Still less can any wise man suppose that this scrambling of our national ideas and practices can be completely unscrambled. We realize that our Civil War was "the birth of a nation" in more senses than one, yet the issues between the Union and the Confederate states were superficial compared with the radical conflict between autocracy and democracy into which the German war developed. Even such a petty affair as the Cuban War made great changes in our national outlook and temper. It would be fatuous to suppose that we can emerge from the shock of this latest experience unaffected by the physical and mental and moral disruptions which the shock has produced. Especially disturbing is the fact just referred to, that in order to defend ourselves against autocracy we have found ourselves obliged to adopt some of the methods of autocracy. This fact in itself is quite likely to return to trouble us. Its threatenings may turn out to be among the gravest factors in the coming reconstruction.

I repeat that this letter does not undertake to prove that class conflicts in general, particularly conflicts between capital and labor in the ordinary meaning of that phrase, are to be intensified as a result of the war, or that they are to confront the churches with new situations. It undertakes rather to set forth the obvious probabilities, which are already commonplace among people who have watched the outward events of the last four years, and to indicate the attitude of mind in which it is advisable to study the factors which must inevitably remodel, more or less, our social life in general and therewith our church life.

The matter before us at this point is the outlook in the special direction of economic class conflicts. What signs are in sight about changes in their character or in their methods? What demands are they likely to make on the churches, whether old demands, recognized or unrecognized by the churches, or demands which are new in kind or degree? In other words, can we see that the temper of either capitalists or laborers, or both, toward class conflicts, whether they have been on the other side or have remained at home during the war, is in any way changed as a result of the war, and if so what can we see in the changes that puts up a new set of problems, or new forms of old problems, to the churches?

It is obvious, in the first place, that these questions cannot be answered finally in advance of an adequate survey. I am now proposing questions, not answering them, and I am trying to look forward as far as possible toward the kinds of inquiry that will be of most avail.

Without going back for a review or analysis of economic class conflicts up to date in the United States, and without entering upon a review or analysis of previous attitudes of the churches toward those conflicts, whether in their latent or in their overt forms, but assuming that in a general way the facts of both sorts are familiar, I venture to schedule certain signs of the times which indicate movements that must be watched.

1. What may be called normal war activities have a tendency, among other things, to stimulate the economic interests which conflict. In particular:

2. "War profits" on the one hand and emergency rates of wages on the other tend to set standards of both profits and wages which the respective interests naturally want to maintain. In so far as previous habits are in operation, there will be strong temptation for each side to try to maintain its standard at the expense of the other. This of course means friction at the very least.

3. The *abnormal* participation of government in economic management in war time tends to unsettle the minds of each economic class about the permanent relation of government to its peculiar interests. As a single illustration, we have seen the one policy of our government toward the wheat growers and the opposite policy

toward the cotton growers; that is, we have seen the government making and unmaking prices. With the many object-lessons of this sort which have directly affected so many different industries, it is again plain human nature to figure on further use of governmental power for class benefit. People who have had direct governmental assistance in strengthening their own economic situation would be more than human if they did not desire to have that assistance continued. On the other hand, people who have seen others enjoy that artificial benefit while they have had no similar direct benefit would be more than human if they did not tend both toward jealousy against these favored interests and toward desire for similar governmental support for themselves; that is to say, an inevitable by-product of necessary governmental interference with business is a large increase of unrest among those who feel themselves discriminated against and a large increase of desire on the part of those who have been favored by government to hold fast what they have got and catch what they can. Of course these two tendencies are not likely to reach anything like stable equilibrium without much intermediate give and take. The action and reaction between the groups affected in opposite ways may leave a margin of good or evil in the long run. We are immediately concerned with the prospect that in the near future they are more likely to disturb than to pacify.

In other words, the economic interest in this connection becomes political. The temptation is for each one that wants high commodity prices and low wages to trade with the political party that will bid highest in those terms, and for each one who is interested in low commodity prices and high wages to do the same. In both cases there is danger of turning parties, and the administration that is the government for the time being, into tools of conflicting class interests and, by operation of a vicious circle, into mischief-makers between economic classes.

4. The *normal* operations of government in times of war tend, again, to induce habits of mind in everyone concerned which are directly contrary to traditional Americanism. This factor alone is sufficient to create certain difficult problems of readaptation. It is in no proper sense an argument against the kind of war we have

been waging. It is one of the unavoidable incidents of the most righteous and wisely conducted war. Modern nations are never so paternalistic as when they are waging war. They have to be, in order to control efficient armies and navies. In war the government feeds, clothes, shelters, amuses, schools, nurses, insures, its fighting forces. Thus in countless ways the government is guardian as well as commander. Even in our own armies there have probably been thousands of men who never for a single month in their previous lives had three such regular and ample meals a day as they had every day while in the service. Not only these men but others whose ideas would be less changed by that particular item have become accustomed to seeing the government do big things, both for them and with them. Instead of being little more than a mere name to most of them, the government has suddenly loomed up as something very like a miracle-worker. It has created cities for them to live in while they were getting their training. It has commandeered the resources of the most highly developed science and technology to make those cities convenient and commodious. It has built and equipped other cities to produce munitions of war and means of getting them and the forces to use them transported to the fighting zone. Considering the belligerent nations as a whole, this war has been a more stupendous demonstration of the possibilities of national and even international team work than the most extravagantly imaginative socialist had ever supposed possible in any near future. Whether people believe in what their governments have done or not, the bulk of these things, the momentum of them, their resistlessness in pushing other things aside, and in having their own way, often in spite of much that we have supposed to be physical, and mental, and economic, and moral law and gospel, must have put a new look on the world for millions of men. The idea is bound to lodge itself in millions of minds, "We can do anything we please in this world if we only get together. If we can perform such wonders in destruction, what's the matter with equal wonders in construction." We can see that this idea is already reinforcing the worst forms of the German creed that might makes right as well as the belief which has demolished Kaiserism, that right makes might. More than this, people who are not squeamish about the

rights and wrongs of things, provided they want them, are already stealing marches upon the people who want, when they build, to build righteously. For the last hundred years, and notoriously for the last generation, in every industrial country the belief has rapidly gained recruits that government is a conspiracy to make the strong stronger and the weak weaker. There were never in the world as many people as there are today who make it their first business in life to spread some version of this doctrine. In line with the first paragraph of this letter, whatever we think about these doctrines and the propagandists of them, there has been a sort of granulation of old mental habits and a setting up of new mental attitudes in the course of the war which make more minds receptive of these ideas than ever before. In the United States no less than in the rest of the world more men than ever before are going to feel free to want what they want; more men are going to be persuadable that if they don't get what they want it is the government's fault; and more men are going to be in a state of mind to follow leaders who say, "Come on! Be the government, and grab what you want!"

Of course, this again works both ways. It affects the classes interested primarily in things as they are as well as the classes interested primarily in things as they are not. I repeat that I am not now dealing with prophecies of ultimate outcomes. I am trying to point out some of the most obvious visible evidences that, at the very least, we must make up our minds that in the United States in the near future there are to be class frictions, class conflicts, different somewhat both in kind and in degree from those with which we have been acquainted hitherto.

5. Never since the founding of the *International*, in 1864, have there been such facilities as there are now for the transmission of class impulses from one country to all other countries. This fact becomes ominous when we consider.

6. In this country, as was observed above, conflicts between economic classes have mostly taken the form of trials of physical strength between employers and employees. In a very slight degree have they ever been conflicts of essential principles. They settled merely whether at the given time and place the owners could beat the help or the reverse. Whichever way the specific struggle

turned out, it decided little or nothing about the underlying question whether there is anything in principle, anything in the permanent legal relations between capital and labor, which ought to be put under investigation. As a broad general proposition, neither capitalists nor laborers in this country have shown much interest in questions of that depth. The case is very different in Europe. The Romish apostolic succession is hardly better made out than the almost unbroken line of theorists who from the earliest record until now have attacked the property institutions of their time. From the Hebrew prophets and the Greek philosophers down to the innumerable species of anticapitalists today in the different European countries, scarcely a generation has failed to furnish its connecting link in the chain. Of Europe in general it may be said that, even before the war, proletarian organizations occupied a point of view from which our American type of labor struggle appeared piffling. They still used force to compel decisions about details, but this method was pretty generally understood to be merely incidental to their main program. Their controlling purpose, even that of the more temperate British leaders of the Arthur Henderson type, has for a long time been reconstruction of property institutions in general. Their aims have varied from literal communism, which is the present Bolshevik ideal, to proposals not very different from those of the American Progressive party in 1912. Each group of European anticapitalists has worked out a theory of its own in impeachment of the laws of property on grounds of what they regard as fundamental principles. The most dangerous single factor in each European country today is the organized campaign to put capitalists out of existence and, to use one of the phrases which have become commonplace among these agitators, "to socialize capital." The idea is that all capital is to become public property and each citizen is to be a pro-rata capitalist; no individual is to be any more of a capitalist than every other individual. Moreover the idea is spreading through Europe, and coming across the seas, that it is right to realize this ideal by any kind and degree of violence necessary to gain the end.

Of course this, usually minus the violence, is the main plank of all the socialist platforms which have been familiar for more than

half a century. The point which I am emphasizing here and now is that hitherto this theory has cut comparatively little figure in the United States. There have been a few noisy and mischievous agitators of the extreme type, but they have scarcely had a hearing within the great body of American laborers. When employees have fought employers they have usually fought for specific tangible things, not for intangible theories. The Federation of Labor most notably has fought socialists as regularly and quite as bitterly as it has fought capitalists. It would be as frivolous unpreparedness as we suffered from in the war if either business or politics or religion failed to read the signs that this detachment of American wage-earners from European temper toward capital is already a thing of the past. The revolutionary anticapitalistic doctrines are likely in a short time to be as familiar in every trade-union local in this country as they have become in Europe.

The words "socialism" and "socialist," as the name of a creed, or of a party, have become so discredited during the war that they are now abandoned by some of the best-known leaders of that movement, and not improbably the terms will very soon pass out of use in this country. The thing for which these words have stood is likely to become very much more influential than it has ever been before in the United States, and it is to be feared that the animus of it with which we are next to become acquainted will be much more disturbing than any of its previous manifestations, except in isolated instances.

Nothing in this letter is strictly to be interpreted as the writer's surrender to a scare, or as his willing or unwilling promotion of needless anxiety. No one, however, can have followed, even at a distance, the development of proletarian doctrine during the latest fifteen years, and especially since the Russian revolution, without discovering incomparably more evidence that Americans are on the eve of the most serious economic class struggles we have ever known—unless we put our Civil War in that class—than was visible in the first half of 1914 that men then living would ever be involved in a European war. And these indications do not all come by any means from within the sections of our population that correspond with the proletariat in Europe. There are shortsighted managers



of massed capital whose actions could hardly tend more directly than they do to the provocation of anarchy if they publicly announced that as their purpose.

The consideration which I am now urging is not that any of the things referred to in the last paragraph, or any of the other things which are roots of bitterness between capital and labor, are recent developments. The point is rather that new influences are now gaining effect in this country in ways which cannot fail to give these long-discussed things new meaning and new driving force in American minds. We say facts are stubborn things, and we know that facts are also provocative things, when seen in certain lights. The sinking of the *Titanic* and of the *Lusitania* were in themselves equal horrors. The one was a challenge to England and America to thresh out again all their standard theories of marine architecture. The other was a call to war, and to fiercer war. A fact standing by itself may be eloquent, say the wreck either of a railroad train or of a railroad corporation. A fact with a theory attached may be incendiary, say either of these wrecks interpreted by the public as the result of criminal intent. A workman who wants better pay, or shorter hours, or a different kind of boss, or a union bound to get these things for its members may be a troublesome factor to deal with, but either is a trivial affair compared with a working population filled with the idea that no one but the workers themselves has any right to standardize the conditions of labor or the scale of wages.

As a rough general proposition, American labor hitherto, whether unionized or non-unionized, has not thought beyond specific things that it wants and ways and means of getting them. As an equally rough general proposition, American capital hitherto, whether benevolent or predatory, has not thought on problems here in mind beyond ways and means of holding all the power it has, and yielding nothing to labor beyond certain hand-outs which do not weaken property rights. The stage of industrial society that has arrived in Europe and may date its arrival in this country with the return of Mr. Gompers from his latest conferences with foreign labor leaders is one in which labor will be familiar with a theory that property itself is usurpation and that the world belongs to the

manual workers. Everyone who has observed the psychology of crowds knows that in periods of social unrest, in times when older arrangements are dissolving and substitutes are not yet installed, the mental operations of the masses most affected resemble the tendency in the circulation of money known as "Gresham's Law," viz., the baser currency drives out the better. The moment that the ideas which had previously held society together lose that controlling power, competing ideas take possession of the unsettled minds, and these ideas do not stop with correcting the errors of the old ones. They not only drive out the oldest ideas, and newer ones which may be better, but they do not stop there. Before equilibrium is restored the ideas in circulation and control may have flown to the opposite extreme of futility and perhaps fatality. That is what took place in the French Revolution. The old régime was first criticized in a mildly academic way. It was then jostled in a rude, ungentlemanly way. It was then garroted and beheaded in a frenzied, barbarian way. The same inverted progress from worse to worst is now visible in Russia, where the Bolshevik Communist party, as Lenine now calls it, proposes to redeem Russia and then the rest of the world by the "dictatorship of the proletariat." This means the suppression by violence of everyone who resists the exclusive rule of those who work with their hands. It means a régime in which it shall be law that no one shall have more property or income than the average workman has. It means a régime in which no one shall have any more influence upon any business, whether economic or political, than the average workman has. It means a régime in which, while it is overcoming the resistance of the old régime, anyone who has less has license to take, if he can, from him who has more, and not merely to get all the enjoyment there is in the goods thus acquired, but to pronounce a benediction upon himself as a servant of righteousness besides.

I am not concerned at this point with the ethics of this vision nor with its feasibility. I am concerned now solely with its seductiveness. It would be a superdevil who could invent an idea more likely to craze a proletarian, if he begins to ponder about himself as a proletarian. Suppose an American citizen faces the fact that he has no legal right to anything but today's wages. Suppose he

falls to brooding over the fact that he holds his job only so long as another man consents to let him hold it, and if that consent is withdrawn, and no other man renews it, his only claim left is to choose between starvation, suicide, and the poorhouse. Then suppose the most masterful men of his kind that he knows stand up in crowds of proletarians and proclaim, "It's a trick! It's a fraud! It's a lie! The world belongs to us and they've stolen it from us. Come on! Let's go and take it back!" No one capable of imagining himself in that man's place can offer an explanation that can satisfy even himself why Bolsheviki have not come sooner and everywhere and in larger numbers. It would be a peculiarly constituted man who could contemplate the number of men in this country in the situation described and could persist in the belief that Bolshevism is no concern of ours.

A man whose whole training has been in handling *things*, and who tries to handle an idea, thereupon converts himself into an extra-hazardous risk. The chances are, not that he will master it, but that it will master him. The chances are that its mastery over him will be not the guiding, cautioning, proportioning regulation and stimulation of the truth in the idea, but that it will be some unbalancing, exaggerating, misdirecting excitement from something very likely not properly in the idea at all, something which may be forced into or forced upon the idea if imagination is allowed its way. Mother-Eddyism and Mother-Eddyists are typical cases. The man controlled by a bizarre version of an idea, or by forced meanings of an idea, is like Victor Hugo's gun that had jumped its moorings on deck in a gale—useless for his proper work and dangerous to all around. All this is unfortunately in direct ratio with the amount of truth contained in the perverted and perverting idea.

At risk of suspicion that I am myself already a pervert of Bolshevism, I must point out that this doctrine, which has become so fantastic and intolerable, starts from a premise which increasing numbers of men who abhor Bolshevism are learning to regard as unimpeachable, namely, that *capital, as it is legally established in modern industrial countries, is bound to answer to the charge of having acquired legal rights which public policy cannot permanently concede.* For the present I may let this proposition stand as the

precipe, so to speak, without trying to represent any complainant with a bill of particulars.

Let it be repeated that the writer of this letter does not present it as *proof* of anything. It has simply the character of an opinion. The degree of sobriety which readers will credit to the author of the opinion is its prime credential. Its further sanction must be derived from the consensus of readers that the significance which the letter attributes to notorious facts accords with their best judgment. If then I have demonstrated nothing further than a certain agreement in reading those signs of the times which have been referred to above, I have at least established a credible working hypothesis. Apparently the attempt to reconstruct property so that it will more adequately represent present conceptions of justice is to have large scope in the near future. Herewith we arrive at the setting for the appeal which I am about to make; the judgment, namely, that *a church which has no positive attitude, no definite policy toward the group of problems thus indicated, can scarcely hope to impress men whose lives pivot upon these problems as dealing with anything very close to reality.*

Not long ago the writer, with another outsider, was present at a meeting of about twenty labor leaders in one of our large cities. A reference was made to the churches, and one of the labor men exclaimed, "There ain't a minister in this town except ——, that cares a damn about the workingman!" and a general "that's so!" ran around the table. Anyone who knew the ministers of that town would have expressed almost the contradictory estimate, for not a minister in that town, with the possible exception of A, B, or C, would not be a Golden Rule type of friend to the workingman if he only knew how and if he had the opportunity. The facts are that only here and there a minister knows how, and only those ministers whose charges are in workingmen's districts have favorable conditions for learning how. Under the circumstances of the particular town in which the incident occurred there is very little contact between labor leaders and the Protestant ministers, so that their opinion was not surprising. It will be the rule among workingmen until the gap between them and the churches, at least so far as exchange of accurate information goes, can be closed.

There may be more plausibility than conclusiveness in the hypothesis which has interested Old Testament scholars for several years, that the thread which leads straightest through the tangle of the history of Israel is the long struggle between the type of justice which satisfied the Baal worshipers of the towns and that type of justice which appealed to the Jahwe worshipers of the open country. However that may have been, it is common knowledge among people who understand their Bibles, and it is equally evident to students of Christian history from the close of the Canon up till now, that obligation to know justice and to do justice has been a traditional part of the profession of Jewish and Christian religions. The great majority of American Christians, whether Catholic or Protestant, would regard it as utterly unwarranted defamation of character if anyone should question the controlling purpose of their respective groups to stand for justice, at all costs, both when recognized justice is threatened and when circumstances require that undiscovered justice should be ascertained. Whatever may be the incidents of the next stage of relations between economic classes, there is little room for doubt that the issues will be presented by the opposing interests more or less clearly in terms of "justice." In so far as the churches come into notice in connection with these issues, each side will demand that the churches throw their weight on the side of "justice" as the respective sides understand "justice." On such a general issue as this, the churches will be in a deplorable plight if they are unable to speak, not only positively and emphatically, but with substantial unanimity. It would be an exhibit of pitiful incompetence if, in this critical period, bodies of the ability and resources of the Protestant churches of our northern states should default their special responsibility for interpreting Christian justice in the circumstances peculiar to the times. For reasons, however, which it is unnecessary to recite it is our duty to recognize the fact that our churches are not merely in a state of unpreparedness to formulate convincing rules of justice applicable to present and coming conditions, but this state of unpreparedness is likely often to make well-meant attempts by individuals to declare justice in the name of religion mischievous in confusing already entangled situations. Next to fundamentally upright

purpose the most essential prerequisite to judicial conclusions is *adequate information*. Neither prerequisite can be sufficient without the other and neither can assure the other. As members of the churches we believe that their purpose is dependably Christian. As members of the churches we must confess, on the other hand, that for direct and effective influence upon standards of economic justice they are not only impotently uninformed, but the information and supposed information within their control is of such miscellaneous character as to relevance, as to accuracy, as to completeness, and as to the precise circumstances to which the information is primarily related that judgments based upon such information can seldom be conclusive. Judgments ventured, indeed, in the name of religion, on the basis of such information, have not infrequently fomented more trouble than they removed. In this respect the situation of the churches with reference to economic class conflicts is comparable with the situation of the American public in general at the present moment (January 18) with reference to the questions before the Peace Congress. We are dependent for our information almost exclusively upon the newspaper correspondents. What shall we think about such cardinal problems as a "league of nations," "freedom of the seas," terms of reparation, territorial readjustments? Many of us decided long ago that it would be a waste of time for us to accept the newspaper invitations to keep excited over these problems, for the simple reason that, temporarily at least, we are in a state of worse than ignorance as to what the problems actually involve in the minds of the men who will put them in the next shape for world acceptance or rejection. We see that the correspondents are giving us chiefly their guesses about more or less crucial factors in the case, together with much more that is of doubtful importance. These guesses are incoherent and irreconcilable, and available for scarcely anything more than satisfaction of our craving for fiction. It is to be feared that everyone who is using these reports as a basis for political agitation is doing the public more injury than service.

It is within the power of our churches to command the information necessary to give religion its appropriate influence upon the issues we are discussing. All that I have said converges then upon

the following recommendation: *That the Laymen's Committee on Inter-Church Survey urge as many churches as are willing to co-operate (1) to organize and support a permanent commission for investigation into, and report upon, near and remote causes and details of any economic class conflicts which may develop in this country; (2) that the commission be instructed to study such conflicts on the ground, not as attempted arbitrators, but as accredited representatives of associated churches, with the aim of, so far as possible, exhausting all the material facts in the given case, especially those which have any appreciable bearing upon principles of justice; (3) that the associated churches be urged to make provision for the widest circulation of the reports of this committee among the leaders of thought, both ministers and laymen, in their respective bodies; (4) that the commission be charged also with the duty of reporting, from time to time (primarily with reference to their accuracy, their fairness to all the interests concerned, and the competence of their authors to pass the kinds of judgment involved) upon books, pamphlets, and magazine articles which purport to represent Christian principles at issue in economic conflicts; (5) that the commission be instructed to avoid duplication of work already in progress by organizations whose results are of such a character that they may be appropriated by the commission; (6) that the churches associated in this enterprise, and all others that approve of it, be urged to use their influence to secure for the publications of the commission, and the other publications which they recommend, all the attention which they may be found to deserve as materials for the construction of standards of justice which shall apply Christian principles to the special conflicts of ideas about justice which develop under our present form of industrial organization.*

The considerations which follow are virtually footnotes to the foregoing recommendation. They have been set down in the order in which they suggested themselves.

1. The sort of commission contemplated is one that would command the respect of any congressional committee, or court of justice, or board of directors, or trade-union council. It should be made up of men and women who, in the first place, have had the sort of experience which has fitted them for the job, and, secondly, are of a character which cannot be bribed, wheedled, or

frightened into findings not in the evidence, to please either party.

2. The contracts with the members of the commission should cover a term of years, so that they may be as independent as possible of all uncertainty about tenure.

3. The salaries and appropriations for expenses should be on the scale necessary to secure the contemplated grade of service, and to provide the facilities to give it the largest range of usefulness.

4. As a mere matter of tactics, such a commission would almost ideally serve as what promoters call "a talking proposition." Establish such a commission, composed of persons whose intelligence, competence, and integrity could not be impeached; instruct it to go to the bottom, if there is a bottom, of the conflict situations that arise; publish their findings as frankly as Mr. Hughes's reports on the insurance situation were published; let it be known that the work is the work of the associated churches, and that it represents their determination to do everything in their power in the service of social justice—do this, and it will be the most silencing answer that ever has been given to either of the many variations of the charge that the church is owned by the rich and does the rich man's dirty work.

5. The recommendation will of course meet instant opposition on the ground that numerous denominations already have agencies which are faithfully endeavoring to discover and circulate knowledge on these subjects as a part of denominational education, not only intellectual and religious, but social. The recommendation does not ignore nor undervalue the agencies referred to. They are doing highly important work, but the nature of their limitations is such that the men who are carrying the heaviest burdens of this work will doubtless be most prompt to see that, however acceptably they may function within their sphere, within their respective denominations, or within a group of co-operating denominations, they are not so constituted as to discharge the principal functions which the recommendation contemplates.

6. The commission recommended would cover all the ground, in the way of taking and sifting evidence, on which the responsible master in chancery bases his advice to the court. The churches



would then no longer be, any more than the judge is, after receiving the findings of the master in chancery, at the mercy of hearsay, of newspaper gossip, of *ex parte* testimonies or representations. The churches would be like the judge after the case had been properly made up—in a position to render the most judicial decision possible under the circumstances.

7. The findings of the commission on each important matter which it investigated would be first-page news for every daily paper in the country, just as the summaries of the Pittsburgh Survey were. The papers that did not publish these findings would thereby automatically condemn themselves as either incompetent or uncandid.

8. The habit which would soon be formed of depending upon the church commission for the fairest treatment of class conflicts would do more than any other influence in sight to narrow the no-man's-land between the "unchurched" and the churches.

9. The existence of a common source of information which could be trusted would tend to produce homogeneous and therewith influential public opinion within the churches, in place of cross-currents of irresponsibly advised church opinion which largely neutralize one another and consequently limit the influence of religion.

10. More fundamental than any of the foregoing considerations is the assumption of the recommendation that the churches want to find ways of making religion a continuous and pervasive force in men's lives, not merely the occupant of a secluded section of their experience. If the churches really mean to "get into the game," this is one of the big openings.

Fraternally submitted,

ALBION W. SMALL

## ASSOCIATION

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EDWARD A. ROSS  
University of Wisconsin

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### HUMAN NATURE IN ISOLATION

Before the days of the scientific study of human nature, romancers often imagined what a man would be like who had grown up without human association. In every case they portrayed a being with our faculties and reactions, although quite without culture. We know now that a child with only animals for nurses and companions would never develop the distinctively human traits. Its mentality would be arrested on a plane but little above that of an imbecile. The observations upon human beings of "wild" upbringing who at various times have been brought among civilized people show them to be characterized by a vegetative type of existence, automatic reactions, unconsciousness of self, inability to learn the use of language, absence of social emotions, and indifference to human companionship. Self-consciousness, the rise of personality, and the ordinary capacity for thought and emotion are impossible without the give and take of life in society.

About a century ago, from observing the mutual contamination of prison inmates, some were led to advocate the solitary confinement of prisoners, at least for the first part of their term of incarceration. It was argued that in the silence of his cell the offender would come to see his misconduct in a new light and would resolve to change his ways. But the results of the policy showed how little the penologists understood the social side of human nature. In 1821, by act of the legislature of New York, eighty convicts in the Auburn prison were put into solitary cells without labor. At the end of a year five were dead, one had killed himself, another was mad, and the rest were melancholy. The next year the experiment was abandoned. In 1842, in England, Pentonville prison began to confine the prisoner in solitude for the first eighteen months of his

sentence. For the next eight years the insanity rate among Pentonville prisoners was ten times as great as in other English prisons. Since solitude is most racking to the more developed personalities, it is not surprising that of the Fenian leaders locked up at Mountjoy from 1865 to 1867 nearly one-half went mad before their release and many others died soon afterward. After repeated experiments, in the course of which numerous prisoners went insane, the English prison authorities cut down the maximum period of solitary confinement first to nine months and later to six months.

Victims of long-enforced solitude generally become the prey of melancholia, delusions, and hallucinations. They cease to have emotions, shrink from the sight of others, and perhaps return voluntarily to their cell as to a grateful shelter. Hermits, too, exhibit a variety of forms of mental disintegration. The biographies of the anchorite saints record strange noises and mysterious voices which the devout of their time deemed supernatural, but which were really sense hallucinations in no wise different from those which visit today the isolated lighthouse keeper, or the lonely shepherd of the Sierras.

The struggles of the social self against death are pathetic. In an Italian prison Pellico gained new life when he could wave a handkerchief at a fellow-prisoner, and his spirits rose at the mere sight of a human being. In cellular confinement prisoners devise many ingenious signals to convey sympathy. In Russian prisons the "politicals" developed a clever code of taps on walls or pipes as a means of communicating. In their mad thirst for companionship the immured make pets of mice, rats, and birds, even spiders, ants, and flies. In lieu of anything better a flower or a struggling plant may furnish support to the starving social self. Incurable prisoners have been softened and transformed by having small animals to pet or even a flower box to tend.

One of the early "finds" of child-study was that not a few children have imaginary companions with names and clearly marked traits, with whom they talk, play, quarrel, and make up. Sometimes the isolated child projects a number of imaginary playmates with distinct personalities, who have varied experiences, develop life-histories, and live on with their creator into adult life. One

investigator brought to light fifty cases of children who have invented such companions. Akin to this is the practice of "talking to one's self" which grows up in hermits, trappers, prospectors, and other solitaries, and which seems due to the fact that the lonely soul finds a faint companionship in the sound of the voice just as the timid boy in the dark is heartened by hearing his own whistling.

Even the making of objects which other human beings might admire, enjoy, or use is a comfort to the solitary. Mr. Small says: "They go to work without squares, gravers, stamps, patterns, or models. Every scrap of glass or metal, every nail and pin, turns to account as a tool. Waste from the shop, bones from the kitchen, walnut, cocoanut, acorn shells, feathers, locks of hair, the bark of trees, pebbles, every kind of fragment, affords materials. Tin plates, the bowls of spoons, stone jugs, old bottles, dippers, bed posts, table tops, cell walls, and the bottoms of chairs serve for canvas and parchment."<sup>1</sup> The prisoner finds relief from his loneliness by tearing pictures out of books and newspapers and fastening them on his walls. If he has a latent artistic talent he lines his cell with drawings, which almost always represent human heads or figures. If he writes he is likely to produce autobiography, the most intimate of all literary forms. Thus, "Every trifle wrought in confinement; every color stain upon prison walls; every nonsense couplet; and every attempt at biography or philosophy, represents an effort of loneliness to people the waste of hours to which the physical presence of others is denied. It is an effort to multiply the spirits of one's own personality when all other avenues of intercourse are closed."<sup>2</sup>

#### GENIUS AND SOLITUDE

Still, terrible as is solitude, some souls prefer it to too much society. Various motives lead one to wish to be much by himself. Men of genius voluntarily turn recluse in order to create original works. In the words of Ruskin, "An artist should be fit for the best society and should keep out of it." Thoreau puts it: "The

<sup>1</sup> M. H. Small, "Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude," *Pedagogical Seminary*, VII, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

reason of isolation is not that we love to be alone, but that we love to soar; and when we soar the company grows thinner and thinner until there is none left." Even when they seek communion, geniuses are so fretted or bored by the chatter of commonplace persons that they prefer to be alone. In his *letters* Wagner confesses: "I always feel it to be a useless and utterly resultless proceeding to converse with anyone." "Nothing agrees with me like solitude." Schopenhauer thought that "Who does not love solitude loves not freedom." Wordsworth prizes

that inward eye  
Which is the bliss of solitude.

Zimmermann declares, "Who lives with wolves must join in their howls." Cicero writing to Atticus avers that, excepting the dear friend he is addressing, he loves nothing so well as solitude; while Thoreau thought one person to the square mile is enough and wrote, "I never found the companion who was so companionable as solitude." On the other hand Hume confesses, "I feel all my opinions loosen and fall of themselves when not supported by others," and George Sand cries, "I care but little that I am growing old but that I am growing old alone." De Senancour, author of "Obermann," renounces the world, yet wishes there might be at his end one friend to "receive his adieu to life." Cowper exclaims:

How sweet, how passing sweet is solitude.  
But grant me still a friend in my retreat  
Whom I may whisper, Solitude is sweet.

Gifted men who are far above or ahead of their time are likely to be so neglected, misunderstood, or hawked at that in despair they turn misanthrope and hold aloof from their kind. The biographies of genius are full of tragedies of expansive souls, yearning for communion and sympathy, yet finding their offerings ignored or rejected, so that they end eating out their hearts in their loneliness. The world never forgives their being different.

A great variety of conditions may lead to voluntary isolation. Of one hundred famous solitaries studied by Small<sup>1</sup>

eighteen suffered from physical weakness and horror of muscular effort; seven had a physical deformity or some sense defect; seventeen were of a pronounced

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

neurotic type; nine had hallucinations; eight were famed for visions, thirty were extremely subjective from childhood, three were reared in the cloister and six were bred in the midst of a solitude almost as intense, sixteen suffered from aboulia, referred to as "lack of will" or "lack of force for work." Too much luxury or profligate companions drove eight to the cloister; defeat of party made seven solitary; loss of friends and disappointment in love alienated fifteen, Religion led twelve into retirement; science and philosophy, eleven; several were solitary per force since they were either imprisoned or banished. Perhaps a dozen really suffered isolation from entertaining ideas too advanced for their age.

#### SOCIETY AND SOLITUDE

We must, in short, recognize the existence of two opposite types. The sociable man wants to join any crowd he happens to come upon. He is glad to be one of a great congregation, a procession, a regiment, enjoys moving in step or cheering in concert with a thousand others. If he possesses a weighty secret, it presses him to communicate it and if he curbs the impulse he falls mentally ill. The individualist, on the contrary, prefers the trackless wood to the beaten path, empty rooms to full ones, small congregations to large ones, wilderness to towns, fields to thoroughfares. Such was the American backwoods type who, when he could hear the sound of a neighbor's ax, reckoned "Folks are gittin' too crowded," and moved on.

What is it the sociable man craves? The mere sight of others? No, "a crowd is not company." Not the presence of others but reciprocity of feeling relieves the ache in the breast. That one is dear who seems to care about us. One of the worst forms of college hazing is the "silent treatment," feigning that the obnoxious mess-mate does not exist. To the friendless newcomer the loneliness of the great city is hardly less cruel than that of the far hill farm. Hosts of acquaintances or admirers cannot still the thirst of the heart like a single friend. The high-placed executive, commandant, or employer may live as lonely as a castaway on a coral reef. On the other hand no one loves a thousand as individuals. The man of wide benevolence simply loves an imaginary generalized human being. Only in this way can the missionary be said to *love* the race he labors among or a philanthropist take to heart the sufferings of a far people.

In sooth, our taste for society like that for salt is soon cloyed. Many find one good friend enough and few would get more satisfaction out of a hundred friends than out of a dozen. The man with many friendships runs the risk of cultivating them too little to reap a harvest. The value of companionship, like that of any necessary of life, falls rapidly as the supply increases. Backwoods and desert are hospitable chiefly because there the wayfarer has a scarcity value. In a strange land the traveler falls with joy upon the neck of the rare fellow-countryman; multiply such meetings and he will discriminate. In the wilderness the lone prospector's delight in coming upon another human being is, one might almost say, as the square of the number of days since he saw a countenance. In a crowd the country-bred man quickly assumes personal attitudes toward those about him, while the townsman in the press holds himself spiritually aloof. City congestion has bred in him the habit of regarding the ordinary fellow-man as a mere moving bulk to be avoided as one avoids a rolling stone.

#### THE STIMULUS FROM ASSOCIATION

Children never get so "wild" as when playing with others. The "only" child becomes at times leaden, cannot "think of anything to do," and begs to "go over to Jimmie's." When visiting children unexpectedly arrive, he becomes another being, laughs, shouts, jumps about, and shakes with eagerness as he excitedly exhibits his playthings and accomplishments. The writer or artist does his best alternating between fellowship and solitude. Too long alone his founts of inspiration run dry and his visions pale.

"'Tis hard," says Emerson,<sup>1</sup> "to mesmerize ourselves, to whip our own top; but through sympathy we are capable of energy and endurance. Concert fires people to a certain fury of performance they can rarely reach alone."

The maxim of the sage now rests on an experimental basis. According to Burnham,<sup>2</sup> Dr. Mayer of Wurzburg studied

<sup>1</sup> *Society and Solitude*.

<sup>2</sup> "The Group as a Stimulus to Mental Activity," *Science*, New Series, XXXI, 761-67.

experimentally the difference between the mental work of pupils in a group and the isolated pupil. In general the result of the work of the pupils in groups was superior to their work as isolated individuals, the superiority showing not only in decrease of time but in the quality of the work. One pupil who took 10 minutes and 25 seconds to do some work alone did it in class in 7 minutes and 30 seconds. Another who took 13 minutes and 11 seconds took 6 minutes and 45 seconds in a group. This result tallies with that of Schmidt, who, testing children in their home work as compared with their school work, found that for most kinds of work the product in the classroom was superior.

Dr. Triplett tested the influence of the presence of a co-worker on a simple physical act, the turning of a reel as fast as possible. Two results were noted. It appeared, on the one hand, that a pupil worked more rapidly when in company with another child, but, on the other hand, in the case of many children hasty uncoordinated movements appeared which reduced their performance.

Neumann corroborated in a striking way the results of Triplett. Seven pupils of the ages of thirteen and fourteen were tested repeatedly with the dynamometer and the ergograph. In the case of the test of the pupils separately, with no one else in the room, the amount of work done was always less than when others were present. If the experiments were made in the presence of the teacher alone, the pupils did not do as much work as when they were all together without the teacher.

Testing the memory of pupils alone and when working together, he obtained similar results. While in the case of children of thirteen or fourteen years of age there was no essential difference in memory for the individual and the common test, the difference was remarkably large in the case of the younger children. On an average with the individual test the children remembered considerably less than in the class. Not a child was found who remembered more in the individual test than in the class test. It is not surprising then that when asked whether they would rather do an exercise in the class or alone undisturbed by the noise of other pupils eighty per cent replied that they would rather do it in the class.



## THE ONLY CHILD

Studies of "only" children show that, instead of outstripping other children owing to their association with their elders, they fall behind them. They not only enter school from one and a half to two years later than is usual, but they are markedly inferior to other children in school performance. About half of the "only" children in school were reported as getting on badly with other children usually because they were loth or did not know how to make concessions or were set on having their own way. In a fourth of the four hundred "only" children reported on selfishness was set down as the dominant trait. Even with careful training the "only" child becomes selfish from lack of the give-and-take of association. A woman who had been a well-brought-up "only" child confesses, "Because I have met less than the normal demand for sacrifice of my own rights and privileges, I have lacked practice in resigning them and have never acquired the habit of spending myself freely. So that whatever unselfish acts I may perform are more likely to be solely concessions to conscience than the spontaneous expressions of a nature accustomed to sacrifice."

Quite aside from parental spoiling, which is quite a different factor from want of companions of one's own age, the "only" child is likely to be morbidly self-centered and introspective. "In later life," affirms a neurologist, "he is extremely conceited, jealous and envious. He begrudges the happiness of friends and acquaintances, and he is therefore shunned and disliked. The fact that he is peculiarly subject to hysteria, neurasthenia, and kindred maladies is attributed to faulty habits of thought fixed in childhood, the chief of these being an excessive preoccupation with thoughts of self."

Without experience in a system of selves, the "only" child is easily teased, does not know how to stand being the butt of a joke, cannot bear to be "it" in a game in which "it" is the laughing-stock. About 40 per cent of "only" children in school are not normally interested in active games. Such children spend too much time reading and with grown-ups because they lack the art of adjustment. One says: "I was always disturbed by the prospect of going to a children's party . . . for the first half of the time I

was certain to stand about on the edges of the crowd, merely because I could not get into the spirit of the merry gathering."

Childhood is the seedtime of character, for it is then that the subconscious is planted with suggestions which become nuclei for whole systems of thought which later ripen into habits. The suggestions the "only" child receives from too exclusive association with doting overanxious parents "tend to engender in him a mental attitude out of which may afterward spring, according to the subsequent circumstances of his life, a cold, heartless, calculating selfishness, or a morbid self-anxiety, perhaps eventuating in all sorts of neurotic symptoms."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand abundant association in games, especially team games, with children of about his own age fixes in his subconsciousness suggestions of "fair play," "give-and-take," "turn about," "follow," "lead," "obey," and "true blue," which help to build in time the "good fellow" and the "good citizen."

#### SOLIDARITY AND SUICIDE

Durkheim's exhaustive study of the statistics of suicide reveals a strange saving power in the bonds by which the individual is knit with others into a group. The suicide rate of bachelors is half as great again as that of married men of the same average age *without* children and three times that of married men *with* children. The rate for widowers *without* children is a third greater than for widowers *with* children. Thus, family life in a measure protects against self-murder and it does so because it shifts the focus of the individual's interest from his personal experiences and fate to that of the family group. His attitude toward his life is determined less by what it is worth to him than by what it is worth to his children; and such a consideration may give him strength to go on with it when otherwise he would cast it away as not worth keeping.

It is significant, too, that for every European people the suicide tendency is decidedly stronger among Protestants than among Roman Catholics. In Switzerland, for example, the suicides in Protestant, mixed, and Catholic cantons are respectively 326, 212, and 86 per hundred thousand persons. In general the Jews show

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, "The Only Child," *The Century Magazine*, 1916, p. 310.

a lower rate than even the Catholics. The reason for these contrasts is to be sought, not in any difference in the teaching as to the sinfulness of suicide, but in the fact that the Catholics are more firmly knit into a religious community than the Protestants, while the solidarity among Jews usually exceeds that among Catholics.

Again, suicide is rare in young, vital, strongly organized societies but frequent in decaying, disintegrating societies. Wars and revolutions, by resuscitating the sentiment of national solidarity, cut down the suicide rate. Whatever stimulates group, party, or patriotic feeling helps men bear their private troubles. Hence Durkheim's law, *Suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of the social groups to which the individual belongs*. Men are like mountain climbers, some making their way over the glaciers roped to the members of a large party, others going alone and depending on eye and alpenstock. The latter mount more quickly and can go farther if they are strong. But woe to them if the crust breaks!

Durkheim<sup>1</sup> accounts for this law as follows:

Man is double. To the physical man is added a social man. The latter presupposes a society that he expresses and serves. If it decays so that we no longer feel it living and acting about and above us, the social in us hangs in the air, has nothing to rest on, no objective basis. The social in us becomes a phantasmagory that a little reflection dissipates, it no longer can give purpose or meaning to our acts. And yet this social man is the whole of the civilized man; it alone gives worth to existence. So losing it, we lose most of our reasons for living. For the only life we value no longer responds to a reality and the (animal) life which is still based on reality no longer responds to our needs. There is nothing to which the strivings of the higher, the civilized man in us relate. Our efforts seem to lose themselves in the void. In such a state of mind the minor causes of discouragement may easily give birth to the desperate resolution of the suicide.

#### SOCIAL SYMPATHY

In the suicide clinics which have been maintained in certain American cities, it appears that persons contemplating suicide are more in need of sympathy than of succor. The mere confessing their troubles to a sympathetic stranger instead of brooding over them alone gives them relief and renewed courage to battle on.

<sup>1</sup> *Le Suicide*, p. 228.

Sympathetic association has, indeed, an almost magical value. After the San Francisco fire it was remarked that families that had lost all and were camped in the parks were by no means downhearted. The secret was that the universal sympathy and helpfulness were meat and drink to the starved social self. The sudden fellowship that springs up in hours of disaster—like the sinking of the Titanic—is found so sweet that the survivors form an association and meet annually in order to revive it. Just as the loveliest flowers grow nearest the toe of the glacier, so the sweetest intimacies spring up among those sharing the most terrible experiences. In war “comrade” becomes a sacred word and the bonds uniting trenchmates and messmates often last through life. So comforting is this perfect fellowship that soldiers will joke and whistle amid horrors that would drive a solitary man out of his wits. The journals of Polar expeditions bear witness to the cheerfulness of the men during the long Arctic night. With companionship but without sunshine they were far happier than the mountain shepherds who have sunshine but lack companionship. In the Ludlow tent colony of Colorado “the striking miners of a dozen different nationalities suffered destitution together in midwinter, half-starved and exposed, with their wives and children, to all the adversities of cold and want and armed inhumanity; yet through all their stories of their misery there is the evidence of an extraordinary good fellowship that gave a gala air to their encampment, the happiness of a society united in sympathy, a delightful concord between alien races that were glad to find their old prejudices unfounded.”

The we-feeling is not the outcome of mere juxtaposition, but depends on certain favoring circumstances. One is *crisis*, which sweeps away conventional barriers and gives free play to the social instincts of deeply moved persons. Another is *harmony of interests*. In the trenches, the exploring party, the strikers' colony, one loses that habit of eyeing the fellow-man as an actual or potential competitor which grows up in a society like ours characterized by pecuniary emulation. *Conversation* brings to light mental differences as well as resemblances, but, on the whole, no doubt, it gives birth to more sympathies than antipathies. “It is a trait of civilized man,” says Tarde,<sup>1</sup> “to love to talk in everything that he

<sup>1</sup> *La Logique Sociale*, p. 323.

does, to talk eating, working, loving. It is as far from the mute love-making of the Arabs and Hebrews to our vivacious wooing as from silent meals to hilarious feasts. Conversation is the circulation of general sympathy through even our most private joys." *Pleasuring together* favors the spread of the we-feeling. Eating, drinking, acting, playing together, the enjoying in common of music, drama, or spectacles are time-honored means of fostering general fellowship. Owing to its relaxing effect on inhibitions, the consuming together of alcoholic drinks has been greatly relied on for thawing egos and setting up warm currents of good feeling. *Concerted rhythmic response* is especially powerful in creating social sympathy. Cheering, singing, and stamping together are used to evoke "college spirit" and the choral singing of patriotic hymns is encouraged among soldiers to fan their *esprit de corps*. From early tribal days the dance has been used to unlock social emotion, and those attempting to create a community spirit in our polyglot American cities rely on getting people to sing in immense choruses and take part in great public dances in the streets and parks. *Touch*, although narrow in range of operation, is a great quickener of sympathy. Shaler says:<sup>1</sup> "It has been my chance to help many wounded men. In all such cases when I first look upon the sufferer I am filled with a disquiet which impels me to seek protection in flight. There is, of course, sorrow for the afflicted, but this is overmastered by the intense desire to spare myself the pain due, so far as I can see, to the shock to my ideal of what a man should be. The moment I touch the sufferer all that horror immediately vanishes and he becomes that dear thing, the actual neighbor. The fact seems to be that the impressions of sight have little awakening effect upon the sympathies as compared with those of touch." This is recognized in the "grip" of friends, the handclasp of circling merrymakers, the interlacing figures of dancers, and perhaps the ceremonial laying on of hands.

#### THE TARDY RECOGNITION OF OUR SOCIABLE NATURE

Our dependence on others has been so overlooked that most of us marvel that anyone should go mad in solitude or kill himself from lack of sympathy, or that an unmarried mother should smother

<sup>1</sup> *The Neighbor*, p. 293.

her infant rather than meet shame. Poets and romancers have made much of such things, but the current theory of human nature is quite too narrow to take account of them. Psychology early gained an individualistic slant from its probing of the senses and the intellect and only lately has it plumbed the instincts and emotions—man's social side. Meanwhile the philosophers, being jealous for the "dignity" of human nature, have ignored our social needs as if they disclosed a shameful weakness. Until human relations were scrutinized with the appraising eye of the scientist there was none to gainsay the orator and the moralist in eloquently presenting absolute independence and self-direction as goals of personal development.

Blindness to the social demands of human nature showed itself in a great variety of ways. Prison reformers clung to the delusion that solitary confinement regenerates. Quite unconscious of their cruelty, the benevolent tolerated the almshouse with its separation of aged couples and its walling off paupers from the common life. Respectable people looked upon the saloon as nothing but a "dram-shop" and not more than twenty years have elapsed since they perceived it to be "the poor man's club." That what the poor most need is "not alms but a friend" gave thirty years ago the shock of a great discovery. The social settlement, founded in the conviction that nothing will help the slum like sympathy, good fellowship, and inspiring personal influence, has been in existence but a little over thirty years yet has succeeded so well that it is being generalized the country over as the "social center." Still nearer is the beginning of the scientific study of the social relations of boys, resulting in the discovery of the "gang" and of the "boys' club" as a means of building character. The transformation of the Young Men's Christian Association from a devotional organization into a social recreative institution with a religious background was a response to the new view of human nature.

Individualistic assumptions so governed early Americans that, giving up the compact settlement of the New England town, they practiced "homestead" settlement, which few European peoples have found to be congenial. One result of this and of the neglect to provide for social and recreative life in the open country is a loneli-

ness which so tortures young people on the farms that they rush to the cities with a recklessness hardly to be matched in any other part of the world.

#### LATER BARRIERS TO FELLOWSHIP

While much light has been thrown on the true nature of human beings, there are still various false notions which stand in the way of our doing justice to our social cravings. Common yet is the idea that religion is something altogether between man and his Maker and does not relate man to man. Another pitfall is the notion that the chief end of sport is physical development rather than the enjoyment of fellowship in play. "Scientific management" extremists see the workman as a mere machine, while some devotees of the efficiency cult drop every human relation and reject every claim that does not contribute to "success." There is abroad, too, a business man's caricature of Darwinism which insists that struggle is the law of life, that every other human being is a possible rival, and that one's only option is to devour the fellow-man or be eaten by him.

Nor may we overlook certain untoward social tendencies. The growth of tenancy under a form of lease which allows the tenant no compensation for disturbance or for the unexhausted fertility he has added to the soil results in a shifting rural population unwilling to invest in the roads, schools, churches, playgrounds, and community halls which facilitate social enjoyment. The commercial spirit, which prompts people to associate on the basis of reciprocal entertainment and service, taints fellowship with calculation and inhibits that generous self-abandon which is the finest flower of friendship. Again, when worldliness is rife the wealthy have to guard their circles against the intrusion of touts, leg-pullers, notoriety-seekers, and exploiters of social connections for financial, professional, or political advantage. But the raising of the money barrier is responsible for the horrible hollowness and dulness that lies like a pall upon plutocratic society. No wonder that in the second generation the conspicuous tend to restrict their intimacies to playmates and schoolmates in order that within this closed circle they may taste the sweets of mutual confidence, geniality, ease, and the intimacy of first names!

## THE STRUGGLE OF PERSONALITIES IN ASSOCIATION

Do people come together solely to commune with and enjoy one another? By no means. To the shrewd eye much social life is a veiled struggle to expand one's personality at another's expense. One eats another like the beasts of the jungle. Children, whose natures lie near the surface, plainly strive to convert their play-fellows into an admiring circle, to use them to intensify their feelings of self. They keenly compete for notice from companions or superiors. Boys swell up and swagger about, talk in unnatural tones, "play big," and "show off." They do "stunts" eagerly shouting "Looky" as they stand on their heads or hang by their toes. They thrill with superiority as they stalk about on stilts or on tin cans tied to their feet. They vie in boasting, "daring," playing the "smart Aleck," and making up tall stories of their wonderful feats or hairbreadth escapes. It is significant that the bragging lies of boys usually relate to what they can do, while girls are more apt to lie about their possessions.

Dr. Bolton says:

The use of secrets by children is full of interest. Small boys put their arms around one another's necks and whisper in the ear, pretending to tell something that the others shall not know. This exalts the selves of those that hear the secrets and at the same time shrinks up the onlooker and flushes him with envy. Such an act calls for a countermove in the same direction. The other boys get together and tell secrets among themselves and make extravagant claims that their secrets are much more worthy of knowing. Girls do this, too, but it does not seem to bear the same marks of genuineness and naïveté. It has always seemed as if it were more fun to be a boy than to be a girl, just for the reason that the conduct of boys is less conventional and their activity is more varied. To tell another a secret is a way of coming *en rapport* with him *de novo* and telling a secret serves very well as a fresh beginning after a *miff* has been declared off. The secret serves to re-establish the relation of friendship. The suspicion lies close that where the fraternity boys of the university do not feel sure of their girls, they tell the girls the fraternity secrets as a way of strengthening the desired relationship. To tell one a secret is a mark of confidence and respect. Young people of the lower classes of society who associate much together give up a large part of their conversation to noisy claims about secrets or what they know that someone else does not; they make veiled references to past good times and to other times in which things transpired that would be a terrible humiliation if told. Each one tries to get a secret with every other and then to make noisy claims about keeping it from all the



rest. Servant girls with their company at the back door indulge in this kind of conversation, making veiled references to secrets most of the time. With them social life is always a sharp contest among personalities in which severe thrusts are given and countered just as severely.<sup>1</sup>

To the same end young people invent "dog-Latin" and other lingo. They are prized less as a vehicle for secrets than as a means of triumphing over the puzzled listener.

Many of the games of childhood, such as "Needle's Eye," "Drop the Handkerchief," and "Virginia Reel," owe their charm to their giving each in turn an opportunity to be the chief actor. In the flushed cheeks and glistening eyes of the child that is "it," one remarks the intoxication of feeling the "I" glorified. While it revels in its golden moment of initiative and self-display, the rest find their compensation in the pleasure of marching, dancing, or singing in concert.

To shrink or put down the selves of others gives much the same satisfaction as to exalt one's own self. It is, after all, the margin of superiority between one's self and another's self which feeds one's sense of importance. In the teasing, badgering, and hectoring of small children, red-haired girls, cross-eyed or hare-lipped boys, peddlers, outlanders, and Chinamen, the object is not always the infliction of pain; it may be the exalting one's self-importance by mortifying and depreciating another. The delight of "taking down" one who is throwing us into the shade is very evident. Schoolboys on the playground "take it out" of "teacher's pet," bespatter the best-dressed child, and pursue the prize pupil, chanting some incantation rhyme built about his name. Girls try to take down the girl all the boys are fond of and the uncouth lads join to humiliate the boy that the girls favor. In the same way young men who are boon companions are on the watch to "get something" on one of their number. Playing tricks and "practical" jokes is a favorite means of "getting the laugh on" another, i.e., shrinking him. Hazing and fagging pleasantly enliven the self-feeling of older schoolboys. The ordeals of initiation imposed by some fraternal orders give the lodge members the pleasure of making a worthy fellow-citizen a laughingstock, while the victim later salves

<sup>1</sup> Thaddeus L. Bolton, *The Journal of Pedagogy*, XIX, 35-36.

his wounded pride in watching other initiates "ride the goat." Games like "Prisoners' Base," "Blindman's Buff," "I Spy," are built on the plan of shrinking the players one at a time. The child who is "it" feels small and wins back his self-respect only by catching another, who in turn becomes "it."

Then there are the tactics of *self-protection* designed to prevent or turn aside a thrust at one's self, and the tactics of *self-recovery* aiming to expand the self after a humiliating experience. Thus the savage, who mainly identifies his personality with his name, is careful to keep secret his true name. The child called a name wards off the blow with the incantation:

Sticks and stones  
May break my bones  
But names can never hurt me.

There is the same caution about one's image. Once I tried in vain to find a Bedouin who would let himself be sketched; each feared lest in some mysterious way I should gain a hold on him. Catlin had to use all the arts of diplomacy in order to get his Indian chiefs to sit for their portrait. Nature peoples have a like horror of being photographed.

For fear of a rebuff one refrains from the direct question, but "supposes," or "wonders," queries to the ceiling, or ends a statement with a rising inflection. An invitation is couched in the negative statement: "You wouldn't care to . . . ?" or is conveyed by a lifting of the eyebrow or a pointing of the thumb. A request takes the form of a hint. One answers an embarrassing question with a shrug or grimace which, while expressing enough, cannot be quoted. Refusal is met with "I don't care," or "Like as not I'm better off without it." Repartee parries gibe and the innuendo is turned by irony. The use of that double-edged weapon, the apology, gives scope for great dexterity for exalting one's self or putting the other in the wrong. Some adults in associating with children assume an affected speech in order to keep their personalities from being sucked down to the child's level. The children soon see through this and will have nothing to do with one who "talks down" to them.

It would be rash then to assume that wherever people come together to enjoy one another's company there is affection. Braggarts must have listeners, skinflints will have their cronies. The self-conceited by no means resign themselves to solitude. The utterly selfish mental invalid may be an utter cormorant for sympathy. In such cases the individual foregathers with others not from love but to gain a sounding-board for his "I," to exalt his own self by bringing under or exploiting other selves. Many egoists of the purest water are on the constant lookout for sympathizers, admirers, or satellites. In a pinch such vampires can find satisfaction even in one another, for each endures the plaint or brag of the others for the sake of having attention when his turn comes to blow the trumpet.

Egoistic society apes the manners and amenities of good-will association, but its hollowness shows in a variety of ways. Under velvet endearments women stretch their claws and scratch like cats. Each lady of an exploitive social circle keeps books, as it were, and will not set out cake when she is hostess if the others have been serving only wafers; or if she offers cake it is to triumph over the rest. Stingy beldames calculate it costs less to attract company by spiced gossip than by spiced refreshments. Roistering egoists watch that no one skips his turn to stand treat. Cronies who are not good fellows show their yellowness when one of them falls into trouble. Then he is given to understand that no one cares to see his long face or listen to his tale of woe. For such fair-weather friendship the refrain is, "If you're out of health or money you needn't come around."

#### MANNERS

It is the rôle of good manners to sweeten social intercourse by deleting or refining the struggle among the "I's." The well-bred refrain from such irritants as conspicuousness in dress, loudness of speech, boasting, self-display, monopoly of the conversation, controversy, rudeness, the humiliating of others. The best manners call for the constant subordination of the claims of one's self to the claims of the selves of others. When all in a circle act up to this standard, association becomes in the highest degree enjoyable

provided that real congeniality exists. In the best circles of our South the harmonization of the demands of different egos has become a fine art. The way in which a well-bred Southerner will let the conversation take any direction you seem to wish, always playing up to your lead and suppressing his own preference, reveals the secret of the oft-noted "charm" of southern society. In eighteenth-century France the higher social class developed manners of a suavity before unknown and the spread of these over the world has put many peoples in debt to the French. Throughout Spanish America one finds diffused an older, unselfish, but less sympathetic, manner that grew up among the *hidalgos* of Spain.

The percolation down among the people of the manners wrought out in a leisure class is a very important step in socialization. Politeness is, to be sure, a poor substitute for good-will and respect for the rights of others, but where these traits do not yet exist it is most valuable. Its function is not to sweeten the relation of kinsfolk, friends, or lodge-brothers but to lessen the chafing between strangers, colleagues, or rivals. Wherever, as in South America, good manners have become the heritage of all classes, even among muleteers and deckhands, the contacts of men give rise to few quarrels and brawls. Good manners cannot, of course, do away with such hostility as arises from conflict of interests; but they go far to prevent troubles which have their origin in the naïve assertion of the "I" in human intercourse.

#### THE MIRRORED SELF

The disturbing state of mind we term "self-consciousness" is rather our consciousness of others; of others, however, as noticing and appraising one's self. For many children the first experiences of figuring in the minds of another are extremely upsetting. Some unable to bear an unfamiliar eye cover the face or hide themselves. Under the stranger's gaze the bashful child blushes, makes random movements, twists its body, pulls at its clothing, puts its finger in its mouth, or bites its nails. Muscular co-ordination goes by the board, so that it drops or spills things, stumbles over trifling objects, and finds its hands and feet become alien. It may giggle, laugh nervously, stammer, or even lose voice and word memory. In stage

fright the symptoms match closely those of extreme fear. Even the experienced speaker finds discomfort in the "cold" or "unsympathetic" stare.

However, if closer acquaintance reveals a kindly attitude in others, children cease to shrink from their attention and even begin to court it. "In the youngest children," says Hall and Smith,<sup>1</sup> "'showing off' seems to be the simple, openly expressed desire for recognition and sympathy, the step in the extension of the consciousness of self which naturally succeeds the baby's development of self through the investigation of the limits of its own body."

The desire to play a star part in other people's minds develops much earlier than is commonly supposed. "The child," says Professor Cooley, "appropriates the visible actions of his parent or nurse, over which he finds he has some control, in quite the same way as he appropriates one of his own members or a plaything, and he will try to do things with this new possession, just as he does with his hand or his rattle. A girl six months old will attempt in the most evident and deliberate manner to attract attention to herself, to set going by her actions some of those movements of other persons that she has appropriated."

The human looking-glass in which the infant sees its little I reflected furnishes it a powerful stimulus to do things. Children brought up in foundling asylums, where they receive good physical care but not loving, personal attention, learn to walk and to speak much later than those whose baby efforts call forth the encouraging "ohs" and "ahs" of an admiring family, whose sympathy baby soon learns to claim as his right.

"Strong joy and grief depend upon the treatment this rudimentary social self receives. In the case of M., I noticed as early as the fourth month a 'hurt' way of crying which seemed to indicate a sense of personal slight. . . . The slightest tone of reproof would produce it. On the other hand, if people took notice and laughed and encouraged, she was hilarious. At about fifteen months old, she had become 'a perfect little actress,' seeming to live largely in imaginations of her effect upon other people. She constantly and obviously laid traps for attention and looked abashed or wept at

<sup>1</sup> *Pedagogical Seminary*, X, 160.

any signs of disapproval or indifference. . . . If she hit upon any little trick that made people laugh, she would be sure to repeat it. . . . She had quite a repertory of these small performances, which she would display to a sympathetic audience or even try upon strangers."<sup>1</sup>

Some never develop much beyond this childish stage. I recall a clever young college instructor who in every conversation was obviously occupied with the impression he was making. After he had touched off an epigram you could see him busily priming the next one, in the meantime paying not the slightest attention to your remarks unless they dripped compliment. The callow monologist would make the round of his acquaintances like a landlord collecting rents and then retire to his den to gloat over the admiration he believed he had excited.

No one is totally indifferent to his mirrored self, but people differ greatly in sensitiveness. The wise man schools himself to be content with the approval of the discerning. The strong man cares only for the handclap of his peers and will not be looking every minute for fear his social image has changed. Those born in the purple give themselves little concern over what the commonalty think of them. We perceive Haman was an upstart when we read: "But when Haman saw Mordecai in the King's gate, that he stood not up nor moved for him, he was full of indignation against Mordecai."<sup>2</sup> After telling over his honors he adds: "Yet all this availeth nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the King's gate."<sup>2</sup>

A man may think he turns on his own axis, but "if failure or disgrace arrives, if he suddenly finds that the faces of men show coldness or contempt instead of the kindness and deference that he is used to, he will perceive from the shock, the fear, the sense of being outcast and helpless, that he was living in the minds of others without knowing it, just as we daily walk the solid ground without thinking how it bears us up."<sup>3</sup>

One we call "independent" or "self-sufficient" is not outside society nor dispensing altogether with social approval. He may

<sup>1</sup> Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 164-67.

<sup>2</sup> Esther 5:9, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

be a massive deep-draft character that from past approval has gained enough headway not to be stalled in the slack water of indifference, nor caught in an eddy of blame. He may be a discriminating person who smiles at the catcalls of the multitude provided only the wise appreciate him. He may be serene when all men revile him because in his imagination he sees himself triumphantly justified before some high tribunal of the worthies of the past or of the élite of the generations to come. As Ibsen puts into the mouth of one of his characters, "The strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone," seeing that for corroboration he relies least on numbers or contemporaries. This is why faith in God is so bracing to the disinterested champion of an unpopular cause. Imagined divine approval enables him to hold his course amid general opposition and obloquy. In the homes of the Christian missionaries in Inner China one can read from the many cheering religious texts hung about the walls how, aliens in a strange land, they feel the need of counteracting the moral isolation in which they live.

In a light-draft mind preoccupation with one's reflected self shows itself as *vanity*. The vain man, unlike the constructive and stable sort, cannot hold steadily to an idea of his worth. He cannot fix past social approval as a durable part of his thought of himself, cannot get the habit of taking his merits for granted. Hence his self-feeling is subject to great ups and downs. Let people show admiration or envy of him and he treads on air; but in a trice some slight or rebuff has cast him into the depths. His nature lacks a flywheel to carry him past the "dead points" in his experience. He cannot keep up his self-confidence with the huzzas of last year or even last month; he needs his praise fresh. Such constant dependence is a weakness and will be exploited if it is worth while to do so. The vain man who happens to be rich or powerful or influential is an easy mark for sycophants and toadies, since he swallows gratefully the flattery that buoys his soul in hours of self-distrust. One who skilfully feeds the vain man his needed ration of "taffy" makes himself indispensable. Vanity, too, may be played upon to make one a tool of others. The vain are easy to get the better of and are always burning their fingers pulling other people's chestnuts out of the fire.

To pant for recognition, to yearn to impress one's personality deeply upon one's people or one's time, is the essence of *ambition*. The ambitious youth thinks he thirsts to "do something" or to "be somebody," but his thirst would not be slaked by a success nobody noticed or acknowledged. Really what he craves is to figure potently in the minds of others, to be greatly loved, admired, or feared. The mere notoriety-seeker is less nice and hankers to be read about or talked about even if the self reflected is far from impressive. This type that would rather be butt than cipher is kin to the lunatic with a mania for self-exhibition.

Less dependent than the ambitious is the power-seeker who slakes his thirst for self-effectuation by molding the destinies of others but cares nothing for recognition by them. The retiring financier or unofficial Warwick, who secretly pulls the wires that makes politicians dance, finds his pleasure in seeing the puppets obey his will. Beyond him is the achiever, careless whether the public he benefits ever learns of his existence; but even he needs an inner circle who understand and appreciate his achievement.

It is rather a fine type that is captivated by the idea of recognition by the unborn. A man who shrinks from newspaper publicity may revel in imagining his name in a stained glass window, carved on a portal, or attached to a street. As between wide fame and lasting fame the more imaginative prefer the latter, counting it better to be remembered by posterity than to be the popular idol of one's time.

In a time like ours, when money can work wonders, men are apt to exaggerate its power over souls. Just as there are fools who think they can buy true love and silly rich who actually find satisfaction in the deference paid them by their lackeys and onhangers, so there are some who think to insure commemoration of themselves by paying for it. One rears himself a useless monument or leaves money to build it. Another welds his name to the philanthropy he founds or with his benefaction stipulates a memorial. The sage has no such childlike faith in the power of money, but realizes that he must leave to the unforced gratitude of his fellows the cherishing of his name and service.

Uncurbed, the passion to fix and greaten one's social image leads to such evils as pomp, ostentation, fashion, heart-burning,



jealousy, fawning, and tuft-hunting. It is a paradox that the mania to impress others may lead to the worst forms of antisocial conduct—as when a king brings on a war for the sake of prestige, or a proprietor squeezes his tenants in order to make a splurge on the boulevards or a splash at Monte Carlo. Shakespeare has Coriolanus slaughter the Volscians just to vindicate himself as not a “boy of tears.” The scheming social climber sacrificing old friends and risking countless snubs in the hope of ultimate recognition by people of high position is about as social as a lizard; others interest her only as looking-glasses to reflect a pleasing image of herself. In the evil trinity religion bids us renounce, “the world, the flesh, and the devil”; the “world” stands for the faults that spring from solicitude for one’s social image, such as worldly ambition, affectation, vanity, vainglory, boastfulness, and arrogance.

The mirrored self is a poor thing to stake one’s happiness on. Like one’s image in a still pool one’s pleasing reflection in the minds of others may vanish with a breath. Ambition, to be sure, may lift the sluggard from his bed, the clod from his rut, the sensualist from his sty; but it overstimulates the mettlesome while the sensitive fret themselves ill over their standing in the eyes of others. This is why “withdrawal from the world” has always found some favor among choice spirits. The woods, the sea, or the cell afford asylum from the sharp suggestions that prick the flanks of ambition. One wearied of perpetually scoring to keep his prestige alive, his credit from being smirched by jealous rivals, longs to quit the “world” at least for a season.

Professor Cooley observes:

To the impressible mind life is a theater of alarms and contentions, even when a phlegmatic person can see no cause for agitation—and to such a mind peace often seems the one thing fair and desirable, so that the cloister or the forest, or the vessel on the lonesome sea, is the most grateful object of imagination. The imaginative self may be more battered, wounded, and strained by a striving, ambitious life than the material body could be in a more visible battle, and its wounds are usually more lasting and draw more deeply upon the vitality. Mortification, resentment, jealousy, the fear of disgrace and failure, sometimes even hope and elation, are exhausting passions; and it is after a severe experience of them that retirement seems most healing and desirable.

A finer remedy is to quit the game without withdrawing from that common life which is, after all, the place for most of the work

that is to better the world. Thus Thomas à Kempis exhorts: "Son, now I will teach thee the way of peace and of true liberty. . . . Study to do another's will rather than thine own. Choose ever to have less rather than more. Seek ever the lower place and be subject to all; ever wish and pray that the will of God may be perfectly done in thee and in all. Behold such a man enters the bounds of peace and calm."<sup>1</sup>

Being less aggressive in their make-up, women as a rule are more dependent than men on their immediate social image. They are more sensitive to present attitudes, cannot live so well on hoarded corroboration, and slow down sooner when opinion sets against them. How much gifted women will accomplish depends quite as much on the measure of encouragement they receive as on the degree of freedom they enjoy. American women have done so well, not chiefly because they are freer than their sisters in other lands, but because none cheer a woman's achievement so generously as American men.

While boys are taken up with what they are doing, girls live much in their imagination of how they appear to others. They blush more readily, until the arrival of adolescence they are more bashful than boys, and their clothes consciousness is more acute. It is no such task to get a girl in her early teens to keep herself presentable as to get a boy to do so. The girl catches subtle shades in the personal attitude of others which the boy misses, is more subject to affectation, falls more readily into acting rôles, will make greater sacrifices to convention, and lives more in terror of being "talked about." Women have too much divination to fall into certain egotistic attitudes common to men. Thus women are rarely pompous, and no one ever saw a woman strut. In mating the emotions of the sexes are not the same. "The desire of the man is for the woman, but the desire of the woman is for the desire of the man." Woman's jealousy like her love is usually less physical in its object than man's. She is stung by the disloyalty of that which the average male resents as a trespass upon his property.

In many ways society formally recognizes the value to one of his mirrored self. Damages for libel allow for the "mental anguish" of

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

being brought into public contempt; for breach of promise to marry take into account the mortification of the jilted. Although the duel has been outlawed, insult not only goes a long way toward excusing violence but more and more it affords a ground of legal action, the German courts having gone farthest in this direction. It is contended that peaceful picketing does not exist, seeing that the pickets' tongue-lashing of the "scab" is a weapon of intimidation. The designating of workmen by numbers instead of their names is held to be intolerable. Many old punishments—such as stocks, pillory, cucking-stool, scarlet letter—assumed social sensitiveness in the culprit. Like tar and feathers, whipping at the cart's tail hurt spirit more than body, and ears were cropped not so much to pain the offender as to make him a butt. The teacher may discard rod for dunce's cap and at a certain point in the child's development the parent can punish harder by looks and words than by thwacking. Malicious prison keepers "break" the more sensitive prisoners with indignities rather than hardships, while shrewd wardens offer the removal of stripes and numbers as an inducement to good conduct.

## PROBABLE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF AMERICAN WOMEN<sup>1</sup>

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Any comprehensive program of vocational education must be designed primarily to prepare young persons for the effective exercise of productive vocations as now found; it may be designed secondarily and incidentally to anticipate probable social changes in the character and incidence of vocational activities; and, under some circumstances (taking due account of the relatively fundamental and only slightly controllable character of economic forces), to further desirable, and to restrain undesirable, economic tendencies by its emphasis on one or the other of different possible educational objectives.

It is well known that the economic position of women has already changed greatly during the last century, and conspicuously in communities in which productive work is chiefly of an industrial and commercial character. It is probable that many of the economic changes now in process will continue along lines already established, some of their social, cultural, and physical consequences becoming increasingly evident. But it is also certain that societies in which concerted and intelligent action, looking toward conservation of the best in human resources and the promotion of higher social standards generally, has become an established policy, will insist on securing improved conditions for the development of the young, and with especial emphasis on sound family life. The mother of children is the logical primary custodian of children's well-being; and in their rearing will be found, inevitably, the best vocation for many women—best for the individual herself and best for the society which she serves.

<sup>1</sup>The substance of this paper constitutes a chapter in a forthcoming book on *Vocational Education*. The purpose here is to indicate the considerations which underlie the making of programs of vocational education for women and girls.

For training in the performance of all forms of economic service, including the rearing of children, women in the past to an extent even greater than in the case of men have been dependent upon the by-education of productive service itself as carried on by elders. The daughter has learned the thousand practical arts of homemaking as an assistant to her mother, supplemented by the trial-and-error methods of her own home when responsibility for its conduct fell to her lot. The domestic servant has learned under the direction of mistress; the tiller of the soil under leadership of field foreman or forewoman; the factory hand under shop overseer; the clerk under employer or supervisor. For only a few of women's callings—teaching, nursing, stenography—have the methods of unorganized or organized apprenticeship been replaced by systematic vocational training.

But no student of contemporary social conditions or of current proposals for improvement in our social economy can doubt that an enormous extension and improvement of systematic vocational education under public control and direction is inevitable in the near future. The provision of universal and perfected means of direct vocational education at the proper time (usually after the essential foundations of liberal education shall have been laid) clearly constitutes one of the most necessary stages toward the good citizenship, the social efficiency, now being sought in our complicated societies. It is hard for us to realize that almost in proportion as economic processes become scientific and highly organized, the possibilities of getting reasonably satisfactory vocational training as a by-product of early participation in productive work itself—possibilities that were very large under primitive conditions of production—steadily diminish. Hence the need for vocational training is itself a specialized stage or process apart from, or closely guarded within, the productive processes themselves. Such segregated vocational training is certainly not less needed today for women, than for men, workers; and, in spite of the necessarily primitive and composite character of the domestic vocational arts, it is probably not less needed as a means of efficient homemaking than as a means of effective service in commercial, industrial, agricultural, and professional callings.

At present, very naturally, all programs for the vocational training of girls and women are largely provisional and even opportunistic. In fact, they are based primarily upon first-hand appreciations, not of social needs in general, but of certain marked socially pathological situations that have been seen vividly, first by social workers, then by educators. But to a constantly increasing extent, these programs must come to be based upon scientific knowledge of what are the established or probable fields of women's work; the probable transitions in economic service that will be made by women of given classes, ages, and abilities; the physical, social, and cultural concomitants of each prevailing type of work; and the most effective reasons and means of giving and testing definite vocational training therefor.

It is the purpose of this paper to analyze certain problems, as yet largely unsolved, relative to the probable economic future of American women during the twentieth century, on the assumption that present tendencies will continue in directions already established; and, in the light of the probabilities described, to suggest possible policies and programs for the vocational education of girls and women. As a preliminary to the analysis of these problems, it seems desirable to summarize briefly certain general conclusions as to which it is believed substantial agreement among well-informed students of economics and social life generally exists. These are:

1. Women, normally, have always been producers of economic service no less than men.
2. Productive work has always been largely differentiated between men and women as to location and character.
3. The admission of woman to non-domestic occupations, though attended by great difficulties, is now substantially an accomplished fact.
4. Woman's participation in non-domestic occupations promises to be increasingly regulated by law, in the interests of a sound social economy.
5. The effective rearing of children in the capacity of wife and mother must always have priority of importance as woman's work.
6. Few effective means of vocational education for non-domestic employments have yet developed for women.

#### A. SOME ACCEPTED POSITIONS

1. *Women as producers.*—In all normal societies, and in all but a few exceptional cases of individuals and small classes, women

have always been producers of economic service equally at least with men. (The term "economic service" is here used to include the rearing of children, leadership in planning and directing work, defense of the state, socially approved commercialized entertainment, and teaching, no less than the production of material utilities.) It is a reasonable expectation that women will, in proportion to their strength and ability, always continue to be, no less than men, producers of valuable service. From time to time in past history, as well as at present, wealthy and powerful men have been able and have preferred to maintain their wives, daughters, and female entertainers in that half-parasitic condition which enhances their aesthetic and convivial attractiveness. This practice is clearly traceable to beginnings in ages of conquest when the men of the conquering class reserved to themselves the vocations of fighting, lawgiving, and general administration. It has rarely affected so large a proportion of the population in the past as to lead to disastrous eugenic consequences; but the effects of segregating from useful service a substantial proportion of women and of making of them a non-productive "decorative" class may be proving disastrous in areas where great industries and commerce have enabled, not 1 or 2 per cent, but 10 or 20 per cent of strong men to become so prosperous that they can carry into effect their very natural ideals of maintaining their wives in idle luxury, their daughters in parasitic uselessness, and their entertainers in a state of "conspicuous" but socially unproductive consumption. But it is to be expected that the increasing social insight of our time will soon forewarn and forearm us against this form of social disease. (See Olive Schreiner's *Woman and Labor*.)

2. *Differentiation of productive work.*—In all societies of which we have record there have existed tendencies, never wholly complete, toward differentiation of productive work along sex lines. Defense and aggression against animals and hostile humans has fallen largely to men, probably in part because of their greater mobility, and in part perhaps because of their greater share of the combative instincts (as in some animal species). The care of young children (including the giving of much early by-education) seems naturally to fall to women, partly because the physical condition of their functions requires them to be less mobile and

undoubtedly because maternal instincts making for child care are stronger than are the paternal instincts to the same end, especially as applied to very young children.

On these foundations, as societies have evolved, many other differentiations have taken place. Men, being first warriors and hunters, have then become trappers, explorers, sailors, fishermen, drovers, traders, miners, and lumbermen. Women become cooks, weavers, dressers of skins, food packers, gardeners, milkers, brewers, builders, wood gatherers, nurses, and teachers of little children. Old men and handicapped men shared early in the more home-centered occupations. When more roving occupations failed, men in the settled regions have often seemed to specialize in those forms of productive service requiring most sustained and greatest physical strength, especially if these occupations are carried on at some distance from the home. Occupations of building, heavy tillage, transporting, and merchandising thus fall to men, although in all primitive societies where women seem to develop bodily strength nearly, if not wholly, equal to that of men, and especially when war or slavery forces men away, women seem readily to become heavy tillers and bearers of burdens—occupations which probably they have never more than partially surrendered.

The invention of machinery and the use of power have often had the effect of centering production in factories away from the home; and apparently men first fall heir to these new vocations, such as baking, machine weaving, machine shoemaking, iron and steel working, brickmaking, brewing, milking, food packing, etc. Certain occupations—originally domestic and apparently shared equally by men and women, especially healing and religious ministry—became early monopolized by men, while others, like entertaining, teaching, lore transmitting, literature making, etc., have after a period of such monopoly returned to the state of being “open” to men and women equally.

In modern industrial and commercial societies, so much of productive work is centered in factories, office buildings, large stores, and other places far removed from the home that we have, conspicuously in all urban communities, and visibly even in rural communities, the phenomenon of women wageworkers—that is,



women who no longer render their service in the family unit (and receiving payment, not in money, but in kind) but in places and conditions unconnected with the home. The United States Census for 1910 shows that of all the enumerated inhabitants the following percentages of each age group were engaged in "gainful" occupations:<sup>1</sup>

	Age 10-13	Age 14-16	Age 16-20	Age 21-44	Age 45 and upward
Males . . . . .	17 per cent	41 per cent	79 per cent	97 per cent	86 per cent
Females . . . . .	8 per cent	20 per cent	40 per cent	26 per cent	16 per cent

Of the more than eight million women wageworkers (in "gainful" occupations) included in these figures, probably about one million are domestic servants; the rest are following occupations away from the home and having no direct connection therewith. The figures from previous censuses show that the proportions of women wageworkers are steadily increasing (the percentages in 1900 were for the respective age groups about 6, 18, 32, 21, and 13).

3. *Difficulties of transition to non-domestic employments.*—The increasing necessities laid upon women to find opportunities for productive service away from the home have naturally resulted in conflicts of ancient custom with new conditions. Where rising standards of living had released women from hard and grimy manual occupations—tillage of soil, harvesting, milking of cows, drawing of coal in mines, wood carrying, fish cleaning and distributing, as practiced in Europe, were early tabooed by the prosperous American settler for his "women folk"—it has been deemed degrading for women to resume them. Probably, also, acquired physical disqualifications for such "masculine" employments, due to more "delicate" rearing, have played an important part in preventing any return to them.

Where men had long monopolized certain attractive occupations (preaching, practice of law, medicine, teaching in mixed or boys' schools, clerical office work—until after the Civil War—"political office-holding," indoor salesmanship—until the eighties—telegraphy, machine-shop work, tailoring, dentistry, pharmacy, architecture, and engineering), there had naturally developed strong

<sup>1</sup> *Fourteenth Census*, IV, 73.

prejudices against the entrance of women competitors. All sorts of barriers, some due to motives consciously mean and selfish, others to commendable, even though shortsighted, desires to keep women out of "non-wholesome" surroundings, abnormal work, or employment that might impair the home, have been raised. Very naturally, in those to whom the wish must be father to the thought, it has been conceived that woman's strength of body or, no less often, of mind, could not be equal to the requirements of the work as standardized for men workers.

When strikes or war deprive a given field of employment of male workers, employers naturally seek to recruit their forces with women, if immigrant or colored men are unavailable. This "unfair" competition of women with men arouses keen apprehensions and leads to prejudices that long survive the events that provoked them. Women workers organize, or act in organized ways, less readily or effectively than men; hence where the workers of a given field—shoemaking, cigarmaking, bookbinding, typesetting, telegraphy, tailoring, and other similar fields—have secured and are maintaining advantages through organization each threatened invasion of "scab" women workers is bitterly resented. In some fields of highly subdivided labor, the superior nimbleness and powers of concentration of girl workers are a perpetual irritation to their less dexterous brothers and male cousins.

For these, as well, doubtless, as for more obscure reasons, resting on vague instinctive reactions (some of which, perhaps, are sounder than appears on the surface), the way of woman's advance into the fields of wage-earning work has been made painful and often degrading. Nevertheless, opposition has steadily given way. There now exist in law or fixed custom relatively few obstacles to woman's entry upon any calling that may be elected. Vexatious handicaps and restrictions of a more or less disguised nature are still found in large numbers, of course, especially in transitional stages; but substantial and organized opposition is found only where invasion threatens to break down the standards of protection and compensation painfully secured through long efforts of organized labor.

Hence we can assume the early removal in almost complete measure of the factitious barriers to woman's entry upon any field

of work she may seek, and her undisturbed right to participate in its rewards and to share in responsibility for its development so far as this may be consistent with her other obligations to society and to herself.

4. *Social regulation of women's non-domestic work.*—Statutory regulation of the conditions of women's work represents a social tendency of very modern development, and yet already so deeply rooted in our best ideals and practice of social economy as reflected by scientific thought and by legislation that we must accept it as an established conditioning force in relation to woman's place in the modern economic world. This regulation by law of the conditions under which women may work is unquestionably designed in the interests of woman's obligations to society and to herself.

In America and those other civilized nations that have shared in the "industrial revolution" we already see embodied in legislation many provisions regulating the participation of children in wage-earning work; and along with these appear statutes governing for women hours of labor, factory conditions, night work, minimum wage, dangerous employments, and amount and quality of toil as related to time of childbirth. Unless present tendencies shift radically, we may expect a continuous development of regulatory laws and ordinances of this character; and, if scientific knowledge and sound social ideals prevail, we may expect them increasingly to provide for the protection of the health, moral character, standards of living, and family responsibilities of the worker as well as, in respects not included in these, to insure that she discharge in best practicable ways her responsibilities to society as citizen, mother, defender, and producer. In the case of any given individual and for a given space of time, much of this regulation will seem unduly restrictive and even repressive; and, indeed, under poor direction, it may easily become that, no less than the ancient regulatory ordinances of king, church, and guild. Nevertheless, social needs here will clearly have the ascendancy, in part because of the fact that so many women wageworkers are young and insufficiently co-operative, and therefore easily exploited; and in part because of their supposedly low resisting powers, as

compared with men, against low standards of living, excessive hours, moral exposure, and physical hardship.

5. *The effective rearing of children.*—The struggle of an individual to live—to obtain a living and to maintain a desired standard of comfort—need not necessarily involve service valuable to the community nor responsibility for the maintenance of a family or the rearing of children. In the struggle of any given composite social group to survive and advance itself, however, it is inevitably required that first consideration be given to the conditions that make for the effective rearing of children. But the possible contributions respectively of men and women to the rearing of children are necessarily differentiated. In the long run a given society dare not permit either men or women in any substantial numbers to subordinate their family responsibilities to other ends. The pursuit by a people of permissible economic objectives must, for the great majority, be in chief measure a means to wholesome family life (the central and controlling function of which is successful child-rearing), else such a people will perish. In some far-off day society may find means of delegating most of the work of child-rearing to special agencies; but current proposals to that end are usually utopian.

With advancing standards and more intelligent social and private control, we may assume that, as contrasted with the present, the following will progressively be the essential features of family life as relates to the effective rearing of children: (a) the burdens (and compensating satisfactions) of rearing children will be more evenly distributed than at present—involving somewhat larger families for the more intelligent and prosperous, and somewhat smaller families for others than prevail now in America; (b) for a society not wilfully static nor deteriorating in numbers, each normal family will be expected to bring to maturity three children or more according to prevailing rates of marriage, sterility, etc.; (c) marriages will be more intelligently made, and will be entered upon with greater preparation for the responsibilities involved; (d) children, and especially very young children, will be better cared for, and the death-rate among them will steadily diminish; (e) until the state subsidizes the rearing of all children

(an expedient frequently proposed, but unlikely of adoption in the near future) it will give financial assistance only to mothers who, having established approved marriages, are through unforeseen contingency deprived of the needed co-operation of husband—widows' pensions, allowances to wives of drafted soldiers, and injured workers, etc; (f) where service needed in the rearing of children can best be given by the mother, she may expect to be forced and, if necessary, assisted, to devote herself to that work; and where service can best be given by agencies other than the home—school education, health inspection, etc.—it is to be expected that these will be maintained at public expense.

In general, a sound society must insist on proper and adequate motherhood, and will protect it as far as is socially practicable.

6. *Vocational education for non-domestic employments.*—By vocational education is here meant any and all forms of experience-getting, instruction, training, and supervision which finally make the worker productive, including the poorly organized training of simple shop experience under supervision, as well as the systematized training of apprenticeship and trade school. The very conditions under which women have followed productive callings away from the home have prevented the development of valuable private or public training except in a few fields, such as nursing, teaching, and clerical work (chiefly stenography). The woman worker has been introduced first as helper to more skilled male workers or as a specialist on highly subdivided processes as spinner, cartridge filler, buttonhole-maker, folder, garden weeder, can filler, labeler, file clerk.

Furthermore, she has seldom come in to "learn the business"—as, not infrequently at least, has her brother. She has had necessarily the attitude of a casual laborer taking a temporary job. Experience convinced her employers that in 80 or 90 per cent of all cases she would leave early to get married. Often she has been less than a casual laborer; she has been a child earning "pin money," and contributing for a time toward her own support in her parents' home. As a girl she neither wants to stay permanently, nor does she care especially to be advanced to more complicated work. The very processes by which work had been

subdivided and mechanized to fit her powers and limitations have wiped away traditions of apprenticeship and beliefs in importance of definite vocational training. The chief function of the employment manager becomes to pick girls of most promise of native ability; and the forewoman (or, often, foreman) may be trusted soon to "fire" those who could not "make good."

Except in a few lines of work (e.g., the telephone service, select office service, and department stores catering to custom somewhat above the average, in which some good special private vocational training has already been developed) the employers of women workers have always been in sharpest competition with each other, and ready at all times to "steal" each other's best workers; hence any given employer was practically precluded from giving his workers special training; he would only find his best workers stolen and himself the poorer for his efforts.

From the standpoint of making the work of young, uninterested, untrained girl and women workers productive of useful service, the modern industrial and commercial manager has wrought wonders through his use of machinery and organization—as expressed in massing of capital, use of inventions, development of speedy power-driven machinery, subdivision of process, perfection of supervision, advertising for help, penalizing specific forms of incompetency, etc. Cloth manufacture, department-store merchandising, cartridge making, bookbinding, watchmaking, fruit and meat canning, cigarette making, clothing manufacture, drug packing, telephony—these and many other similar lines represent wonderful modern organizations of production; but they do not usually involve the systematic vocational education of workers and, probably, may not be expected to do so in the near future. The very success of this form of enterprise has indeed led to the conviction that training for occupation is nonessential where machine production can be organized on a gigantic scale—a clear case, of course, of reasoning *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Because we see a thousand productive processes evolved to utilize the services of the untrained girl, we assume that the trained girl of equal age will find only these processes available for her. But to accept this conclusion would mean the abrogation of all of society's supposed powers of

invention along educational lines. Are only competing employers original and inventive? To train girl workers for non-domestic vocations will give us many problems; and these will be analyzed and solved. But it is futile to expect competing employers to solve or even to state them for us.

That woman in the twentieth century will be largely free to enter upon any productive work that she may elect, subject to that degree and kind of state regulation that will insure protection of the state's interest in her well-being; and that it is possible and profitable for society collectively, through the state, to undertake to fit her for such work—these are the preliminary theses upon which to base a study of the numberless particular problems for the individual woman and for society which have already developed and which may be expected to continue to develop in connection with her efforts to fulfil the destiny laid upon her originally, we are assured, by Eve, who, in the words of Vaughan Moody, lived to sing to the Lord:

Behold, against thy will, against thy word,  
Against the wrath and warning of thy sword  
Eve has been Eve, O Lord!  
A pitcher filled, she comes back from the brook,  
A wain she comes, laden with mellow ears;  
She is a roll inscribed, a prophet's book  
Writ strong with characters.

#### B. UNSETTLED PROBLEMS

The economic transitions of recent centuries, and especially in the countries where "industrialism" has progressed farthest, have given rise to many difficult social problems, some of which, at least, seem more acutely to affect women than men. Among the most pressing of these problems are those discussed below.

1. *Combining domestic with non-domestic work.*—During the transition period wherein has developed extensive employment of women in non-domestic industries, there appear many cases in which women simultaneously carry on homemaking and work outside the home.

(a) Tillage of the soil, harvesting, fish cleaning and drying, milking, herding, wood gathering, and some other semidomestic occupations, having been in large part woman's work long before the "industrial revolution," have persisted in all primitive communities. Colored women in the South, peasant women in all the continental countries of Europe and Asia, and recent immigrants to America, by reducing home work to a minimum, by developing much muscular power and physical endurance, are obviously able to bear many children, to bring some of these to a rugged maturity, and at the same time to perform what is frequently described as a "man's work" away from the home.

(b) In manufacturing and commercial centers, there are found many families in poor financial circumstances. In these, fathers are usually dead, deserters, invalided, or dissipated, or else are employed irregularly or in some unskilled, poorly paid work. As a consequence, the mothers, simplifying their home work to the utmost, seek wage-earning employments. They work in mills, as "day" domestics, as cleaners of office buildings, and in other fields in which unskilled laborers, made energetic by desperate necessity, are in demand.

(c) A few women of superior talent—actresses, singers, teachers, writers, saleswomen—have, after marriage, continued to follow apart from the home the productive service in which they had become adept before marriage. As a historic fact, many of these women have, naturally or voluntarily, remained sterile; but in other instances they have reared normal families, aided by employed domestic service.

(d) A small number of mothers, having brought a normal number of children to that degree of maturity where their immediate demands for "mother-care" have been less pressing, have resumed former employments or undertaken new work away from the home, sometimes as a means of furthering personal development or as a means of adding to family income.

2. *Homemaking as an exclusive vocation.*—But in the large majority of cases in all countries where a substantial portion of the population has reached a comfortable standard of living, work



outside the home for the married woman is held in disapproval both by expert and by popular opinion.

(a) Where young men and young women are both engaged in wage-earning, it is customary for them to abstain from marriage until, in each case, the man's income is believed to be sufficient to "maintain a home"—which implies the expectation that the wife shall be relieved of obligation to work for wages and shall be free to give her time exclusively to the upkeep of the home and the care of the children expected in it.

(b) The laboring man whose wife must "go out to work" becomes an object of pity or contempt according to the degree to which he is culpably responsible for such necessity.

(c) It is generally conceded that in the case of all families having young children and modal incomes—in America this might well mean children under fourteen or fifteen—the absence of the mother in wage-earning work operates to the serious physical and moral detriment of the children unless substitute care be provided. Such detriment must, obviously, be interpreted in terms of an approved real or expected standard of living, as this makes for physical and moral wholesomeness. It is clear that a rising standard of living means new requirements on mother care.

(d) Families in exceptionally good financial circumstances have long followed the practice of delegating care of children in large part. Employed nurses and tutors take charge during younger years; and in England the boarding school claims many boys and some girls after nine or ten years of age. Whether the rearing thus provided is equal or superior to that which the mother, devoting her energies primarily to her children, could give, is yet an open question; but in view of the very small number of families to whom this delegation of parental responsibilities is financially practicable, the question is of small importance. Once in a million cases, perhaps, we can find a Madame Schumann-Heink who can, by virtue of unusual physical strength and exceptional talent for a non-domestic vocation, render great service away from the home and at the same time rear a fine family; but social programs can hardly be based on cases so exceptional.

3. *Demands for "better families."*—In the evolution of conscious social policies relative to the homemaking vocation, to supplement the present social inheritance of customs and traditions based partly upon old human instincts and partly upon empirical experience accumulated under the spur of necessity, it is clearly urgent that the conditions of effective homemaking in accordance with modern approvable standards should be analyzed, delimited, and described. What constitutes optimum "mother-care" of infants and children? To what extent, under what circumstances, and at what financial cost can that care, in whole or in part, be delegated? To what extent, under what circumstances, and to what advantage, financial or other, can the pursuit of occupations supplemental to, or in substitution of, mother-care be profitably followed by the mother?

It is needless to state here that from the standpoint of social evolution the primary function of the home is the rearing of children during the prolonged years of "infancy" which has become a racial condition in the human species. The adequate maintenance of the home, at least in temperate zones, has entailed the monogamous and life-long union of the father and mother, and, as a consequence, the home serves the important secondary function of being a place of rest and recreation for the father, who is of course essentially a non-domestic worker. The mother, as homekeeper and children's guardian, develops various kinds of domestic productive service, which are best generalized under the term "homemaking." In all normal societies it can be assumed that the two parents contribute equally to the complete support of the home. Under special circumstances—e.g., where men extensively develop social habits of dissipation, where prosperous men put a premium on the decorative functions of wives and daughters, in settlement of the frontier, or where, after a long period in which men have specialized in defensive functions and women in manual toil, conditions of peace are established which do not for a time diminish the woman's work, but permit the man to exist in comparative idleness—the men in some of these cases, or the women in others, are forced to make a disproportionate contribution, whether of labor or of suffering; but such conditions occur only in exceptional classes and periods.

Rising standards of living and changing conditions due to civilization impose upon both parents larger responsibilities, often only partially offset by increase of knowledge, of productive power due to invention, etc. A longer period of parental protection for children; diminished mortality and morbidity rates; more adequate nurture, clothing, shelter, and education; more "social" advantages; later entry upon self-supporting employment; a "better start in life"—these become goals, individual and social, of family rearing in all civilized societies. The three most visible effects of these rising standards are: the mother must give fuller personal care to her children, especially in their younger years; the father must increase his output of productive service in order to procure the exchangeable goods necessary for family support; and the state undertakes certain functions—e.g., education, and, in less measure, health supervision and relief of destitute—which parents cannot well perform.

A secondary social product of these rising standards appearing in recent years, and especially in most progressive societies—as judged at least by conventional standards—is the voluntary diminution of the number of children to be reared, and, by inference and expectation at least, the more adequate rearing of this diminished number. A first manifestation of this tendency is found in the postponement of marriage among many classes, and especially the professional; a second, in the diminished marriage-rate, at least in some societies, of the socially "unfit"—the dissipated, the defective, and the ne'er-do-well; a third, in the social disapproval of excessively large families—the "rabbit warren" type—especially among the poor; and a fourth, in voluntary restriction among the sensitive and intelligent of the size of family to that which is in a measure compatible with the interests of the parents in the proper rearing of their children, the conservation of the health of the mother, and the building up of a capital reserve for the parents in their old age.

That the possibilities of restricting size of family in the interests of quality of human beings reared can be and are subject to gross abuses is unquestionable. Without doubt, an undue number of men now forego marriage altogether, some from the most selfish of motives. Some men, and doubtless some women, remain celibate

because of the acquisition of excessively developed qualities of so-called refinement, which represent in reality only refined selfishness. It is certain that in countries like France, New Zealand, England, and America, where social caste has broken down and ascent in the social scale is easy, a disastrously large proportion of married couples evade altogether or in large part their obligations to society as regards insuring families of proper size. Motives for this are varied, ranging from the completely selfish to those involving, perhaps, a misguided sense of social gain to result from the success of the unhandicapped man in art, science, business leadership, war leadership, or social prominence.

"Down to Gehenna or up to the throne,  
He travels fastest who travels alone."

It is still, of course, a complex unsettled problem as to how far the entire range of powers and capacities of the mother of a normal family, capable of being devoted to productive service, may not be required for child-rearing, especially during the years from marriage to the time when the youngest child shall be at least twelve years of age. In the case of a woman marrying at twenty-three years of age and rearing four children, it is reasonable to assume that her personal care will be closely required on behalf of her children until she is forty-two years of age. It is furthermore here offered as a contention that by all modern standards the family responsibilities of such a mother during her twenty most active years must claim substantially all her effective working time and energy. Society may be expected increasingly to look upon the supersession of maternal duties, either by voluntarily assumed or by enforced labor in non-domestic vocations, as in the nature of a misfortune to the rising generation. Variations from this principle there will undoubtedly be; but they will arise from circumstances so exceptional that they will be of the nature of those variations from the normal the justification of which on the part of given individuals will entail a substantial burden of proof.

4. *Domestic versus non-domestic vocations.*—What are the relationships likely to prove most common between woman's work in homemaking and her work in non-domestic employments? The history of recent decades points to the following possible answers:

(a) The postponement of marriage together with the withdrawal of many kinds of productive work from the home has rendered it necessary for the daughters of the family, no less than the sons, in large numbers to seek openings for productive service away from the home. This is especially true of communities devoted largely to industrial and commercial pursuits. For example, the Census of 1910 shows the following proportions (percentages) of women of each age group engaged in "gainful" occupations:

State	Females 10-13 Years	Females 14-15 Years	Females 16-20 Years	Females 21-44 Years	Females 45 and upward
	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Massachusetts.....	.3	24	60	39	18
Iowa.....	.7	9	29	20	9
Pennsylvania.....	1.3	21	44	23	13
Kansas.....	.7	4	22	16	10

All of these figures are rendered difficult of interpretation for the purposes in hand here by the fact that the fourth age group includes at least two or three and, for certain higher economic levels, probably four to six years of the usual "premarriage" wage-working years of the women involved. Nevertheless, it is clear that in all states, and conspicuously in those predominantly industrial and commercial, from one-fourth to nearly two-thirds of all women give their "premarriage" years (after school years close) to non-domestic employments; and there is little reason to expect that this condition will change in the direction of increasing the proportion of domestic work.

(b) Where regular home employment is insufficient for mother and growing daughters numerous attempts are made to bring wage-earning, non-domestic work into the home. In cities the addressing of envelopes, feather-work, novelty work, and piece-work (for example, sewing on of buttons, etc., on manufactured clothing) are sought. In a few country areas the manufacture of cheap cigars by farmers' wives and daughters in the home has proven profitable. But no general developments in this direction can now be traced, and the trend of "sweatshop" legislation, as well as the opposition of social students to the probable incident

abuses (hygienic, forced child labor, etc.), would seem to indicate that such forms of work have little future. The development of electrically driven textile and other machinery has led to some extravagant hopes that each home may once again become what it formerly was in some cases—a little workshop for the whole family. For the present these expectations must be regarded as utopian. Problems of organization, supervision, and transportation seem insurmountable. The natural lines of development of non-domestic work for rural women would seem to be in the direction of soil tillage and light stock-raising; but these also as “extra-home” vocations for women seem to be diminishing rather than increasing.

(c) It is here assumed that, as stated before, society cannot well expect or even permit non-domestic “full-time” waged work for women after marriage and during the time when children are still young.

(d) Could “part-time” wage-earning work for mothers be approved? If a mother cannot teach a full day, could she not teach a half day? Could not mothers living near factories give four or five hours daily to wage-earning? These questions are often raised; and public interest in them is such that much experimentation may be expected in the near future. The theoretic possibilities of good arrangements of this sort seem strong; but some of the most formidable obstacles to them are generally ignored. Modern production involves a constantly enlarging proportion of capital (tools, housing, etc.) and organization (supervision, regimentation, routine) in proportion to labor. To an increasing extent labor must work according to schedule, else waste of capital (idle tools, etc.) and excessive cost of “overhead” service—supervision, planning, etc.—become inevitable. The outlook for part-time service, especially if the “part-time” must also be somewhat irregular, is not promising, but nevertheless requires fullest experimentation.

(e) Can women, after children are grown, find profitable non-domestic employment? The answer involves the same difficulties as those discussed under (d) above, and the added one that these possible workers would be past the age at which they could readily

learn new processes. Here, also, close analytical studies of existing situations and experimentation seem highly desirable.

5. *What are "suitable" types of work for women?—*

(a) It can readily be assumed that most women, by instinct and as a result of custom inheritance, are peculiarly qualified for "homemaking" work as that has evolved through the ages. But where homemaking is required of a highly trained and gifted woman, it may seem in individual instances socially less productive than other work for her. To what extent and under what circumstances can she delegate homemaking? Some problems arising in this connection have been discussed above.

(b) It is probable that old preconceptions as to the "intellectual unfitness" of women for certain types of work will have to be put into cold storage during the twentieth century, at least until a time when more scientific evidence relative to general dissimilarities between men and women as to intellectual quality shall have been accumulated and interpreted. Only relatively few men, of course, are capable of meeting the intellectual standards set by the age for scientific research, practice of a profession, military leadership, teaching advanced students, literary production, business leadership, etc. Whether, given the same social incentives and opportunities, the percentage of women who could attain to equal proficiency is smaller or larger is certainly not yet known.

(c) Among economically prosperous people it seems that women develop less physical strength and those kinds of hardihood that we customarily identify with work in the open than do men. As a consequence, it is customary to assume that women cannot do many of the kinds of heavy work in which men frequently engage. This impression is heightened by the fact that among many of the best-known mammals and birds the female is less strongly built than the male. On the other hand, among primitive peoples and the economically less prosperous tillers of the soil today (Asia, Central Europe) women by custom carry on much heavy work, and, apparently, develop bones and muscles hardly less strong and capable of enduring long and heavy work than those of men. At all stages in recorded history, where the ideal of the "decorative" woman has prevailed among the leisure class or

workers of high rank, girls of these classes have been reared with standards of small feet, slender waists, half-developed muscles, and soft skins in view. The product has often been a much, if not excessively, feminized woman, who, among her other defects of specialization toward the "beautiful," includes a greatly diminished capacity for heavy physical toil and endurance. The same results would happen and frequently have happened to men as effects of similar ideals and consequent practices. How far, therefore, we must accept as inherent woman's alleged natural disqualifications for heavy work—lifting, tilling, building, digging, portering, mining, etc.—seems yet an open question.

If, however, it should prove that, naturally, a smaller body and less physical strength are the portion of women in general, or that women should, on account of possible injuries to organs essential to child-bearing, be spared "heavy work," then the consequences in vocational education will be important, although probably less important as mechanisms employing natural powers become perfected. The same results would follow, of course, if it should appear that those decorative qualities in women which seem to require certain kinds of physical underdevelopment should prove to be more than adventitious assets to society. Conceivably, it may be very important, from the standpoints of aesthetic demands, sexual selection, etc., that all women should be schooled and shaped to the physical attractiveness and delicacy formerly possible only to the wives, daughters, and specialized entertainers of the conquering and the wealth-holding classes. If this be so, then we shall differentiate indoor salesmanship, simple forms of factory work, and hundreds of "light" employments for young women during their premarriage years, because, on the one hand, these young women, softly reared, will prove unadapted to heavier work, and because, on the other hand, they will thereby avoid those forms of toil which most handicap them as regards physical attractiveness. Obviously, the unsettled problems here are numerous, intricate, and perhaps, until we shall know more about social psychology, baffling. But it is highly probable that, owing to natural or social fitness, men will prevailingly continue to fill some occupations and women others. The reasons for this differen-



tiation may be economic rather than physical and social. But, as the place and circumstances of a given occupation change, it may well pass from one sex to another. Milking, baking, and skin-dressing, once tied up with the home, first were women's work; but, away from the home, they became men's occupations. The work of the street-car conductor was formerly heavy and disagreeable to an extent that marked it out manifestly for men; but when the job becomes one chiefly of collecting fares in the protected entrance of a car, there is no reason why it should not be given to a woman, or, more properly, a girl.

6. *Can men and women workers expect equal pay for equal work?* —There are many obscure elements involved in this problem. It has previously been suggested that, under average economic conditions, women do *as much* work as men. This is very different from saying that men and women can compete on equal terms in non-domestic (or, obviously also, domestic) forms of employment. The following special problems are involved:

(a) It is essential that "pay for work" should be thought of as far as practicable in terms of exchange of economic utilities and not in terms of the counter "money." Men and women work, primarily, in order that they may produce, beyond the products of their labor which they can themselves consume, products which can be exchanged for the required products of others. It is practically impossible to designate absolute "values" for these products; all experience shows that, except in the case of collective interference with demand in the interest of health or safety, the "values" attached to various forms of service and product are the resultants of demand and supply. Private individual or corporate effort can interfere somewhat with the operation of the law of supply and demand in regulation of values (as expressed in prices), as through corporate monopoly, trade-union regulation, fashion, advertising, education; and the state through minimum wage laws, sumptuary regulations, state monopoly, can also cause some marked divergences from the normal values determined by the free operation of the law. Nevertheless, like sea-level as a base of earth measurements, or year-round average temperature in a given area, the resultant values given by the law of supply and

demand can never be ignored or greatly departed from. In general, then, it may be assumed that when the demand for the services or the products of any class of workers is large and the supply of such service or product small, a relatively large quantity of "exchangeable" goods will be offered; and, when reversed conditions prevail, a small amount; and that neither custom, private monopoly, nor law can more than slightly affect this resultant.

(b) Society does not now subject children, dependent poor people, the sick or the aged, those severely handicapped physically, or those who, like soldiers, are temporarily drafted for public service, to the struggle involved in the competitive industrial order. But it does require normal adults to be "self-supporting," which means, in fact, that these are expected to sell their services in the best possible market, and that buyers of such services or their products will strive to get them at the best possible (buyer's) price. Broadly speaking, then, a given normal child from birth to perhaps sixteen consumes more economic service day by day than he produces, the adverse balance being largest from perhaps nine to sixteen. Thereafter he produces more than he consumes until perhaps sixty-five years of age, the maximum favorable balance being between the years twenty-five and fifty. From sixty-five to death at eighty, this individual consumes more than he produces, apart from the service rendered to society by even the very old man as "capital holder." It is from sixteen to sixty-five, in this case, that the law of supply and demand regulating wages operates.

An extreme school of collectivists would abrogate the operation of the law of supply and demand by establishing the principle "to each according to his needs, from each according to his ability," which is now, on any given economic plane, the custom-based practice as regards children. But for the present we must assume among independent adult workers the nearly free operation of competition in buying and selling services (or their products). Under these conditions, subject to slight offsets from custom and monopolization, "equal pay for equal work" will certainly prevail; and the pay will always be that for which the cheapest worker can be had. This process will necessarily be obscured (perhaps

in a measure departed from) in public service (e.g., public-school teaching) where standards of service rendered are indefinite and the employer—"the public"—seems possessed of unlimited means of adding to the compensation of workers alleged to be "underpaid." Similarly, in the case of large corporations having great assets and not subject to keen competition, sentiment or fear may for a time force wage rates to artificial levels, doubtless often the case with "high officials" and sometimes with the rank and file of workers.

(c) But in almost every case it is practically certain that men and women will not work alongside each other on terms of economic equality. The "pull" of economic demand for persons of a given grade of native ability, training, and adaptability will not operate equally. For example, to one thousand men chosen at random, economic opportunities are now available of such kind and quantity as to make, let us say, elementary-school teaching at present rates of compensation a tenth or twentieth best calling; whereas to an equal number of women it is now a first, second, or, possibly in some cities, a third best calling. Naturally and inevitably, unless society places a special premium on men because they can render a kind of service that women cannot render, such teaching will become "woman's work" and the men will strive toward those callings which pay better.

(d) A very large factor in this economic differentiation, although obscurely recognized at present, is the difference in demands being made upon men and women workers respectively. For a given economic level, it may be assumed that during the years constituting the "premarriage" period for women in large numbers, youths and maidens will impose demands for wages only slightly above the living expenses of the individual. But between ages twenty-five and fifty, in the large (and therefore controlling) majority of cases the situations of permanent men and women workers (in the case of women, chiefly celibate) change in marked degree. The permanently single woman at twenty-six may, and, in the case of teachers, nurses, etc., often does, have as many "dependents" as men of the same age; but at forty-six society expects the man to have four to seven dependents, whereas the

single woman, who is the only frequent competitor, now, commonly, has only herself. Because this is so in the controlling number of cases for a given social plane of intelligence, standard of living, and natural competency, all components of the "demand" made by the class collectively for exchangeable goods (the measure of normal wages), men workers from twenty-five to fifty will strive to pre-empt fields into which women cannot fit; and, equally, women will be given almost exclusive possession of those forms of work which they can do best. Some of the stronger of the women will always be looking longingly into the fields given to the men; and their potential rather than real competition may be expected always to be a source of irritation, apprehension, and recriminating discussion.

7. *Women in the professions and leadership.*—To many young women of ability and ambition come, very naturally, aspirations to prepare themselves for those professional callings, as well as forms of leadership, for which many years of expensive training and of poorly remunerated apprenticeship are essential. Many capable women of middle age who are in their own thoughts permanent celibates, become ambitious to be promoted to positions of authority and leadership for which their abilities and experience seem to qualify them. In these cases women have always encountered obstacles more or less factitious, the vestigial remains of which still are found.

The problems involved here are by no means solved, however, when artificial barriers to training and promotion have been removed. Take, for example, the practice of medicine as a profession; should we recommend it as a desirable vocation to a young woman of requisite ability and interest? Persons preparing for this profession usually embark on its study at or about twenty to twenty-three years of age. They will probably be thirty years of age before they can expect to be self-supporting. Cost of training is heavy, both to the individual and to the state (or, in lieu of state support, philanthropic endowments provided for the encouragement of this professional training). Granting that a properly qualified woman who remains single can build up and maintain a good medical practice, should the *young* woman be encouraged to undertake the preliminary steps involved? We

should first, of course, decide as far as practicable whether, for the woman prepared to practice medicine, homemaking and family rearing are compatible with a professional career. Instances of the successful union of the two we have, of course; but do they prove the desirability of the attempt in general? Or should we assume that the woman who wishes to prepare herself for a difficult profession should, in effect, pledge herself to celibacy?

Similar problems arise in connection with leadership as found in such posts as foreman, school principal, department-store buyer, hotel manager, etc. Most of the women who work at teaching, manufacturing, store salesmanship, and clerical service are young; during their earlier years of service they usually expect to marry, and often their interests in matrimonial prospects constitute an absorbing preoccupation. At the time when the best men workers in these fields are just beginning to feel that their experience constitutes a solid basis for further study, many of the best women workers terminate their wage-earning careers. Those who find it desirable or necessary to go on are apt to come late to the conviction that they should begin to qualify themselves for promotion to directive work. Should we endeavor to induce the ablest of these workers early to begin to plan for promotion? The situation in public education is a good example. From 75 to 90 per cent of all teachers in the elementary and high schools are women. Beginners of both sexes start on a substantial parity as regards compensation and duties. But positions of direction go chiefly to men. Prepossessions of employing authorities—that women principals cannot manage big boys, that women teachers do not work so well under women principals—play a part in this, but probably not a great part in recent years. More marked is the indisposition of women teachers (except kindergartners) during the ages from twenty-four to thirty to take leads, to show professional initiative, to prepare for advanced work.

Obviously, problems involved in woman's relationship to vocations exacting long preparation must be studied in the light of agreement upon principles (or well-supported hypotheses at least) as to desirable attitude of women toward family life, and necessary limitations imposed by family life.

8. *The "college woman."*—Only within recent years have women in large numbers sought a college education. Now they seem likely to exceed the number of men in liberal-arts courses. The relation of a "liberal-arts education," leading to the degree of A.B., Ph.B., LL.B., or non-technical B.S., to prospective vocations, is yet a matter of uncertainty to the public and, it would also seem, to college professors. No one can pretend that a general college course is vocational in any definite sense, except possibly for some departmental work in high-school teaching—and that is the case not so much because any college prepares for that work as because high-school teaching itself is not yet, in America, based upon professional standards.

Nevertheless, the colleges generally do not make the actual functions of a college education clear to their students or to the public. College professors, in debates and articles, defend affirmative answers to the question, "Does a college education pay?" without distinguishing sharply between the "paying" which is essentially financial and the outcome of successful participation in vocations, and those other kinds of "paying" which are the effect of enrichment in personal culture, enhanced values in citizenship, greater control of health, and the like.

It will prove, of course, very hard to ascertain whether a college education ever or generally pays in the first sense. College students, and, still more, college graduates, represent of course the picked personalities of the time and regions to which they belong. Only persons of superior heredity, superior rearing, and superior lower education, in general, go to college. Success (as commonly esteemed) in vocational, as well as in other activities, is, in general, assured for these superior persons. Whether a general college education adds to prospects for success in a vocation is clearly not certain, notwithstanding the blind devotion of many college professors to the magic of "mental discipline." That a college education "pays" through enrichment of personal culture and general social or civic usefulness is probable, otherwise the "liberal-arts courses" lose all excuse for being.

Now the situation confronting women graduating from general college courses is difficult. They are naturally superior persons.

They are not generally committed to opportunities for homemaking careers. They want to be self-supporting. They dislike to enter upon "unskilled work." Their mature abilities and, as they often think, their education qualify them for something better. What are the possibilities? Their brothers used to feel the same ambition to begin high up the ladder of earning and responsibility; but now the men usually know enough either to go to a vocational (professional) school after leaving college or else begin at the bottom of the ladder on a railroad, in a broker's office, or even on a farm. But there are few vocational schools open to these women; their mothers frequently oppose their beginning at "the bottom" of any ladder. What can they do? Trifle away time entertaining and being entertained, awaiting the expected "engagement" to enter upon the vocation of homemaking? Confessedly, present conditions present here more unsolved than solved problems.

9. *Effects of mechanization and regimentation.*—Current tendencies toward the mechanization of industrial processes and the regimentation of workers are strong. It is the writer's conviction that further evolution of these tendencies is inevitable. Already it is clear that mechanization of work and subdivision of process greatly increase the variety and range of opportunities open to unskilled and immature girls—they can readily become "tenders" of even complicated machines. It is probable that "machine-tending" will spread. Harvesting, tillage, even milking and ditch-digging, are now done in part by easily managed machines. Could not women drive street cars, electric locomotives, traction-drawn plows, automatic fodder-grinders, as well as adding-machines, looms, tool-grinders, power-driven sewing-machines? Machinery makes a given quantity of productive work easier, and more or less interesting and stimulating. There are as yet many unsolved problems here, and they are for the moment at least of even more concern to women than to men, because women more readily than men fall victims in the numerous pathological situations incident to, if not even in some cases inherent in, "modern" industrialism.

10. *General education.*—In all the more progressive American states all girls (as well as boys) are required to attend full-time day

schools of general education between the ages of six and fourteen. A constantly increasing proportion of young persons from the more prosperous families attend, in addition, high schools (whose primary purposes are also found in the field of general, as distinguished from vocational, education) for one or more years, while the ambitious daughters of the very prosperous go also to college.

The objectives actually realized through this general education (or, in its higher stages, better named, "liberal" education) have not yet been definitely ascertained or described, especially in the upper grades and liberal-arts colleges. In the minds of many persons these objectives include some having relation to vocational fitness. It is obvious, of course, that a person unable to read or write is automatically debarred thereby from many non-manual vocations. But it is not so clear that a general high-school education is essential to the pursuit of higher vocations, public opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. The fact that girls or boys graduating from high school are, on the whole, a "selected" group (as regards native abilities, good early nurture, effective character formation in the home, etc.), and, therefore, likely to succeed well in vocational pursuits which they undertake and to give satisfaction to their employers, has, owing to the prevalent habit of reasoning easily *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, caused employers and even parents to associate success with the high-school education itself—as cause and effect.

But, as an accompaniment of the development of more definite plans for direct vocational education, it is becoming increasingly evident that general or liberal education has, and can have, little positive relationship to vocational competency. The primary objectives of effective general education are to be found in personal culture, civic and moral strength, and physical well-being, as these constitute desirable assets among men and women quite irrespective of vocation. The quality of the physical, social (civic and moral), and cultural education now given in upper grades, high schools, and colleges leaves much to be desired, perhaps in largest degree as it affects girls and women. Much of it rests on psychological assumptions that are largely wrong. Its specific



objectives have been determined in hard-and-fast form frequently by authorities (like committees on college admission) who have very slight knowledge of the actual qualities, powers, and capacities of those for whom they are prescribing, and even less of accurate knowledge of the social conditions to which these young women should be adjusted for later life and in which they can render valuable service. Nevertheless, some important advances have been made in recent years and greater ones are in prospect in proportion as education becomes more scientific as regards its aims and methods.

But it is now rather clear that vocational education and comprehensive general education cannot effectively be carried on side by side. The one tends to exclude the other or rather to take a primary place in the interests and the attention of the learner. Up to fifteen or seventeen or nineteen or twenty-one years of age, according to strength of intellectual interests, family economic circumstances, and social incentives generally, youths can be led easily to give primary attention to "growth," development, and training toward the non-vocational activities of life. As incidental and secondary to this liberal education they can readily be induced to "work for wages" after school hours and during vacations, to read about "careers," and even to study trigonometry, business English, or other subjects of a demonstrably "prevocational" character for ascertained vocations.

When, on the other hand, the time comes—in the case of a few at fourteen, for many at sixteen and at eighteen, and for the exceptional at twenty or twenty-two—for the youth to enter upon a vocation, or upon specific and demonstrably functioning training therefor, as a result of the interplay of his own instinctive development with the pressure of social forces upon him, then he tends, in response to a very real natural incentive as well as wise customs pressing upon him from society, to give to his vocation the lion's share of his interest and effort. None of us could well wish it otherwise. But there is one course which should be followed in the case of the young person concentrating on the earlier stages (as learner or operative) of his vocation; outside the hours—usually the best of the working day—given to that he should be induced,

even aided by supplemental training and instruction and by the public provision of suitable means, if necessary, to give his leisure hours to higher rather than to lower physical, civic, and cultural pursuits. If, for example, a girl of sixteen in a clothing factory or in a "power operating" school preparatory thereto is giving fifty-four hours per week to learning or practicing her vocation, then she should be assisted and inspired to devote a reasonable number of her leisure hours—from thirty to fifty per week—to those extravocational activities that will most enrich her life, continue the growth of her personality, and offset the inevitably cramping effects of her vocational pursuits—since all vocations, even those of homemaking, elementary-school teaching, and nursing, have their "cramping" effects no less certainly than dress-making, cigarette-making, spinning, waiting on table, and selling in a department store.

Now the time at which "full-time" general education should or will cease depends upon many conditions. For many girls and boys in our schools intellectual interests seem greatly to have flagged before fifteen years of age. Where the home economic interests are poor, where the father of four or six children is carrying the burden of supporting an expensive family on a working-man's wages, sensitive children at fifteen or sixteen years of age become eager to help carry the family's load. Some of these children become interested in earning money wherewith to purchase commodities and amusements attractive to themselves. In the case of many city boys of good physical development, the instinctive desire to be doing something "heavy" or "useful" with their muscles doubtless often exerts a strong pressure toward "getting to work." Now that it has become customary for a large proportion of girls to become wageworkers away from the home, the same social pressures are doubtless felt by them as by the boys. Other considerations also affect entrance upon wage-earning employments. For many trades the age of sixteen is, or rather was formerly, looked upon as a desirable time for beginning apprenticeship. The repellent character of the work offered during the first two years of the usual high-school course for pupils

who have no expectations of finishing the course has the effect of rendering all school work intensely distasteful.

It is to be expected that workers in vocational guidance will ere long have given us some standards to guide us in advising girls when to substitute a vocation or vocational training as the central interest of the working day for the work of the school of "general" or "liberal" education. The naïve assumptions of academic schoolmasters that one "cannot have too much of general education" are, of course, essentially *ex parte* contentions. The vague convictions of these same authorities that pupils will continue to profit materially from further attendance on schools of general learning as long as they attend are probably widely at variance with the facts, at least as schools and courses are now provided for youths from twelve to eighteen years of age. More to be approved, perhaps, at least in urban environments and under sharply competitive industrial conditions, is the contention that the longer pupils remain in school the better prepared they will be, in maturity and physical resisting power at least, to withstand the abnormal strains and other adverse conditions incident to modern industrial employment.

11. *Some conditions affecting vocational education.*—As introductory to discussion of problems of vocational education of women and girls, it is necessary to recognize: (a) that the successful pursuit of *any* and *all* vocations requires that the individual should somewhere and somehow have been trained for that pursuit; (b) that under historic conditions such training has been the expected by-product (by-education) of actual participation in the earlier and simpler stages of the vocation; and (c) that only in recent times and, as yet, under exceptional conditions has it been feasible or desirable to separate *vocational training* for proficiency from *vocational participation* for production.

Furthermore, it must be recognized that the modern demand for specialized vocational education (in schools) arises from these convictions more or less widely held: (a) that for many vocations—homemaking, dressmaking, teaching—the conditions and efficacy of apprenticeship have deteriorated greatly in recent years;

(b) that for many other vocations, especially of modern development—stenography and clerical work generally, salesmanship, and scores of kinds of factory employments—apprenticeship education never has been carried to the point of being more than a crude method of trial-and-error selection, accompanied by the slow and clumsy building of experience; (c) that the absence of systematic provision for vocational education works immeasurable harm to individuals, young and old, in permanently holding their productive efficiency below the requirements for a normal standard of living; and (d) that society itself is thereby the loser at all points in the elements that make for social wholesomeness and progress.

It has been previously noted that under American conditions the great majority of girls and women do and will in each case continue to follow two widely unlike vocations—a wage-earning vocation from youth to young womanhood, often from sixteen to twenty-four years of age—after which they will follow for life the vocation of homemaking. In some important respects this situation complicates all problems of vocational education for girls and women, although, in the case of commercial and industrial vocations, these complications are only slightly more serious and difficult than others found in the vocational education of boys and men.

The first difficulty usually encountered is that the girl does not take her wage-earning vocation seriously. For her it is merely a means to the earning of money. She hopes and expects not to follow it long. Except as it brings more money she is not greatly interested in promotion. Given the opportunity to take vocational training, she seeks to shorten the period of such training as much as possible. She remains indifferent to the co-operative help of unions. She develops little of the *esprit de corps* of work. She is easily exploited and the best discipline for dereliction is found in a system of fines.

But the most unsettling difficulty, doubtless, is that her second vocation, homemaking, is one toward which conditions prevent her from moving in anything like a direct way. She must wait the will and pleasure of others. It is often hardly considered dignified openly to anticipate the new career and to prepare for

it. As a consequence of the fact that the wage-earning girl has been for several years hardly more than a boarder in her parents' home or the home of others, and has given little serious thought and almost no preparation to the work of homemaking, it happens frequently that she enters upon this work with the naïve cheerfulness and ignorance of a child and lets her domestic happiness drift upon the rocks of incompetency and discord to the great harm of herself and loss to society.

A third difficulty is encountered as respects those professional vocations for which a long term of years are required in preparation. Capable and ambitious women graduates of high school and even college occasionally manifest keen ambitions to become physicians, architects, painters, writers, or teachers in college or normal school. As a rule these callings require from three to five years of expensive professional training, followed by several years of quasi-apprenticeship, during part of which the individual must be supported (at large expense) by her family, and during no part of which can she expect to be entirely self-supporting. Should girls at eighteen or twenty, who will probably marry before they are thirty years of age, be encouraged to enter upon the long road of preparation for these professional careers, taking the time and using the equipment frequently of expensive institutions of training? Would such training give valuable assets toward homemaking at all in proportion to the outlay made upon it? Many differences of even expert opinion will be found here.

The rapid development of production by means of machinery and the specialization of processes made possible in all highly organized industrial and commercial production have opened endless opportunities for wage-earning work to women and especially to girls of average capacity and moderate training. Endless varieties of productive work are to be found in industrial establishments today in which all that is required of the girl is that she shall be an alert machine-tender. Cloth and clothing manufacture, cigarette-making, fruit packing, small hardware production, bookbinding, jewelry making, printing, telephony, paper-box making—these are but suggestive examples. Somewhat more skilled are the commercial occupations—clerical and salesmanship—which,

by virtue of subdivision and specialization, are being rendered, to a substantial extent, increasingly accessible to half-matured and slightly trained girl workers.

12. *Vocational levels.*—It is often naïvely assumed that specialized economic production offers, or should offer, opportunities for workers generally to rise in their work toward places of greater responsibility and reward in the same way that was true of the handicraft and other unspecialized callings. This vague assumption has been responsible for the tendency to designate so many juvenile callings as “blind-alley” or “dead-end” occupations.

But it is probably much nearer the facts to describe modern specialized callings in factory, store, and large office as consisting of levels largely, if not wholly, unconnected with each other. The work on certain levels is peculiarly suited to the powers of young people, and often to persons of quite mediocre native abilities. On other levels, maturity and perhaps native ability are required, but not necessarily experience on lower levels in the same establishment. Naturally there are many exceptions to the principle here stated in general terms, but in the making of educational programs it is now not the exceptions but the prevalent conditions which require emphasis, in view of the deep-seated ignorance of many educators now influencing the development of vocational education. It is clearly to the interest of the worker as well as of society that transition from lower to higher levels should be rendered as easy and timely as practicable for each worker when maturity and ability justify it. That is far from being the case at present. Where production is highly organized, all the work of one “level” being confined to one great room or even shop, the best workers of this level are retained as long as possible, and every barrier is interposed to their movement upward—a situation in direct contrast to the “ladder” system of advancement inherent in most phases of a complex or handicraft calling, such as dress-making, teaching, farm work, and nursing, where increased skill and general competence grow as parts of a more or less unified structure.

Few systematic means have yet been devised toward assisting the worker to prepare for the better-paid levels. Entry upon these

is frequently attended by difficulties of the same general character as those encountered in getting employment in the first place. Uncertainty, hardship, initial blundering, the domineering attitudes of foremen and forewomen, all make these transitions extraordinarily painful and hazardous. Vocational training of the right sort is required for young workers in all highly organized industries no less in transition from intermediate or lower stages to higher stages than at the outset.

13. *Vocational training for specialized vocations.*—Most of the wage-earning work upon which girls and women enter is of a highly subdivided and specialized character, and this promises to be increasingly the case. War production has taken almost wholly the direction of enhanced "quantity production" of "standardized goods"—cartridges, uniforms, canned meats, aeroplane wings, shells, rifle sights, army shirts, and the like.

For the sake of the happiness of the worker herself as well as for the sake of enhanced production and general economic well-being, it is highly desirable that, as preliminary to entry upon productive work in any specialized process, the girl should receive specific and effective vocational training (and, where necessary or desirable, related instruction and social insight) in that process. For many specialized processes a few weeks, or, at most, months, may amply suffice to give this training, providing there be dedicated to it the same full working day, spirit of concentration, and pursuit of specific and definitely conceived ends that are characteristic of the vocational pursuit itself. Of intensive vocational training of this sort, either for first entry upon wage-earning or as a means whereby the worker of some experience can be assisted to advance to higher or better-paid levels, our public vocational schools provide as yet very few examples. Private effort has resulted in some suggestive experiments and examples upon which publicly supported work may be expected hereafter to be based. It requires courage, imagination, and practical insight of kinds not common among educators to undertake the promotion of intensive, "short-course" vocational training for productive specialties, especially when such training obviously involves large use of "productive work" as an educational means, followed by definitely organized "part-time"

participation on a wage-earning basis. Some day we shall in this connection realize better than we do now the large possibilities of the "vestibule school" (a type which should not be refused public support solely because the best place for its location is in a building chiefly dedicated to industry or commerce).

14. *Homemaking education*.—Space does not here permit extended discussion of the possibilities of vocational education for homemaking. Widespread attempts are now being made to introduce this vocational education under the name "home economics" into upper grades and high schools. Where girls have had or can be induced to obtain a large amount of practical experience in their own homes, and if the school instruction is definitely correlated with such home experience, the net outcome will be a form of "vocational extension education" which may prove to be somewhat valuable for farmers' daughters and others not leaving the home to work for wages. But for the large majority of girls in our industrial and commercial cities, home economics education given at the ages from twelve to sixteen will probably produce little permanent power of "execution"; but it will, when properly organized, give rise to appreciations of a fairly definite sort, useful as foundations for subsequent training in skill and management.

But effective homemaking education—for the modal American home expecting three to five children, and operated without help of servants—can be given only when "motive" is ripe. If girls of from seventeen to twenty could look forward to acceptable wage-earning careers as household domestics, then the year (or possibly more) just before entry upon that calling would be the best time for definite, practical education for that form of homemaking service. A few girls at sixteen or eighteen years of age—only daughters, or daughters with invalid mothers—can doubtless be found who will be effectually interested in preparing to take charge of the domestic work in their own homes. These two may be expected, in cities or suburban areas, to constitute a sufficient number to justify provision of practical training adapted to their needs.

But as regards the great majority of girls who serve some years as wage-earners apart from the home, it is doubtful whether



active motives for learning homemaking can be counted upon until after several years in the wage-earning career have passed, and the young woman has reason to anticipate the coming of conditions which will enable her to establish a home of her own. The years immediately preceding and immediately following marriage are, in the last analysis, the best for education in homemaking as a vocation. Of course existing social valuations—conventions, prejudices, fashions—are now opposed to programs having such education in view. But social valuations can readily be changed when sufficient leaders of ability see the light and are willing to spread it. There are many social forces now working in America toward the improvement of the home and the elevation of the vocation of homemaking.

## THE RÔLE OF SOCIAL HEREDITY IN EDUCATION

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During the last two or three decades we have seen growing up two seemingly irreconcilable attitudes toward heredity. The theory of Weismann that acquired characteristics are not inheritable has been gaining general credence at the same time that eugenics has been formulated into a program. According to the accepted biological point of view acquired traits, either of weakness or strength, disease or health, boorishness or culture, unless they get into the germ plasm, which in general they seem not to do, cannot be perpetuated through organic heredity. According to the eugenic point of view the hope of speedy progress in civilization lies in guarding and guiding the hereditary factors entering into racial development. If the Weismannic dictum that the sort of lives we live has little effect on the organic inheritance we transmit to posterity, then the eugenic program can accomplish little without a more radical change in the processes of parental selection than the hardest eugenicists have dared seriously to propose. Either the current biological views of heredity must be overthrown, or the eugenic crusaders must confine their hopes to the prevention of only a small, almost negligible, fraction of the most unfit from perpetuating their kind and the stimulus it provides the normal individual to cause him to pay attention to the laws of heredity.

If the eugenic crusade has done little else, however, it has stimulated interest in past achievements and has led to a better recognition of the debt we owe to our ancestors. It has paved the way for what Professor Conn has called "the other side of eugenics," that is, social heredity. If we cannot transmit to our descendants powerful physiques and giant minds, or new instincts, cultivated tastes and sentiments, or a thirst for scientific knowledge, we can at least transmit a social heritage which it is difficult if not impos-

sible for them to escape. If we are not able to transmit mental and physical constitutions inherently superior to our own, we can transmit an exterior civilization as superior to the one we inherited as our cumulative efforts are able to make it. Any progress made in the arts, in science, in mechanical or economic processes, material contrivances, language, moral codes, government, etc., may be handed on ready-made to the rising generation for its permanent use. The social organism with all its forms and achievements constitutes an inheritance that should guarantee continuous progress, even though we are denied the boon of rapid advance through organic selection.

While the term social heredity has long been used and sociologists have understood something of its significance, it is only recently that attempts have been made to analyze its content and set forth its importance. Professor Conn's illuminating study has cleared the way. He has treated our social inheritance as a body of acquired traits in contradistinction to the natural traits obtained through organic heredity.

The chief factors which separate the European from the Bushman are not, then, in his innate, but in his acquired, characteristics. We do not mean by this that there are no innate differences between the Bushman and the European. The differences in inherited mental power of the two are perhaps great; but the chief differences between them, in adult life, are in the mental powers which each has acquired rather than in the mental attributes which each has inherited. Civilization is thus a heritage, handed down from father to child; but it is like property passed on from generation to generation, and not like that organic inheritance by which the parent transmits to his child the color of his hair, or his eyes, or his stature, or his mental power and moral sense. . . . Organic heredity has produced the human animal, but social heredity has produced the modern social man.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Conn further contrasts human and animal evolution:

Human evolution has thus been a double one. The laws which had been at work for countless ages producing a world full of its numerous animals and plants produced also the first human animals with some points of strength and some of weakness. But among other features of this new production there were certain instincts that led to social life and to a spirit of self-sacrifice. These new characters in time brought to the front the force of social heredity

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Conn, *Social Heredity and Social Evolution*, pp. 336, 337.

and a new era of evolution began, ending in the comparatively rapid evolution of civilization. This latter phase of the great sweep of the evolutionary processes of nature belongs to man alone, and has made him the unquestioned master of nature, the mastery having been given him by his own unique evolution, made possible by the utilization of the new phase of inheritance which has been called Social Heredity.<sup>1</sup>

While Professor Conn has made a valuable contribution to the study of social heredity, he has failed to make any clear distinction between the sociological and the psychological factors entering into it. He has treated the psychological and sociological aspects of man and of civilization indiscriminately. Approaching the subject from the biological standpoint he has accepted every superorganic element as a complex unity and has thus failed to organize his material into definite and usable form. In applying social heredity to education, therefore, it is necessary to get a more specific analysis of the factors concerned with our social heritage than he has given us or than is elsewhere extant.

As the child passes from the hereditary germ plasm to maturity he is shaped and molded mainly by three sets of forces, the organic, the psychic, and the social. The phenomena connected with these forces fall within the three realms of biology, psychology, and sociology. The impact of these forces and the importance of these phenomena vary with the age of the individual. We may say in general that during the prenatal period the dominating forces and phenomena are chiefly organic, during childhood they are largely psychic, and during youth they are pre-eminently social. It cannot be said that psychological and social elements are not concerned with conception, gestation, and birth, for the conditions and controls of all these things are determined to a large extent by the psychic attitudes and reactions of the parents and by social custom, law, economic sustenance, sanitation, and medical science. Neither can we say that the organic and social factors are not prominent in every element of childhood, nor that the biological and psychological factors are not highly important in controlling the youth as he approaches maturity. But in spite of the overlapping of these forces and phenomena there is a progressive trend

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Conn, *Social Heredity and Social Evolution*, p. 339.

from the dominance of the physical to the dominance of the social as the human personality evolves.

If we characterize the human qualities derived from each of these forces we might say that through organic heredity we gain the fundamental physical powers, such as the muscular and osseous systems, the nervous system, the vital organs, the germ plasm of reproduction, and such outward features as the color of hair and eyes, skin texture, facial contour, etc. Likewise we inherit a general organic plasticity and adaptability, particularly of the brain, which has slowly increased through the centuries under the laws of selection and survival. Our psychological inheritance consists of a variety of instincts and tendencies and the objective knowledge we possess of human traits, mental qualities and possibilities, moral sentiments and habit controls, the laws of individual growth, the organization of methods of dealing with the child, and the psychological elements entering into the social mechanism. It is psychic activity that connects the individual organism with the social organism, or that directs the individual in his acquisition of the social inheritance. This leaves for our social inheritance the whole static organization of society with its accumulated achievements. To make clear the desired educational applications it is necessary to go into some detail.

Probably the most conspicuous phase of our social inheritance is economic. Our primitive ancestors must have been without the use of fire, tools, weapons, clothing, accumulated stores of food, or knowledge of mechanical processes. Their superiority to the animals with which they were surrounded and with which they had to struggle was mainly a greater mobility and adaptability of physical and mental qualities. Through the application of energy, ingenuity, and forethought they slowly accumulated the store of capital goods which increased their supremacy and paved the way for more rapid production. Tools, weapons, agricultural implements, boats, etc., were invented; houses were built, roads were laid out, clothing was made, food was stored up; animals were tamed and organized into flocks and herds; barter introduced exchange, tools started the handicrafts, and slaves popularized labor. Money developed as a medium of exchange, inventions

stimulated machinofacture, and credit and business organization were utilized to increase productive capacity. These economic materials and processes have multiplied in number and complexity until each new generation is provided with ready-made mechanical devices, material structures such as houses, ships, roads, factories, bridges, stores of food, clothing, mercantile goods, inventions and labor-saving devices, transportation systems, smooth-running business organizations, etc. All of these things not only tend to establish high standards of life, but are at hand for actual use in elevating the plane of living, and are all but forced upon the rising generation through social agencies.

Scarcely less primitive and basic are the various agencies for stimulating sociability and promoting social intercourse. As the economic system is the outgrowth primarily of the self-sustaining instincts, so the social system is the outgrowth of the aggregative and reproductive instincts. Many of the higher animals have social instincts, and we can hardly conceive of primitive man without impulses to sociability and something of the "consciousness of kind." Under these impulses and instincts our distant ancestors formed a variety of institutions and organizations to encourage social contacts. They developed a complex system of communication made up of gesture, language, and written symbols. The family was instituted and has passed through various stages into the monogamous democratic family group of the present. Religious impulses led to the founding of socially cohesive church groups. The needs of self-protection led to ever-enlarging associations of neighborly clans. Methods of social intercourse settled into customary and fixed channels. Marriage and funeral customs, social conventions, stimulating games, and traditional ceremonies were habitualized. Informal charitable, recreational, fraternal, and cultural associations grew into recognized institutions. As civilization increased in volume and complexity all of these socializing agencies expanded into inchoate or formal organizations for the purpose of conserving and passing on the accumulated social wisdom of the race.

Closely associated with the economic and purely social activities of primitive man were a variety of cultural activities. Folklore

and mythology laid the foundations of literature in its multitudinous forms. Weird rhythmic chants and the beating of tom-toms paved the way for the complexity, breadth of appeal, and refinement of execution of modern music. Rude decorative devices grew into the painting and sculpture which has left canvasses and statues to inspire the aesthetic idealism of later ages. The savage hut was the forerunner of an architecture which has decked the landscape with ornamental buildings. Oratory, the pageant, and the drama also have primitive origins. The use of crude tools grew into the so-called useful arts, which have ever taken on more and more of the intellectual, emotional, and painstaking qualities of the fine arts. The refinement of the aesthetic sense was closely related to the refinement of the moral sense, and the ethical codes originated in economic and social contacts expanded under cultural stimuli into the chivalry and altruism of later days. All of these things have been gradually socialized and universalized through organization and form the basis for a cultural progress that is cumulative from generation to generation.

Finally, to complete the social inheritance we have the institutions constituting, and under the patronage and control of, governments. Constitutions, local, district, and national governmental organizations, broad police powers and functions, state economic enterprises, and charitable, eleemosynary, and educational institutions have grown up from crude beginnings and are self-perpetuating. Individual ideas of justice were organized into community customs, customs hardened into fixed laws, and laws were collected into statutory codes. Governmental organization has grown from the spasmodic headship of the war leader to the continuous domination of the centralized modern state, and its functions have expanded from the mere protection of the person to the telic control of numerous individual and institutional activities. With the rise of civilization the political state seems to have quite continuously grown in comparative institutional importance, and internationalism is on the way.

Each of these phases of the social organism, the economic, the social, the cultural, and the governmental, not only provides accumulated materials with which it may impress the rising

generation, but has definitely constituted agencies for perpetuating itself. All of these means of transmitting the social heritage must be recognized as education. So effective are they that we have learned to expect the environment to dominate almost completely the mental and moral constitution of the individual. The child of a Mohammedan becomes a Mohammedan as naturally and quite as inevitably as he inherits the physical features of his ancestors. No one expects a Jew to be disloyal to the Hebrew religion or to be unmoved by the proud heritage of his race. The Englishman, the Frenchman, or the German must learn to speak his mother-tongue and cannot escape the traditions and customs of his progenitors. Every child absorbs something of his physical and social environment as certainly as he recapitulates the organic evolution of his kind.

Any attempt to organize social heredity as education demands a definite distinction between formal and informal education. Formal education consists of specialized, separate institutions, such as schools, and certain phases of other institutions which are specifically and consciously used for educative purposes. The family constitutes a powerful center of formal, as well as of informal, training. Children are taught in the home to do manual work, such as cooking, sewing, and housekeeping, the use of weapons and tools, farming, gardening, trading, and the foundations of the social amenities and ethical codes. Parts of the church, such as the Sunday-school, classes in church and biblical history, and catechetical drills, are differentiated for teaching purposes. Business and the trades have apprenticeship training, cultural societies have their club papers, fraternal organizations their rituals, and social groups their orderly forms. All these institutions demand the learning of predetermined essentials and in some form teach them line upon line and precept upon precept. In all primitive societies these agencies constituted the only formal education, and they have lost little of their virility in advanced society.

With the advance of civilization, however, they alone were found to be too irregular, uncertain, and ineffective to satisfy the needs of society. The body of social materials grew so complex and social consciousness so acute that it became unwise to intrust so vital a function as education to minor phases of group organiza-



tions. Social solidarity, social conservation, and social progress became so dependent upon special training that purely educational institutions were differentiated. The dominant institution of the day extended its educative function by founding formal schools which not only embodied its own training materials, but undertook more or less of general education. The Spartan state, the mediaeval church, the local municipality, and the modern centralized government have each established school systems as each in turn conceived its mission to include the guardianship of the social heritage. With the growth of civilization the school as an institution has increased steadily in importance. It has become independent in management, self-conscious in its mission, and instead of being a minor phase of other institutions it is assuming a constructive attitude in determining the functions of other social organizations. In fact, among the advanced nations the school is recognized as the most direct, if not the most powerful, factor in molding individual personality and national ideals.

But the formal education of the schools is largely based upon social heredity. Even so noted an educator as Nicholas Murray Butler has defined education as the acquisition of the cultural inheritance of the race. Most of the language and literature taught comes down from a past age. The scientific textbooks are filled with the facts and principles developed through earlier observation, reasoned premise, and experimentation. History is mainly a record of past civilization, civics an analysis of previous governmental practice, economics a study of business activities up to the present, and sociology an organization of the phenomena and principles gleaned from social evolution and social conditions. Much of the inspiration and materials for teaching the fine arts comes from inherited artistic models. Likewise the institutions for carrying on this teaching have been molded in past ages. School organization, school methods, and school equipment are the result of generations of theorizing, selection by means of trial and error, and cumulative invention. In fact, during most of our educational history the school has been merely a conserving institution, discouraging innovation, and more static than dynamic in its aims and results. Only in advanced societies, more especially in recent years,

has formal education assumed progressive attitudes or adopted telic programs.

Since formal education has developed an extensive literature of its own, and its function in passing on the social heritage is well understood, we may well confine our efforts to emphasizing the informal aspects of the subject. Informal education consists of the various influences and phenomena which are unconsciously assimilated through mere contact. The child imitates the speech, actions, customs, and habits of his parents. He is taught many lessons as a part of his general control and direction without any thought of their function as education. As a means of mutual understanding and without any consciousness of its value as linguistic training the child is laboriously taught to interpret and use language. He is aided in gaining bodily co-ordinations, he is stimulated to play, his sense activities are directed, advice is given, moral precepts are iterated, and suggestions are dropped as the rain, with absolute unconsciousness that these things embody the most fundamental educative lessons of life. Self-control, the ability to endure pain, and the importance of struggle and effort are instilled as a corollary of the daily nursery. Certain elements of vocational knowledge, religious practice, political traditions, and racial prejudice are absorbed through family conversation. So great are these early educative influences, mainly within the home, that it has been said that the child passes through the first third of his development before birth and the next third before the close of the fifth year. Likewise it is a Jesuit tradition that the child's religious status may be definitely fixed before he passes his seventh year.

When the child's circle of activity extends beyond the family roof-tree another era of unconscious educational progress awaits him. He imitates the language, plays, and customs of his companions, emulates the spirit and attainments of his playmates, and absorbs the knowledge held in solution in his environment. He gets elementary lessons in biology through the observation of plants and animals, and learns something of geography, hygiene, folklore, the fine arts, and mechanical principles through efforts to satisfy his native instinct of curiosity. Building operations, methods of transportation, public utilities such as fire protection and police

control, mercantile transactions, churches, schools, lodges, and a thousand other physical and social activities fall under his scrutiny. Through tireless activity he increases his physical skill, mental ingenuity, and social adaptability. In short, before the days of formal schooling the child is well started in all the physical, mental, and moral co-ordinations which the educative process demands.

Thus it will be seen that while the primary groups, the home, the playground, and the local community, are not organized for conscious education, they have very large educational functions, both formal and informal. They are the sources of beginnings and have the most plastic period of life in which to make their influences effective. Nor must it be supposed that their educative importance ends with childhood. It extends throughout life, and while the wider social contacts of the intermediate and secondary groups increase in number and significance with advancing age, they must remain extensive in nature as contrasted with the intensive forces of the primary groups. The primary groups continue throughout maturity to form the nuclei around which other associations revolve and face-to-face contacts to determine life's most fundamental choices. Even the selection of a vocation or of a companion in marriage is most likely to be determined by informal primary-group influences.

In later childhood and youth, however, the larger social groups gain increasing educational importance. The church, the gang, the cultural association, the business, charitable, and political organization, take on new significance. Instead of being an outside observer the boy or girl joins a number of these groups. Each demands loyalty and service and has inchoate or organized methods of enforcing its spirit and will upon the initiate. Within the group social pressure is the dominant factor. It comes down from above through officers and leaders and is exerted laterally by the rank and file of membership. The new member is thus molded into shape and required to assume his share of responsibility for the *esprit de corps* and work of the group. It is this informal use of group pressure which constitutes the chief educative value of mere organization and group solidarity. It has superior molding power because it unites precept and example, word and deed, learning and doing.

In many ways the pedagogy of the informal group is superior to the pedagogy of the school.

But if the informal education of such groups as the church, the athletic or social club, the musical, art, dramatic, or literary society, and business and political associations are educative, what shall we say of the informal associations of the school? Between the ages of six and fourteen approximately half of the time of the youth is spent in school, and the school influences extend into other phases of the pupil's life. If the formal education of the youth is continued beyond this period the school becomes even more of a dominating influence in his activities. In our ordinary thinking about the school, however, we overvalue the direct instruction of the teacher, the textbook, the reference library, and the laboratory. School spirit and loyalty, school athletics and playground activities, school organizations for social, cultural, and religious purposes, the extra-classroom contacts of teacher and pupil, and the continual association of the pupil with other pupils possessing different opinions, prejudices, habits, and ideals absorbed from different home environments do much to broaden, deepen, and stimulate the growth of the personality of the impressible adolescent. If these subsidiary influences are not favorable the school can be only partially efficient, regardless of the quality of the classroom teaching or the excellence of the equipment.

The educational value of extra-curricular influences in school life will be made apparent by a detailed study of any particular school system, or by an analysis of the opinions of the alumni of any famous school concerning the factors which had the greatest influence in molding their characters. Everyone is familiar with the traditional influence of the great English public schools upon their graduates. Wellington's oft-quoted statement that Waterloo was won on the cricket fields of England is paralleled by hundreds of references to the dominating nature of "school life" in shaping the lives of great men. Graduates of our best academies and colleges seldom refer to what they learned, but to what they grew into in the atmosphere of their Alma Maters. Talent for organization, the will to succeed, breadth of sympathy, understanding of human nature, social adaptability, the joy of human struggle, the

instinct and practice of leadership, and a wide variety of personal qualities and ideals come not from the classroom, but from the athletic field, the dormitory, the club, the fraternity, the literary society, the school paper, the Young Men's Christian Association, the debating league, school politics, and social gatherings. In fact, if we take their word at face value, most men of character and influence owe their success to "college life" rather than to their college studies.

Moreover, just here lies the greatest weakness of the American public schools as compared with the best private schools. They are generally lacking in traditions, school organization, and *esprit de corps*. Public-school teachers are as fully trained, are more specifically trained, and are not inferior in personality to teachers in private schools of the same grade. Nor are public-school buildings and equipment inferior. But they do lack something in the traditional molds for habit formation and the selective organization for stimulating chosen ideals found in such old preparatory schools as Exeter, Andover, Groton, and St. Paul's. With increasing age and an enlarged alumni, with the rise of athletics, with playground and music supervisors, and with wisely sponsored literary, art, religious, and social organizations something of the same cultural traditions and ideals may be fostered. Alongside this increased social pressure the democratic stimulus of undifferentiated social classes, the tolerance bred of clashing ideals, and the socializing effect of widely differing vocational and philanthropic ambitions should still persist. Likewise the telic breadth of state vision should demand and provide a wider range of opportunities for educational selection than could be expected in a private school. It is the mixing of cultures in the crucible of democratic school groups that inspires confidence in the future of the public school.

A not less illuminating method of getting at the value of the informal education of social heredity might be made by tracing the origin of our specific ideals. Whence come our patriotism, our party allegiance, our religious predilections, our business standards, our sex chivalry, our social etiquette and *savoir faire*, our self-control, our co-operative spirit, and our altruism? Where do we get our taste in food, clothing, furniture, and houses, our sex

knowledge, our occupational and marital choices, our chums and our amusements? Certainly most of these things are not determined by any formal instruction, but are breathed in through the social atmosphere of our native environments. To what extent has the teaching of civics aided in driving out the political bosses or in eliminating grafters? How many men have changed their party alignments as a result of the teaching of government in our schools? How much more patriotic, or chivalrous, or altruistic are our college graduates than our ordinary citizens? As a matter of fact party affiliations are usually formulated in the home, confirmed in playground squabbles, and sealed in the party caucus. Church membership is ordinarily decided before the age of discretion without any element of judgment based upon knowledge entering into the situation. Social etiquette and our general tastes are copied from the home or the larger community environment. Our sex knowledge is picked up on the streets or in stealthy conferences with the more or less depraved. Our chums and amusements are selected from local associations, and our standards of business honor and of workmanship are fixed quite largely by our occupational associations.

Taken as a whole, it would be safe to say that in all relations in life where feeling reactions are more important than intellectual decisions the unconscious education of the folkways, traditions, conventions, customs, and organized institutions of society gained through informal contacts with our fellows and our environment has more influence in molding our characters and determining our destiny than has formal education. This holds true for all classes but more particularly for the masses whose school days are limited. It would not do to overlook the fact that organized education tends to enable us to control our feelings, that it adds refinement to our sentiments and strengthens our characters; but likewise it would not serve the truth to overlook the fact that much of our most useful knowledge, much that enters into our best judgments, is acquired through informal and haphazard contacts. The truth seems to be that as civilization advances formal education increases its reach and power over the social heritage, but as yet we have not attained, for the masses of the people at least, a stage where we can

expect the selected materials of the schools to be as dominating over our society as are the heterogeneous materials of unconsciously propagated social heredity. Much can be done to improve present-day materials and methods, but the day is far distant when we can persuade the boy to give up his street vernacular for the language of the textbook, to read only the type of literature found in the school library, to produce and listen only to the music selected for school use, to eat the food, wear the clothes, adopt the habits, and live the ideals suggested by his teachers. In the meantime he will inherit from his social environment a large share of his personal characteristics as unconsciously as he inherits the physical traits of his ancestors.

Generalizing the analysis of the preceding pages, it is to nurture rather than nature, to environment rather than organic heredity, that we must look mainly for social progress. Even such studies of degeneracy as that of the Jukes family, or of genius as shown in the Edwards family, or the vast array of materials collected by the eugenicists fail to be convincing when it is remembered that the children of these families grew up under the educative conditions surrounding their homes. It may be impossible to develop a genius out of an ordinary individual or a good citizen out of a born criminal by providing a favorable educational environment; but it is equally impossible to develop a genius without affording him opportunities, or a good citizen where there is no reward for virtue. Professor Ward may have overstated the case when he asserted that genius inheres in all classes of society almost equally, but he certainly did not overemphasize his thesis when he elaborated the rôle of opportunity in human progress. When such a preponderating number of great actions grow out of great occasions, when a man born in Paris has thirty times the chance of greatness of one born in rural France, when from two to four times their relative proportions of our own leaders are born in our larger cities, and when such an enormous percentage of our criminals come from vicious environments, it is scarcely necessary to assume that one's doom is sealed by his unwitting choice of ancestors.

Moreover, granting the influence of organic heredity claimed by the eugenicists, they have comparatively little to offer in the way of

stimulating progress. They do not show how, by taking thought, we can greatly improve the organic heritage of our descendants. On the other hand, we can consciously and deliberately improve the social heritage we expect to transmit. Since mere physical features, such as climate and topography, exercise increasingly less influence over us, we can very largely control our environment artificially. With each new age we pile up additional economic, cultural, and institutional treasures for the use of posterity. We have the privilege, even the duty, of making over our social, religious, political, and educational systems to provide greater safeguards and more effective media for the training of the young. While the telic programs outlined to improve organic heredity touch vitally only the few, mainly the abnormal, the telic programs for improving social heredity are equally vital for all. In other words, the laws of organic heredity are biological and hence beyond psychic control, while the laws of social heredity fall within the province of psychic direction and form the basis of the great educative scheme to guarantee social progress through improving social conditions.



## NEWS AND NOTES

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### COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

George W. Kirchwey, formerly dean of the Law School, has been appointed director of the United States Employment Service of the state of New York.

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### CORNELL UNIVERSITY

The Trustees have appointed Mr. Dwight Sanderson as professor of rural organization in the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University. His work will comprise the field of rural sociology and rural social organization. Professor Sanderson entered on his new duties last fall. Professor Sanderson is also the executive secretary of the recently organized National Country Life Association.

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### HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Professor S. C. Coolidge, who has been in Paris with the American Peace Commissioners, has been made chairman of a smaller committee which is to study the political, social, and economic conditions in Austria and the adjoining countries.

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### UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Professor Edward C. Hayes will offer two courses of lectures in sociology at the University of Chicago during the first term of the Summer Quarter.

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### UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

This University announces the establishment of a course in "Americanization" which will be a recognized part of the curriculum from the beginning of the spring quarter. Among the leaders of the movement which resulted in the organization of this course is Dr. A. E. Jenks, professor of anthropology, whose work has given him a broad knowledge

of present-day racial conditions. He saw, as few did, that the United States is being peopled with little Italies, little Germanies, and other foreign settlements, whose inhabitants are not accepting our ideals, nor are they being assimilated by our institutions. The war has convinced many of this truth, and as a result active and intelligent effort will be made to remedy the evil.

The course of study proposed provides for a solid foundation in the natural and social sciences upon which all Americanization must be based, and in the upper years a thorough grounding in the fundamentals of anthropology, broadly interpreted, together with an opportunity for specializing along lines to which the student decides to devote his attention. The time required for its completion is four college years and provision is being made for one year of graduate work. Its object is to prepare men and women for the important work of Americanization.

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#### UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

Lieut. Russell Howard, formerly an instructor in Oregon Agricultural College, has been appointed acting professor of economics and business administration in the University of New Mexico. Lieut. Howard was personnel officer in the local S.A.T.C. This addition allows Professor Dow more time for the developing of the department of sociology.

Professor G. S. Dow was recently elected a director of the Albuquerque Bureau of Charities.

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#### NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

In New York City there has been organized a school for social research. This school hopes to meet the needs of intelligent men and women who desire a more thorough knowledge of the social, political, economic, and educational problems of the day. Lectures are already being given, but the school hopes to greatly increase its staff next fall. Among the lecturers are Thorsten Veblen, James Harvey Robinson, and Frederick W. Ellis.

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#### OBERLIN COLLEGE

Professor W. M. Burke, acting professor of sociology, has resigned to enter educational work with the United States Army overseas, under the auspices of the International Y.M.C.A.

## UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Professor Max S. Handman was given a leave of absence for the month of December for the purpose of translating President Wilson's addresses to Congress into the Roumanian language.

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## WILLAMETTE UNIVERSITY

F. G. Franklin, Ph.D. (Chicago), after nine years as Professor of History and Political Science in Albany College, has been made head of the department of Social Science in Willamette University. He has been at work in the latter institution since October 1. He is the author of "The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States."

## REVIEWS

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*Evolution of Law: Select Readings on the Origin and Development of Legal Institutions.* Compiled by ALBERT KOCOUREK and JOHN H. WIGMORE, Professors of Law in Northwestern University: Vol. I. "Sources of Ancient and Primitive Law"; Vol. II. "Primitive and Ancient Legal Institutions"; Vol. III. "Formative Influences of Legal Development." Royal 8vo. 1918. Boston. Little, Brown & Co. \$12.00.

It is not within our competence to speak of these volumes in their relation to legal studies. For students of sociology they are important in so many different ways that they call for exceptional treatment. We cannot serve our constituency better than by reprinting the entire preface of the third volume. It is as follows:

"For the statement of the purpose of this series of volumes, we refer again to the preface of Volume I.

"I. The first volume aimed to set out concrete examples and evidences of law and legal institutions as found in ancient general literature, modern observations of retarded societies, the monuments of ancient laws and codes, and in ancient legal documents. So far as was feasible the materials there selected fall either under the category of "ancient" or "primitive." These terms, of course, are not convertible either in the law or elsewhere. What is ancient may, or may not, be primitive; and what is primitive may, or may not, be ancient. The preponderance of interest for the student of historical jurisprudence lies in what is primitive, rather than in what is only ancient; but the probability that ancient laws and codes contain a residue of greater or less bulk of rudimentary legal ideas, we believe supports the combination of the ancient and the primitive in a general survey of legal evolution; and such combination has the distinct advantage of giving a dual basis of comparison in the study of developing legal ideas.

"On the same point, it may also be said that for the purposes which we have in view, a logical separation of strictly primitive materials from such as show development, and even a high order of development, of legal ideas, would hardly have been practicable. The peoples and laws represented therefore range through various stages of legal and social

condition, from the Australian tribes or Seri Indians at one pole to the Babylonians or Egyptians on the other.

"The sources of ancient and primitive law are to be found not only in the three primary classes represented in the first volume; namely, (i) ancient literature, (ii) modern observations of retarded peoples, and (iii) the records of ancient laws and legal transactions; but valuable information is afforded also by such secondary departments of study as (i) linguistics and folklore, (ii) child psychology<sup>1</sup> and animal behavior, and (iii) prehistoric anthropology and archaeology. The first and second groups, as may be seen, have a close relation point by point. The secondary group of inquiries, so far as represented, is drawn into the present volume, while more logically (though less conveniently) connected with the plan of the first volume. We regard the secondary group as one of great importance, and it is subordinate in treatment only because of the great difficulty of assembling the right materials for a course of systematic readings on law and legal institutions.

"II. The second volume is devoted to an expository treatment of legal ideas and legal institutions in their genetic and evolutionary bearing. The first two volumes are intended to be used concurrently. In the great luxuriance of writing on matters of legal history and legal evolution, it was not easy to discover, outside of such well-known authorities as Maine, Post, Leist, Kohler, Letrouneau, Laveleye, treatment of legal ideas based on a general view of the world's legal phenomena. One authority regrettably absent in our list will illustrate the proposition. The studies of Dareste (and others might be named) are confined so closely to a particular period or a particular people that the universal element in the law which we have sought to emphasize is left in the background.

"We have preferred generalization, although the caution must constantly be kept before the reader to whom this subject is a new one, that nothing in this field of investigation is more dangerous. It may well be doubted whether a sufficient amount of scientific and critical labor has been expended even yet in the collation of facts from which to draw a considerable number of inferences having anything like general or universal validity. Until a body of valid generalizations can be constructed, historical jurisprudence will remain an inchoate science. The second volume shows that a good beginning already has been made, and it may

<sup>1</sup> As illustrative of what may be accomplished in this field which has only very rarely touched on legal institutions, see "Nursery and Savagery" by Elsie Clews Parsons, in *The Pedagogical Seminary* (Clark University), Vol. XXII, No. 2, p. 296.

reasonably be hoped, when this science has been as long cultivated as the science of philology, that comparable results will have been attained.

"It is precisely here, we think, that 'natural law' (that dromedary which has carried the burden of many a caravan of juridical delusion from the days of the ancient Greeks up to the present day) has its peculiar place. There appears to be a natural law of development of legal ideas, as uniform and general in its operation as Grimm's law in phonetics. The discovery of the content of this natural law is the task which the investigators in this field will have to perform, testing, verifying, and replacing the hypotheses already attempted, based on the rich accumulation of materials now available and still being industriously collected by the workers in ethnology, ethnography, anthropology, archaeology, and a variety of other fields.

"The experimental method unfortunately cannot be used in this science under the same favorable conditions as in the physical sciences. History and the physical monuments of man's activities have been the chief reliance in earlier decades in tracing the growth of the law. Later, when the essential truth of the unity of the human mind found a place, direct observation became the leading method of evolutionary investigation; but the experimental method has only been at most suggested. In this connection reference may be made to the chapter by Mr. Johnson on rudimentary society among boys, reprinted in this volume, and to the study of Mr. Shinn, on mining camp customs.<sup>1</sup> Both of these studies are interesting and suggestive, far beyond the actual results brought out, as indicating the possibility of a new instrument to supplement our knowledge of the course of the development of legal institutions.

"The records of written history are scanty and embrace but a small portion of man's struggles and achievements. That so much has been extracted from these fragments is a monument to the efforts made to probe out the secrets of the past. Doubtless much may yet be brought to light, but in the meantime the investigations in this field must push on in other directions. The possibility of direct observation of savage and barbarous tribes is daily being narrowed. The time approaches when savagery in the world will be an extinct phenomenon, and when barbarism will be so far contaminated with the vices and virtues of what we please to call civilization, that this avenue of insight into evolution will become more and more corrupted, and, eventually, will be abandoned. When that day comes, resort must be had to a kind of experimental method. Such a method will have difficulty in justifying

<sup>1</sup> *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (1884).

itself as scientific. The same doubt arose when the method of direct observation of retarded peoples began to be used. Both methods are based on a fundamental psychological premise, and it would seem, if this premise is valid in one case, that it should be equally valid in the other.

"There is a special kind of fascination in attempting here what seems to have been done with great success in the reconstruction of fossil remains of extinct animals. A single bone may lead to the reconstruction of the entire skeleton based on the size, shape, and function of the fragment used as a starting-point. Biological function however is immeasurably more simple than legal function; the one is related to the world of physical phenomena, the other to the world of mental and physical facts. It is not difficult to see that the organization of physical functions by way of reconstruction, while undoubtedly presenting magnificent difficulties, requires a smaller volume of contingent factors which enter into the problem of solution, than the organization of legal phenomena from isolated discoveries. And yet, all we mean to say is that the difficulties are only greater, and not that the thing itself is impossible. On the contrary, it is our belief that with greater penetration into the mental life of man<sup>1</sup> in the various stages of his evolution, there will be afforded the necessary basis for great reconstructions in the evolution of law. These will surpass in value and interest the important work already accomplished by the relatively small number of investigators who have enriched our knowledge of legal institutes within the last fifty or sixty years.

"This point of attack must be the basis of all future explanation and study. When efforts in this direction are aided and guided by scientific instruments of precision, we may expect that a fairly complete account may be given of the origin and development of all legal ideas, and that the fragments of legal life as discovered to us in the remains of distant eras will be explained, and explained perhaps in many respects differently than we now understand them, and with meanings of considerable importance to us as we think of the law as the center of all social activities with a cultural mission.

"Emphasis of the mental life will greatly enrich this science in the direction of differentiations not now recognized or slurred in favor of a simpler, but less accurate, view of legal development. Mr. Innes has furnished an interesting illustration of this in his comparison of eastern and western methods of administering justice.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious*.

<sup>2</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1913.

"The apparently (and only apparently) inefficient methods of the Mohammedan in dispensing justice cannot be explained on the basis of the customary thought of our time and place. A sympathetic understanding of the oriental point of view is necessary to overcome the narrow prejudice and the hasty judgment which would give an entirely erroneous idea of the relative position and value of a system of law applied under conditions different from those which surround the observer.

"The law therefore is relative to all its points of contact. It is one of the tasks of this kind of investigation while taking account of the common elements in human nature which predominate to produce a common and regular course of development in legal institutions, also to note the variations which depart from the main trunk of growth and throw out unfoldments which require special investigation and treatment.

"The search for unity, which is responsive to something fundamental in the human mind, has led to the greatest diversity not only in the physical sciences but perhaps especially in the social sciences. Like generalizations too rapidly invented, the insistence upon unifying principles has doubtless been something of a hindrance in the advancement of a general science of legal evolution. The presence in all systems of law of encysted ideas which mark the accidents of history, and of disused functions which are carried along in the passage of time, is frequently misunderstood, especially when such elements are emphasized as being typical of the general level of progress attained in the particular system of law under consideration. The extent to which outgrown ideas persist in legal evolution when first recognized is striking. In proof of this we have only to look about our system of law. We shall not look far before we find ideas which have lived through millenniums of the world's history and remain now as rudiments whose existence is either ignored or whose original function is misapprehended. In examining an ancient code there is always some danger of interpreting as distinctive what is merely bizarre when perhaps the phenomenon observed is only a relic of a forgotten past.

"We have already said that in our view of the subject its greatest utility—and we do not mean to assert that a thing must be useful to be valuable—lies in the possibility of applying the laws of legal evolution to the problems of the present day, and in forecasting the immediate future movement of social forces. There is, of course, a contrast between history and value, but the realization of a value is inexorably bound up with history and conditions. A modern code of partnership law or divorce law may be an excellent basis for the regulation of the commercial



and social situation here and now; but the same code would as certainly fail of understanding, use, or even authority if imposed on the Khonds or Bogos. We do not wish to underestimate the notion of value but it must be insisted that a future value is not the same as a present value; and that for human, practical purposes what is realizable and existent is of far larger importance than that which is only speculatively realizable and as yet unrealized. The true basis of the science of legislation is found in the history of the race. The aberrations and misdirection of legislative effort in the various organs of government are due to the variant interpretation of value by the lawmaker in disregard of the facts of legal history.

"There are some things which legislation is incapable of doing, and others which it ought not to attempt. The first kind of legislation results in the dead-letter law; and the second produces the fiction and spurious interpretation—the efforts of society to make an unit law harmonize with the capacity of society to receive it. The statute books are full of the dead-letter laws, and the volumes of reports are crowded with the evidence of fictions and spurious interpretation. Perhaps, notwithstanding all efforts, it will always be thus; for the human mind cannot be measured as with a tape-line, and the best that science can hope to do is to approximate the course of social development, and avoid the extreme discordances which hamper the flow of progress.

"While advocating the importance of historical studies as having any sort of practical bearing, it must be admitted that the interpretation of the facts of history in an evolutionary sense is hardly less difficult than the ascertainment of values. We have volumes upon volumes of ethnological and anthropological reports gathered from the ends of the earth. But what do these reports mean? What underlying principles do they involve? This is the mission of interpretation and generalization. When the complexity of the problem is fully appraised, it can no longer be doubted that the great future of this study will be that of drawing out of this great mass of accumulated and accumulating facts the underlying threads invisible to the unpracticed eye, threads which bind together the institutions of men living in society, into definite figures, which again in turn require interpretation to discover their function in the fabric of life. The problem here is simply another aspect of what is the problem in every other science. At its foundation it touches the ultimate realities, and while we could not hope in this series of readings to go farther than the preliminary stage of pointing out the unity and art in the weaving of the tissues of legal ideas, we believe

we can do no less than indicate our own impression of the far-reaching importance of these inquiries.

"One more qualification seems necessary in any claim of a practical mission for historical studies. This is the psychological qualification. Whether reason is only a mechanical expression of forces in a chain of causation, and whether consciousness is only an epiphenomenon, are questions which concern the philosopher rather than the lawyer; and yet questions of this sort inevitably project themselves into the realm of the law when an attempt is made to deal with legal ideas in fundamental terms. These readings do not seek to deal with problems of this kind.<sup>1</sup>

"This qualification so far as it bears on the present point is exactly represented in the familiar controversy between Savigny on one side and Jhering on the other. If the method by which the law has grown is more akin to an unconscious process rather than a voluntary, reasoned, and consciously selected development, then it must be apparent that function of human reason in the midst of other phenomena has an autonomy which is at least highly limited, if not actually fictitious. As to all this, however, the cautious reader will judge for himself.

"III. After thus summing up the earlier issues of this series, we come now to an explanation of the present volume. It is divided into three parts, as follows: *First*, an introductory part deals with the criteria of legal evolution and the methods of its study. Treatment of these ideas is fundamental for the purpose of any discussion of either social or legal development. When a comparison is made between the institutions of different peoples, it is necessary that there should be some basis of appraisement of the ideas compared; otherwise we should be able only to note differences and similarities without being able to affirm of them any quality whatsoever. To what extent the idea of progress may be evaluated by other than purely material tests, or to what degree the worth of an institution may be affected by relation to surrounding circumstances, need not be pointed out.

"Legal ideas are not ends in themselves, but only means to ends. It is a peculiarity of the human mind to attach to ideas, and to customs long familiar, the attributes of permanence, rationality, and necessity, even at the moment when nothing remains of them but the outer shell, covering matter already decayed and worm-eaten. In such times of crisis there ensues a period of confusion and breakdown and then an up-

<sup>1</sup> Reference may be made to The Modern Legal Philosophy Series for various attempts to treat these matters so far as they are of importance in legal theory.

building process, which goes on again to its maturity and decay. In our own day we may see as one of the numerous examples of this development the marked changes wrought in the relation of employer and employee. Another generation will probably find this department of the law, and perhaps others, entirely transformed in comparison with the law of the last generation. The meaning of the term 'progress' is a problem which lies at the base not only of the law, but of all of the social sciences.

"Secondly, the instant volume attempts to deal with the factors of legal evolution.

"The term 'factor' or 'influence' is ambiguous and vague. Its leading implication is causation, but causes are infinite. Nature knows no classification of its phenomena, and we must artificially create them by setting up our own mental standards in which certain things are emphasized to the exclusion of all others. The favored thing is called the efficient cause; but an inspection of our efficient cause in relation to social facts will show it kaleidoscopically merging with other efficient causes. Thus a geophytic factor may in turn be an economic factor, or even a biologic factor.

"Of these factors or influences, the following find representation: geophytic, economic, biologic, religious, racial, political, psychologic, and social.

"The first of these will justify a word of explanation. In spite of the importance of the claims made for the geophytic influence upon social institutions, and the great array of names<sup>1</sup> which are associated with these claims, it seems odd that so little is available to show in a concrete way the influence of climate or soil on specific legal ideas. This again may indicate how much remains to be done in the field of legal and social evolution in the collection of facts. It is easy to understand that with man's primary dependence on his environment the character of this environment must have had an important connection with the kind and number of human activities expressed eventually in legal customs and definite legal institutions.<sup>2</sup>

"It probably will be unsafe to venture far in this direction in claiming for physical conditions specific determinative influences on the origin

<sup>1</sup> Among others, Aristotle, Ritter, Buffon, Herder, Montesquieu, Guyot, Buckle, Ratzel, Peschel, Reclus, Metchnikoff, Le Play, Demolins, Ripley, Penck, Dexter, Semple (represented by a chapter in this volume), Huntington, Simkhovitsch.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, for the influence of rainfall on the birth-rate, the death-rate, and marriage, "Response to Rainfall in India," by Leonard O. Packard, in *Bull. Amer. Geographical Soc.*, XLVII, 2 (Feb. 1915), 81-99 (97, 98).

and development of legal ideas until more information is assembled. It is not improbable either that when such information is at hand, more careful consideration will develop the conclusion that too much has sometimes been claimed for purely external conditions. Such claims can easily have an apparently sound basis and yet be misleading, in this, that the coincidence of circumstances favoring an institution may be erroneously regarded as causative. For example, polyandry may be seen as the result of physical conditions marked by a low temperature unfavorable to the production of crops where agriculture is the sole or chief means of subsistence. It may be plausibly argued, as by McLennan, that where numerous separate households are economically impossible, infanticide and a plurality of husbands are the natural results. In the same way polygamy may be explained as a consequence of economic abundance. Here as in all other controversies the difficulty is in the point of emphasis of the factors involved. Undoubtedly much of interest and truth can be extracted from a man's geophysical relations, as influences of legal evolution, even if we do not go so far as to say that man and his mores are things of the earth and are governed by the same physical laws as determine the shape of a crystal or the successions of plant life.

"As illustrative of such connections we may point to the rise of commerce and commercial institutions contiguous to the Mediterranean Sea, and in warm climates where nature renders a surplus, and the absence at the same time of anything but the most rudimentary commerce elsewhere. Undoubtedly a physical explanation will answer *heré*. The road to commerce existed and commerce followed the road; but farther back there were yet other physical and psychical conditions which were necessary to suggest the phenomenon which appeared.

"While it may be impossible to find an instance where climate or land has generated a legal idea or a legal institution, there can be no doubt that the geophysics factor has been at least effective in accelerating or multiplying legal phenomena. Without attempting to classify the groups of cases where land or climate has had such a secondary influence based on other primary factors, it cannot be doubted that it may modify national character, that it may affect the economic basis of legal relations, that it may change the current of legal history by cutting a people off from surrounding social influences, and, conversely, that geographical situation is all-important for specific legal histories, if not also for legal history in the abstract—legal evolution.

"The last division of the present volume attempts to cover in general the processes which have been instrumental in organizing human groups

into definite social, political, and legal structures, and the sustaining forces which have governed their development. We have produced some of the leading interpretations of the concept society, although, manifestly, it has been impracticable to give place to each variety of sociological theory variously represented in chief by such writers as Schaffle, or Worms, Small, Brentano, Coste, Fouillee, De Greef, Durkheim, Simmel, Tönnies, and others each of whom represents a type more or less distinct from any of those entered in this work. For full treatment of sociological theory the reader must be referred to its own literature, but the material from sociology included here is justified by the belief, contrary perhaps to legal tradition, that law itself is only a social phenomenon, and is not to be fully understood in detachment from the human bases, necessities, and forces from which it arises.

"These foundations of legal evolution are physical and psychical; but coincident with them is a universalizing element which transcends mere physical necessity and the complex interplay of psychic disposition, tending always in infinite detail and in changing fortune to a refinement of legal phenomena and higher stages of adaptation of legal institutions to the capacities and ends of human society. Spencer has already made thoroughly familiar the principle of differentiation in the biotic and social realm. Maine, also, has called attention to the same thought in legal evolution in his casual comment on the fewness of legal ideas in the ancient world. Thus, for example, the family (an institution which preponderates so largely in all studies on legal evolution), in primitive times, contained within itself the entire stock of legal ideas which emerged only after a long process of economic and social differentiation in the functions of the group.

"The economic and legal relation is one which is particularly intimate, and it is that relation which has given to us the category of what Austin calls pervasive legal ideas. It is, of course, absolutely clear that in a society which is not a closed economic unity, a Robinson Crusoe as it were, there must be ideas, however rudimentary, of possession, liability, and hostages for payment or securities, ideas which rest on the very simplest objective foundations.

"An increase of economic function implies something more than a variation of physical motion. It involves likewise a mental exertion as the propulsive force of their existence. As these functions increase, legal ideas slowly and unsteadily sprout out of the soil of necessity and throw out twigs and branches which, while in part dependent on the support and sustenance of the earth, have their chief life and function in the sphere of air and light.

"As legal ideas grow and differentiate they also become more ideal, not necessarily in the ethical sense, but in the sense of being intellectual creations. This may be illustrated by the idea of ownership. Primitive man was incapable of the notion of ownership apart from possession, and any dealing with things which might have involved such legal transactions as sale or mortgage would have been entirely too fanciful and unreal to be understood. This tree of legal evolution, it would now seem, on purely logical grounds, has reached its greatest theoretical growth. Variations and adaptations in detail are possible and in many respects necessary, but great organic or systemic evolutive movements are no longer possible. The same causes produce the formal similarities among the various systems of law. They are like trees in a forest, differing in species, but all being alike in genus.

"Legal rules and institutions in their earliest development appear as instinctive adaptations of human beings on the plane of physical necessity. Food must be gotten, shelter must be provided, the sex instinct must find an outlet, and defense against enemies must be established. Law in this stage is germinal, and so far as there appears to be any regularity and continuity of response to needs they are of an unreflected kind stimulated by the hard conditions of nature. We are here far from the Austinian theory of law. It is plain, also, that 'natural man' suspects nothing of the Puchta basis of law. The element of physical force displayed on one hand by the warring aspect of nature, and on the other by the hostile instinct of mankind generated in fear and mystery, is dominant. Hobbes has aptly described the reign of nature as 'nasty, brutish, and short'; and well may the savage greet the rising sun with shrieks of lamentation, for the day is one of misery, hunger, and death.

"No theory of human institutions has been so far from the truth as that of the paradisiacal reign of nature. This may be asserted safely, even though the sciences which discover to us the history of the earth and the records of buried ages can probably minister little to knowledge of the first steps up of the human race so far as concerns the absolute origin of law. If the theory of organic evolution is to be accepted, it is also more than probable that at the beginning of the human stage of progress, the primary activities of life were already considerably standardized by some sort of compromise of conflicting brute forces—a compromise in which there yet appeared a nobler strain shown in attachment to offspring, and even in the fact of any form of peaceable human association whatsoever, which later was destined to take on a specific ethical meaning.

"In the earliest stage of legal evolution of which we have any reliable information, furnished principally by modern observations of savage groups, the law has ceased to be instinctive and has already crystallized into fixed social habits and ideas. Physical force within the group tends to become latent and to be replaced by the equally efficacious sanctions of religion and superstition. The taboo is a sufficient implement of restraint for the average tribesman, and outlawry is as rarely exceptional as our still savage use of capital punishment. In this stage mankind has achieved a distinct gain over the forces of nature. The fact that time and opportunity have conjoined to formulate a body of superstitious beliefs and rituals unmistakably shows a remainder over. The existence of these beliefs and of these ceremonies is also an ethical gain in that the harshness and brutality of physical coercion are replaced by the more refined pressure of religious conviction. Not that the religious bond weighs less heavily than the shackles of physical restraint, for 'what the whole community comes to believe in, binds the individual as in a vise.' Nor yet does the existence of a new set of restraints mean absence of the harsher conditions of life; these conditions remain and will continue until mankind has conquered economic necessity.

"If a generalization may here be ventured, it would seem that one of the standards of social progress is the progressive elimination of the physical and material elements in the conflicts of life, and the substitution therefor of religious, ethical, and intellectual forces. In tribal society, legal order is accomplished by a variety of psychical restraints which eventuate in physical coercion only by way of relapse from the normal conditions of legality; but outside the tribal association these psychical bonds do not reach, and physical measures are the normal measures of equalizing inter-tribal conflicts. Modern states have at once lost and gained something in their evolution out of group society. Intellectual restraints have been substituted for emotional restraints; but intellectualism as a cohesive force is a complex, a hydra-headed entity differing in marked degree from the relatively simple psychological bond which is sufficient to organize primitive societies. Primitive society from the point of view of psychological function is to the modern state as an amoeba to a mollusk.

"In their external relations modern states have not shown comparable development; resort to force is still the normal method of adjusting essential conflicts of interest, and human nature will yet erect many hecatombs before there can or will be attained a solidarity

of the world based on a principle which will be recognized by all nations and peoples.

"Another cognate movement may also be observed which has been especially conspicuous within the centuries of recorded history—the expansion of liberty from the multiplied trammels which have held it enslaved, and which still in the greatest variety of forms curb the movements in thought and action of individuals, societies, and states.

"The struggle for liberty has also been the struggle of the law. It has undergone the same general evolution as the law itself, and has been influenced by the same internal and external forces which have governed the course of legal institutions.

"In the beginning, the overshadowing forces of nature and fear of enemies held man to the narrowest circles of existence. Liberty, thought of as an expression of personality in the earliest stages, can hardly be said to have existed. The foundations of restraint of liberty are physical and economic. Later when man (and we mean always man in some sort of association with his fellows) has in a limited way overcome his environment, and has invented an accepted explanation of the mysteries of nature, and when the physical and economic chains have been lengthened, new shackles of a more refined kind are added. This tendency to subject the individual to restraints either physical or psychical has persisted into the present day; for the history of life has been a chapter of bondage. So accustomed has mankind become, throughout the long history of the human race, to restraint as a part of nature, that when man is freed from one set of bonds, he instinctively forges for himself others.

"'Man is born free, and he is everywhere in chains,' was the sounding statement which functioned as a bellows for the spark of a revolution. On the contrary, man was not born free, and no revolution has done anything more than to effect a substitution of one kind of restraint for another. From one point of view societies and systems of law may be regarded as highly complicated forces of resistance. In the present epoch the ferment of great economic development is bringing about and will bring considerable changes in the general content of liberty, both from a social and strictly legal point of view. Individual man attained perhaps the greatest amount of formal liberty about a hundred years ago, but the swing of events is now in the other direction; and if the next movement shall be one of real progress, it may be expected that if formal liberty is reduced again to a kind of status, material liberty will increase.



"It has been pointed out repeatedly in these studies that the course of evolution does not follow mathematical straight lines or regular curves. Its movement is rather like that of an army which presses forward against the points of least resistance. But no description, metaphor, or analogy will be accurate as such. To speak of the last device which is commonly resorted to, one may see with Maine, the movement from status to contract as a great mechanical movement unfolding through some sixteen or seventeen centuries of European time; and, by way of reaction, the swing of events in the reverse direction from contract whose height was realized at and before the French revolution, back to status. How much or how little there may be of profit in this cyclical survey of events, it may be difficult at this time to say; but we may be sure that in human events there is no good evidence of identical cycles, although we may readily concede to legal evolution as a growth at least analogous to the ascending spiral where the corresponding curves have various interesting general resemblances profitable for a romantic view of legal evolution, if not directly available for the exacting demands of hard science.

"Summarizing what we believe has been the course of legal and social evolution, but disregarding here the various minor oscillations which have furnished the detail of history, the movement has been one which may roughly be separated into three great periods—the physical, the metaphysical, and the rational. The first largely covers the prehistoric period; the second is perhaps the earliest which can be penetrated by any of the methods which may be usefully employed in these studies; and the last represents the centuries in which the law and its institutions have been regarded as human instruments and controlled by human agencies for the attainment of human ends. Each upward epoch has had transmitted to it various survivals of an earlier origin and frequently in the long march of evolution there have been halting and even retrograde movements, which, observed in the light of decades or centuries, appear to deny any sort of constancy, regularity, or certainty of evolution or progress. One of the important tests of progress, corresponding to the stages of legal evolution, has been the rising influence of intellectual factors against the coarser materialistic foundations of law, the rise of ethical and rationalizing factors of legal development, and an increase of material freedom accompanied by differentiation of formal restraints on liberty."

In order further to emphasize the importance to sociologists of this series, we add the table of contents of the third volume, viz.:

## PART I. CRITERIA OF LEGAL EVOLUTION AND METHODS OF ITS STUDY

Chap. i (pp. 3-76), A Classification of Social Types and a Catalogue of Peoples, S. R. Steinmetz; chap. ii (pp. 77-152), The Scientific Method of Generalizing from Data of Legal Evolution, Joseph Mazzarella; chap. iii (pp. 153-62), Critique of Method in the Study of the Law's Evolution, John H. Wigmore.

## PART II. FACTORS OF LEGAL EVOLUTION IN GENERAL

Chap. iv (pp. 163-81), Factors of Legal Evolution, Edmond Picard; chap. v (pp. 182-97), Causes for the Variation of Jural Phenomena in General, Carlo Nardi-Greco; A. *Geophysical Factors*, chap. vi (pp. 198-214), Law and Geography, H. J. Randall; chap. vii (pp. 215-33), Ellen Churchill Semple; B. *Economic Factors*, chap. viii (pp. 234-66), Achille Loria; C. *Biologic Factors*, chap. ix (pp. 267-87), Animal Societies and Primitive Human Societies, Adolfo Posada; chap. x (pp. 288-315), Natural Origin of Property among Birds, Beasts, and Fishes, R. Petrucci; chap. xi (pp. 316-51), Rudimentary Society among Boys, John Hemsley Johnson; D. *Racial Factors*, chap. xii, sec. 1 (pp. 352-55), Internal and External Factors of Legal Development, Ludwig Kühlenbeck; sec. 2 (pp. 255-68), The Race Factor in Legal Evolution, Houston Stewart Chamberlain; chap. xiii (pp. 369-77), Influence of National Character and Historical Environment on the Development of the Common Law, James Bryce; E. *Religious Factors*, chap. xiv (pp. 378-92), The Influence of Religion upon Law as Illustrated by the Idea of Property, Ludwig Felix; F. *Psychologic Factors*, chap. xv, Sympathy in Group and Institutional Survival, Edward D. Page; G. *Political Factors*, chap. xvi (pp. 417-39), The Constitutional Factor of Legal Development, Emil Reich; H. *Social Factors—Physical Force*, chap. xvii, sec. 1 (pp. 440-46), The Struggle for Law, Rudolph von Jhering; sec. 2 (pp. 447-50), The Compromise Nature of Law, Adolph Merkel; chap. xviii (pp. 451-72), The Use of Conflict, Walter Bagehot; chap. xix (pp. 473-84), Struggle and Adaptation, Michel-Angelo Vaccaro; chap. xx (pp. 485-500), Arbitrament and Guaranty in the Origin of Law, Gaston Richard.

## PART III. PROCESS OF LEGAL EVOLUTION

Chap. xxi (pp. 501-13), Evolution of Social Structures, Lester F. Ward; chap. xxii (pp. 514-30), Social Integration and Differentiation, Herbert Spencer; chap. xxiii (pp. 531-41), Planetary Theory of the Law's Evolution, John H. Wigmore; chap. xxiv (pp. 542-70), Degenerative Evolution, Jean Demour, Jean Massart, and Émile Vandervelde; chap. xxv (pp. 571-666), The Evolution of Civil Law, Raoul de la Grasserie; chap. xxvi (pp. 667-78), The Perpetual Evolution of Law, Edmond Picard.

It would not surprise us if the collators of the series had anticipated the critics by saying more than once to themselves and others, "After all these volumes are only a liberally annotated list of topics." We once heard the curator of a museum quote with approval a formula current in his craft, to the effect that "a museum is a collection of scientifically composed labels, accompanied by appropriate specimens." Perhaps a layman may be permitted to express his opinion that in this series we have a museum of well-chosen socio-legal categories.

ALBION W. SMALL

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*The World-War and Leadership in a Democracy.* By RICHARD T. EARLY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. \$1.50.

This unpretentious and interesting little book tells of the author's personal experiences in Germany as they bear on the national characteristics that resulted in the war. At the time the work was written "Prussian efficiency" had not yet proved disastrous and there is an underlying admiration for German leadership and methods of rewarding outstanding ability. The author urges the adoption of similar methods in America, especially since we have developed out of the eighteenth-century conception of equality and equal rights into a realization of difference in inherent capacities and a desire for equality of opportunity. Primary elections and the recall are condemned as producing the wrong type of leadership and an interesting argument is presented that kings be required to marry their own subjects. One finishes the book wishing the author had gone into the question of difference between leadership in an autocracy and in a democracy. America needs to develop leadership, as the author contends, but that leadership will be sound and enduring not merely as it is developed by formal and more or less artificial rewards offered by the state. Rather will it develop as it is appreciated by the whole mass of those who are led and is controlled and rewarded by powerful and lasting social approvals in the form either of honor or of economic benefit.

LEROY E. BOWMAN

WAR CAMP COMMUNITY SERVICE

# RECENT LITERATURE

## NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**La Société Intellectuelle des Nations.**—The Society of Nations now being discussed has three phases: a political phase, a material, and an intellectual. This article is concerned only with the latter. That it is essential is evident from the fact that it already exists to some degree. Language, religion, science, art and literature, education, and the press are all largely international. A purely national intellectualism would be impossible. In order to get the best results of an intellectual society of nations, the germs of which are already found in the many international scientific societies, the following recommendations would have to be considered: (1) an international academy, which would act as a regulator in the intellectual phases of governmental action; (2) an international university, with an élite body of students of all nations and a like body of professors; (3) an international center of scientific institutions, devoted to research and the establishment of universal methods, systems of measures, terminology, standardization, etc.; (4) a world-congress, with permanent representation of all international associations of learning.—P. Otlet, *Scientia*, January, 1919.  
L. D. C.

**Le Matriarcat et les Déeses Armées.**—Everything seems to indicate that the conception of the armed goddess must have originated among people where the matriarchal system was in vogue. When the family was first constituted it was on a uterine basis. The Greek word "adelphos" (brother) means co-uterine. The high position of woman is attested by legends and tales in all parts of the world: In Greece such women as Helen, Andromache, Penelope; in Egypt, Naith, the great Goddess of the Delta, the Libyan virgins, who, according to Diderot, were descendants of primitive amazons; the Babylonian war goddess Istar; Deborah, Jael, and Judith of the Bible. To ascertain those primitive peoples which passed the matriarchal stage, two criterions may be employed: (1) that of survivals of past social systems, (2) that of the manner of life which such people must have led in the beginning. It seems that the matriarchal system would be the more likely to originate among agricultural peoples. Woman is the mother of agriculture. It is also possible that she was the inventress of fire. It is she that discerns medicinal plants, and becomes proficient in the use of occult power. The very mystery of generation may not have been known to man for a long time, hence, a growing belief in man of woman's superiority and her ability to deal with gods. The armed goddess may be due to a formerly existing cult, as also to the probability that in olden times woman being the sole defender of children had to make use of arms to ward off not alone beastly attacks, but also cannibalistic man.—Denyse le Sasseur, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, July-August, 1918.  
L. D. C.

**Indo-German Relationship Terms as Historical Evidence.**—The Romans had distinctive terms for ancestors, both male and female, to the sixth degree, which suggests the importance attached to ancestors in religious and social life. In descending relationship, maternal-paternal distinction is recognized, and uncles and aunts are counted to the fourth degree. Descriptive terminology was likewise in vogue (i.e., discrimination of relationship on the side of father or mother), relationship terms on the father's side being more numerous, suggesting a social system strongly paternal. Later these were lost, whether because of loss of man's privilege or not is not known. Greek relationship terms have similar distinctions, and, like the former, lost their significance later. Like distinctions were also used by Teutonic peoples. There are two

ways in which maternal-paternal distinctions can be accounted for: (1) a prior matrilineal or patrilineal stage, where descent was counted through one parent only, later becoming supplemented by the other, and still later discarded entirely; (2) a form of exogamy in which father and his relations belonged to one portion and mother and her relations to another. Whether the former gave rise to the latter or vice versa cannot be surmised; either is possible.—W. D. Wallis, *American Anthropology*, October-December, 1918.

L. D. C.

**Primitive Law and the Negro.**—Most will agree that there is an instinctive aversion in the white man toward the negro. The origin of this may be traced to prehistoric law, in which the idea prevailed that obligation applies only to peoples of the same blood, originally to the family, then to kin and tribe. Murder, theft, adultery, etc., could be committed upon members of another tribe. This was true between whites, and palpably more so between the negro and the white man. It is for the same reason that international law has been more often a law between white men. Even Christianity became tainted with this blood-kin idea, and for a great many centuries it was extended to white people only. The lynchings of negroes can also be explained on the old idea of self-help, no authorization being necessary to avenge grievances even within the blood kin, and more so outside the blood kin. To remedy the above, a long educational campaign, carried out with the idea of exposing the true basis of the white man's denial of real equality to the negro race, would be highly desirable.—Roland G. Usher, *The Journal of Negro History*, January, 1919.

L. D. C.

**Crime: Modern Methods of Prevention, Redemption, and Protection.**—The criminal, actual or potential, is a neighbor to whom society owes good Samaritanism. In dealing with the problem of crime the maxim "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" is markedly to the point. Measures to safeguard the individual in the formative years of his life are numerous. Some of them have been taken, such as laws and ordinances against the selling or giving of liquor or tobacco to children of tender years, laws against employing children in places and in kinds of employment that bring them under questionable influences, etc. Evil suggestions are a prolific source of evil actions; hence we should censor books, papers, posters, and songs, as well as moving pictures. Efforts to build up wholesome activities under the guidance of social and juvenile court workers promise well for the future. The nation-wide abolition of the liquor traffic is the most important single crime-preventive step that can be taken. Our second duty is to redeem. The establishment of the juvenile court, along with our probation and parole laws and prisoners' aid societies, are recognitions of this duty. As in Los Angeles, every court should have a competent public defender, that no defendant may feel embittered through a sense of unfair treatment. The law should provide for keeping habitual offenders where society may not suffer from them.—W. G. Hale, *American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, August, 1918.

C. W. C.

**The Mental Deficiency Act and Its Administration.**—Besides being defective, a person cannot be dealt with under the act unless he is: (1) neglected, abandoned without visible means of support, or cruelly treated; or (2) brought before a court of law and liable to be sent to an industrial or reformatory school or prison; or (3) undergoing detention in an industrial or reformatory school or prison; or (4) a child between the ages of seven and sixteen notified by the local education authority as being unable to benefit by education; or (5) a woman in receipt of poor-law relief when giving birth to, or pregnant of, an illegitimate child. Methods of treatment under the act are: (1) supervision at home or (2) assignment to an institution by a magistrate upon the presentation of a petition (accompanied by two medical certificates). The duties of the local authorities are: (1) ascertainment of defect and (2) provision for home supervision or institutional care. The central authority is the board of control under the secretary of state. Difficulties in administration are: (1) certification of defect due to (a) lack of knowledge or (b) difference in standards; (2) only persons coming

within certain categories can be dealt with; (3) the commission depends upon (a) opinion of local authorities, which is not always correct, or (b) notification from an outside source, which involves delay or neglect; (4) shortage of institutional accommodation. The problem can be solved only by specified amendments to the act and a more careful administration.—Evelyn Fox, *Eugenics Review*, April, 1918. F. O. D.

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## THE AMERICANIZATION MOVEMENT

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### INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

This paper is the result of a survey of the Americanization movement undertaken last fall in Washington, D.C., for the American Council on Education. Though written while the war was in progress, it is in no sense polemical; it is intended as a brief description of the chief agencies of Americanization, both private and voluntary as well as municipal, state, and federal. It also contains a summary of certain typical courses and methods. It was originally planned as a publication of the Council's Committee on Civic Education. Shortly after the signing of the armistice, November 11, 1918, the Council discontinued its work. The paper accordingly appears in the *American Journal of Sociology*.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH OF IMMIGRATION

Foreign immigration to the United States prior to 1820 was largely from the British Isles. In colonial times, it is true, bands of Huguenots had settled in certain parts of South Carolina and elsewhere, and other Frenchmen had established themselves in Louisiana; Hollanders had founded New Amsterdam; Swedish settlements had been made in Delaware and New Jersey; and groups of Germans had migrated to Pennsylvania and western

New York. But, in comparison with the total white population, these non-British settlers formed but a small fraction of the whole.

Moreover, of the total number of Americans in the United States in 1820, by far the larger portion were of English or of Scotch-Irish ancestry. But shortly after 1820, the first year in which the Census Bureau records foreign immigration, there began a considerable Irish movement to America. This movement reached its height in the late forties and the fifties, owing chiefly to the severe potato famine in Ireland and to other causes of internal discontent and unrest. About the same time there began the first considerable migration of Germans to this country—a migration which was to continue in increasingly large numbers down to the early eighties. The crushing of the liberals in Germany in 1848 and the years following, together with the economic distress which occurred about the same time, were the propelling forces in this movement. During the same period, or a little later, large numbers of Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes also came to America.

In fact, down to 1885 by far the major number of foreign immigrants to the United States hailed from the countries of Northwestern Europe. With few exceptions these settlers were of Teutonic and Celtic origin, possessing ideals, customs, standards of living, modes of thought, and religion of the same general tenor as those of the earlier settlers. Illiteracy was uncommon; education was highly esteemed; for the most part homes were established in farming communities; and, with the exception of the Germans, there was little tendency among the incomers to settle in racial groups. In short, down to 1880 or 1885, foreign immigration presented few obstacles to successful Americanization.

About 1885 a change began to take place. In larger and larger waves immigrants began coming from Southern and Eastern Europe. Before 1885 nine-tenths of the incomers were from the countries of Northwestern Europe; by 1905, twenty years later, three-fourths of them had as their birthplace the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe. In these latter countries religion was dominantly Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Jewish;

customs, habits, and to some extent ideals formed striking contrasts to those of Northern and Western Europe. Illiteracy ranged from 13.7 per cent in Austria to 78.9 per cent in Serbia. Whereas in our earlier immigration the illiteracy of immigrants had occasionally been less than that of native Americans, in 1910, 12.7 per cent of the foreign-born were illiterate, against 3 per cent of the native Americans. Most serious of all perhaps was the fact that, unlike the earlier immigrants, many of the late-comers manifested no intention of making America a permanent home and no desire of becoming Americans.

Keeping in mind these facts, the conditions revealed by the census of 1910 should occasion no surprise. In that year there were some 13,000,000 foreign-born whites in the United States, 3,000,000 of whom were ten years of age and over and were unable to speak, read, or write the English language. Over 2,500,000 of these were twenty-one years of age and over. Of these 2,500,000, over 1,500,000 were illiterate, and only 35,614 of the total 2,500,000 were in school. In other words, but a fraction over 1 per cent were undergoing any systematic training in the rudiments of Americanization.

Commissioner of Education Claxton thus sums up the situation:

In 1910 there were in the United States approximately 13,000,000 foreign-born persons, and about 20,000,000 more with one or both parents born in foreign countries. About 3,000,000 of the foreign-born over ten years of age could not speak English and about 1,650,000 could not read or write in any language. Nearly 50 per cent of the foreign-born population were males of voting age, but only 4 in every 1,000 attended school to learn our language and citizenship. Over 4,000,000 additional aliens were admitted between 1910 and 1915.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the foregoing facts it is not strange perhaps to discover in the last census that while "45 States show an *increase* in the *number* of the foreign-born" all but two "show a *decrease* in the *percentage* naturalized";<sup>2</sup> and when we remember that the highest percentage of illiteracy and of ignorance of the English

<sup>1</sup> *School Life*, I, No. 2, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *War Americanization for States*, p. 3. Pamphlet published in October, 1917, by National Americanization Committee.

language is found among aliens from twenty to thirty-five years of age the problem from the economic, military, and educational point of view becomes grave indeed. The war has brought home to us as never before the realization of this situation.

The necessity for the Americanization of our foreign population may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. There are 13,000,000 persons of foreign birth and 33,000,000 of foreign origin living in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

2. Over 100 different foreign languages and dialects are spoken in the United States.

3. Over 1,300 foreign-language newspapers are published in the United States, having a circulation estimated at 10,000,000.

4. Of the persons in the United States 5,000,000 are unable to speak English.

5. Of these persons 2,000,000 are illiterate.

6. Of the unnaturalized persons 3,000,000 are of military age.

7. In 1910, 34 per cent of alien males of draft age were unable to speak English; that is, about half a million of the registered alien males between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age were unable to understand military orders given in English.

8. War industries are largely dependent on alien labor: 57 per cent of the employees in the iron and steel industries east of the Mississippi, 61 per cent of the miners of soft coal, 72 per cent of workers in the four largest clothing manufacturing centers, and 68 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent of construction and maintenance workers on the railroads are foreign-born.

9. Only about 1.3 per cent of adult non-English-speaking aliens are reached by the schools.

10. Many large schools in American cities have been spending more for teaching German to American children than for teaching English and civics to aliens.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By "foreign origin" is meant persons with one or both parents of foreign birth. This is the classification employed by the Census Bureau.

<sup>2</sup> This summary is taken in large part from a manuscript brief on the pending federal Americanization bill. (This brief is on file at the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D.C.) It draws also from a mimeograph *Outline of National and State Programs* of the United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 86.



## AGENCIES OF AMERICANIZATION

## I. PRIVATE AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The agencies promoting the Americanization of our foreign population may be treated under three heads: private and voluntary, state and municipal, and federal.<sup>1</sup>

From February to June, 1918, an extensive survey of the agencies coming into contact with the foreign-born population of the United States was made by Mr. Joseph Mayper, under the joint auspices of the Committee on Public Information and the National Americanization Committee. This survey embraced foreign-born, native-born, educational, industrial, and labor agencies. It included within its scope racial societies, churches, fraternal orders, patriotic and social organizations, chambers of commerce, public and private schools, railroads, mines, and industries of all kinds.

In order to secure accurate and complete information on the location of foreign-language groups and the agencies dealing with them, letters of inquiry "were sent to 2,376 Mayors of Cities, 1,108 Chambers of Commerce, 2,353 trade organizations, 48 State Councils of Defense and their Woman's Divisions, 275 National Racial, Immigrant, Patriotic, and Philanthropic Societies, 50 National Religious Organizations, 1,071 Foreign Newspapers, 5,274 Superintendents of Public Schools, 269 Railroads, etc."<sup>2</sup>

As a result of this inquiry the names of "approximately 50,000 agencies (foreign, native, industrial, and educational)" were obtained. To each of these a registration card was sent asking for information on the principal foreign language spoken, the kinds of service and work being done with persons of foreign origin, and requesting suggestions or plans for the promotion of

<sup>1</sup> This paper is confined to the consideration of our foreign population above the compulsory school age (usually fourteen or fifteen years). Since an arrangement exists by which the Bureau of Immigration notifies school authorities of the various communities of the United States of the arrival of immigrant children of compulsory school age within their respective vicinities, many of the difficulties of enforcing the compulsory-attendance laws are obviated.

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary report of Mr. Mayper, pp. 2-3; in manuscript, on file with the Committee of Public Information.

Americanization. About 15,000 of the registration cards were filled out and returned. Valuable sources of information not investigated, or from which inadequate returns were obtained, are labor unions, steamship-ticket agencies, hotel employees, churches, and educational institutions. Replies from about 2,000 schools, libraries, etc., "were generally unsatisfactory," owing to errors in filling out the registration cards, and to the fact that "a number of the more important cities have not been heard from at all."

The survey is analyzed by Mr. Mayper in his preliminary report under three main divisions: foreign-born, native-born, and industrial groups. The following is a digest of this analysis.

1. *Foreign-born group*.—Each of the 33 important racial groups revealed by the survey as represented in the United States has at least two, and frequently more, national organizations. These organizations are usually of three general types, although they include numberless factions.

The first and most powerful type is the racial organization which exists "for the purpose of maintaining or securing the political unity and independence and perpetuation of their native land." An example of this group is the Polish Central Relief Committee of America. Some thirteen national Polish organizations of various kinds, embracing about 4,000,000 Poles, are affiliated with it. It engages in various kinds of propaganda for the promotion of Polish liberty and is active in recruiting Polish regiments for service in Europe and in collecting money for war-relief purposes. While some of the organizations affiliated with it may have a real interest in American traditions, customs, and ideals, the controlling Central Committee is interested only in the native land. It makes no effort to Americanize its adherents or to promote the welfare of America.

The second kind of racial organization "has for its main purpose the solidarity of the race in America." The Pan-Hellenic Union is typical of this group. It includes a large number of the Greeks in America. It manifests little or no interest in this country. Such an organization "fosters the language and traditions and customs of the home country here and urges its foreign-

born to stay together." It is therefore antagonistic to Americanization.

The third type of social organization exists "primarily to work for America and only secondarily for its native land." Unfortunately such organizations are few in number and weak in influence. The Croation League of the United States, which has only about one hundred and fifty branches, may be cited as an example. The pro-Austrian element among the Croatians is so hostile to this organization that, when some two hundred Croatians joined a branch which was being introduced at the Cramp shipyards, they "were attacked by other members of this race *at work in the same plant* on the ground that they were disloyal to their native country and were working against their own best interest." As far as the influence of organizations of this type extends it is a factor in promoting Americanization. Such societies should be encouraged.

2. *Native-born agencies.*—The native-born agencies reaching our foreign population fall roughly into religious, civic, fraternal, and patriotic groups.

Religious bodies such as churches and denominational organizations frequently form the only important means of approach to alien women. Hundreds of churches, especially among the Lithuanians and the Roumanians, exist chiefly for the foreign-language groups and owing to the tremendous power of the priests prove most effective means for Americanization projects if their co-operation is secured. The mission schools of the English-speaking churches are also influential among the persons they reach.

Social and civic organizations such as settlement houses, women's clubs, and home-visiting agencies are active among foreign-language groups. These agencies have the welfare of America at heart.<sup>1</sup> They are ready and willing to work, but in general proceed "in a disorganized and aimless way."

<sup>1</sup> Among such organizations is the neighbors' League of America, 23 East 26th St., New York. This society has specialized among that portion of our foreign population who are not easily reached through the public classes, particularly the mothers of small children. It has also attempted to reach the alien woman whose husband or brother is in a military camp, and enable her to write letters and read the replies.

Fraternal orders like the Masons, Elks, and others have accomplished little, though in some instances they have appointed members or committees to undertake propaganda work among the foreign-born. In most cases they are eager to co-operate "if we will tell them what to do." If properly guided, these societies will prove a tower of strength in promoting Americanism.

Patriotic organizations like the National Security League and the American Defense Society have been active in distributing literature and holding public gatherings among the foreign-born. Their work is of unquestioned value in promoting patriotism, and, "when properly harnessed, should awaken an intelligent community attitude toward local foreign-language groups."

3. *Industrial organizations.*—Large numbers of foreign-language groups are employed in our industries. Many of these alien employees are hostile toward naturalization. The Bethlehem Steel Company, for example, states that of its 10,000 foreign-born employees "5,600 stated that they were not interested in Americanization, as they feared the result of becoming citizens of this country in view of the fact that they desire to return to their native land after the war." In some instances, examples of which will be described later, industrial plants are making systematic efforts at Americanization and results, so far as available, are encouraging. In general, however, industrial organizations "do not know what to do or how to do it, and invariably ask us for suggestions and material."

In addition to the agencies covered in the Mayper survey, a word should be said concerning the Committee for Immigrants in America and the National Americanization Committee. According to a memorandum prepared by these organizations for the Council of National Defense, "the Committee for Immigrants in America is a New York State corporation organized in December, 1909. It was originally known as the New York State Committee and the New York-New Jersey Committee of the North American Civic League for Immigrants." In 1914, when its work

became national in scope, its name was changed to the Committee for Immigrants in America.<sup>1</sup>

The National Americanization Committee was formed in May, 1915, at the suggestion of the Committee for Immigrants in America "to bring American citizens, foreign-born and native-born alike, together on our national Independence Day to celebrate the common privileges and define the common duties of all Americans, wherever born." The campaign was so effective that 106 of the most important cities in America held patriotic celebrations and special citizenship receptions in connection with their Fourth of July exercises.<sup>2</sup>

After the campaign so many requests for assistance in Americanization work and methods continued to come to the Committee that, in the hope of correlating the efforts of the numerous agencies of the country interested in the problem, the Committee perfected a permanent organization.

The Committee is a clearing-house, not a membership organization. It deals with governmental departments, schools, courts, chambers of commerce, churches, women's clubs, patriotic organizations, institutions, and groups as units of co-operation—not primarily with individuals. It plans and organizes work for local organizations, enabling them better to execute their local work. It standardizes Americanization work and methods and stimulates thought, interest, and activity. It conducts experiments which later are incorporated into governmental, educational, and business systems of the country. It derives its support from contributions—not from dues or assessments. Its services and publications are free.<sup>3</sup>

During the first six months of its existence the Committee, in co-operation with the agencies just mentioned, conducted "night-school publicity campaigns in Detroit and Syracuse under the auspices of chambers of commerce, and in Wilmington, Delaware; state training courses for teachers, as in New York state and Michigan; college training courses for social service in immigration, introduced in whole or in part in Yale, Columbia, and

<sup>1</sup> *Memorandum to the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense concerning the Committee for Immigrants in America, National Americanization Committee and Affiliated Organizations* (transmitted on October 12, 1917).

<sup>2</sup> Many agencies co-operated in this enterprise.

<sup>3</sup> *A Call to National Service*, p. 3; a pamphlet published by the National Americanization Committee.

Chicago universities, Beloit and Tufts colleges, and a number of other colleges and universities; preliminary surveys in cities to serve as the basis of Americanization work; plans and details for teaching English and civics; speaker's bureau and bulletin, and Americanization conferences, notably the National Conference in Philadelphia, June, 1916; prize competitions, among which is the housing contest now in progress for the best plans for houses especially designed for industrial towns of rapid growth; the publication of a quarterly magazine, the *Immigrants in America Review*, for clearing information of Americanization work as conducted by agencies public and private throughout the country.<sup>1</sup>

Some time after the entrance of the United States into the war the Committee turned over practically its entire staff and equipment to the national government without charge to help in furthering Americanization projects.<sup>2</sup>

Among the persons who have been more or less active in the work of these organizations are the following: Frank Trumbull, Felix M. Warburg, Herbert Croly, John H. Finley, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, John Mitchell, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Mary Antin, Robert Bacon, Nicholas Murray Butler, Henry P. Davison, Howard Elliott, Myron T. Herrick, John Grier Hibben, Frederic C. Howe, George von L. Meyer, Thomas A. Edison, Samuel Rea, Julius Rosenwald, Cardinal Gibbons, Rodman Wanamaker, Benjamin Ide Wheeler.<sup>3</sup>

In conclusion, the activities of private and voluntary agencies may be summarized in the words of Mr. Mayer:

The foreign-born groups are divided among themselves and are not getting the American point of view.

The native-born agencies are not reaching them and have the utmost diversity of standards, methods, and material. Their information is distributed without knowledge of the needs and what will fit conditions best.

Industrial plants are here and there giving attention specifically to the foreign-language workmen, and, for the most part, they are ready and willing to be used, but do not know how to do the work themselves.

<sup>1</sup> *A Call to National Service*, p. 3; a pamphlet published by the National Americanization Committee.

<sup>2</sup> Personal interview with Mr. Joseph Mayer.

<sup>3</sup> These names are taken from the list of officers and members given in the memorandum referred to on page 13, note.

The educational agencies, especially the public schools, are alive to the situation, but need the propaganda itself to vitalize their work.<sup>1</sup>

## II. STATE AND MUNICIPAL AGENCIES

Prior to 1914 the Americanization work of states and municipalities was meager. The only state in the Union which had made financial provision for the education of immigrants was New Jersey. Massachusetts was the only state which had a law requiring illiterates up to twenty-one years of age to attend school. In certain instances municipalities had endeavored to solve the problem by establishing evening classes of various kinds. Such classes, generally speaking, were attended by few pupils and as a rule were poorly adapted to meet the needs of immigrants.

Since 1914 some progress has been made. By 1916 Massachusetts and Connecticut had enacted laws requiring the establishment of evening schools for the education of illiterate minors in communities where there are a certain number of such minors and under certain other conditions. Where such evening schools are established persons to whom the law applies are compelled to attend.

Even under the most favorable circumstances yet existing, however, results leave much to be desired. For example in Massachusetts, the leading state in the Union in eliminating illiteracy, there were, according to data available March 1, 1916, "23 communities in the state, each having over 5,000 inhabitants and over 1,000 foreign whites where no evening schools were found, in one of which, according to the census returns for 1910, the foreign-born whites comprised 47 per cent of the population."<sup>2</sup>

Nine other states containing a large number of foreign-born persons had legal provisions which, under certain circumstances, permitted the establishment of evening schools for the education of persons beyond the compulsory school age.<sup>3</sup> Such legislation has not proved effective. In the nine states cited, embracing 1,050 cities with over 2,500 inhabitants each, 474 of which

<sup>1</sup> Preliminary report of Mr. Mayper.

<sup>2</sup> Farrington, *Public Facilities for Educating the Alien*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Maine, Minnesota, California, Wisconsin.

contained over 1,000 foreign-born whites, there was a total of but 207 evening schools.<sup>1</sup> In other words, less than one-half the cities containing over 1,000 foreign-born whites had provided evening schools for immigrant education.

Let us examine one of the so-called "immigration states" more in detail.

New York in 1910 had a total foreign population of 2,748,011, an increase of 44.4 per cent over that of 1900. Of this number, 597,012 ten years of age and over, were unable to speak English; 362,065 were illiterate. Alien men between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age who registered for the draft numbered 264,709. Out of the 2,634,578 ten years of age and over but 131,541 were attending school.

In 1910 New York City contained 421,951 foreign-born unable to speak English; in 1914 only 36,923 were enrolled in evening schools—less than one out of every ten. Buffalo contained 118,444 foreign-born, 30,826 of whom were unable to speak English, and but 2,622 attended evening schools, that is, about one out of every 12. "In 1914 there were no public evening schools whatsoever in 107 urban communities with more than 2,500 inhabitants; 71 of these communities had more than 1,000 foreign-born, and three of them had more than 4,000 foreign-born."<sup>2</sup> Such are the conditions in a state in which the law *permits* the board of each school district to maintain free night schools.

Some of the chief causes for the inefficiency of states and municipalities in Americanizing the alien are not hard to discover. They are constitutional, financial, and educational in nature. Only one state, California, mentions evening schools in its constitution. In twenty states the constitutions directly limit the distribution of the state school funds to communities on the basis of the number of resident children of school age (usually from five or six to twenty or twenty-one years). In some of the other

<sup>1</sup> Figures up to March 8, 1916, for the school year, 1914-15; Farrington, *Public Facilities for Educating the Alien*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *War Americanization for States*, p. 5. Published by National Americanization Committee, October, 1917. This pamphlet contains a summary of alien conditions in each state in the Union. A comparison with other states shows that conditions in New York are by no means exceptional.



states a like result takes place by implication. In all such cases the financial burden for educating the alien must rest on the local community. Such was the situation in 1915 in thirty-seven states of the Union. By that year but eleven states had made appropriations for the support of evening schools, and these appropriations in many instances were utterly inadequate to meet the financial needs of the schools. In a few cases the available funds were supplemented by fees collected from students, but in such instances, especially where the fee was as high as \$2.00, the enrolment was greatly decreased. As a result the chief purpose of the schools was defeated.

In some cases the State Councils of Defense have been active in promoting Americanization work. Leaders in such work and examples of their activities follow.

The State Council Americanization Committee of Connecticut was recently changed to a Bureau of Americanization. Indications are that it will be made a legal state bureau by the next legislature. At present the Bureau is financed by the State Board of Control, which makes such payments as are found to be necessary by the State Council. Prior to this reorganization the State Americanization Committee had distributed throughout Connecticut patriotic literature in eight different foreign languages. Successful public meetings of alien groups were also held under the auspices of the committee.

The Woman's Section of the State Council of Defense has been especially active in Illinois. It has organized classes to meet at the noon hour among foreign women employed in factories. Other classes for small groups of foreign women have been provided in their homes or at a school. These women have been reached through lessons in cooking, sewing, and other household arts, although the real object of all the classes has been the teaching of English. It has also sent speakers to explain America's attitude on the war to various groups of foreign-born working-girls.

The organization of the Americanization work in Massachusetts is especially commendable. Under the leadership of a state director a committee of over one hundred members composed of

representatives of all the racial groups in the state, as well as the labor, capital, and social-service agencies interested in Americanization, have co-operated in furthering Americanization projects. The committee carries on its work through various subcommittees each of which has charge of one specific line of activity. One important work of the committee was the effective correlation of the activities of such organizations as the Y.M.C.A.

In New Hampshire a notable accomplishment of the State Americanization Committee has been the enlistment of the enthusiastic co-operation and support of labor unions of the state in the work of Americanization. Fairly complete programs for the establishment of evening schools and the teaching of the elementary subjects in English have also been prepared.

The State Council Director of Americanization of New York is also the head of a Division of Immigrant Education of the State Board of Education. His principal work up to this time has been the formulation of courses of training and education to prepare teachers of the foreign-born. This undertaking was authorized by the last legislature.

Among the municipalities which have taken an active part in the work of Americanization, Cleveland easily ranks in the first group. The need for such an undertaking was great. In 1914 Cleveland had over 200,000 foreign-born residents ten years of age and over. Of these about 80,000—one-tenth of the entire population of the city—were unable to speak English; only 11,383 of them were enrolled in the schools.<sup>1</sup> But by its efficiency in organizing the city's Americanization work, its attention to alien women, its relatively generous financial appropriations for night schools, and its success in winning the co-operation of many industrial plants, Cleveland has made valuable contributions toward solving the problem.

Shortly after the entrance of the United States into the war there was organized the Mayor's Advisory War Committee. As a special division of the Mayor's Committee there was formed the Cleveland Americanization Committee. About the same time the city Board of Education established a Department of Educational

<sup>1</sup> Cole, *Handbook on Industrial Americanization*, p. 3.

Extension and Community Centers and appropriated \$120,000 for its work. These agencies have co-operated in a campaign to make Cleveland a "one-language city."

As a result of their efforts classes for immigrants were organized the past year in "public-school buildings, factories, parochial schools, churches, public libraries, hospitals, and in fact every place within the city" where groups of non-English-speaking people could be reached.<sup>1</sup> The Mayor's Committee appropriated a sum sufficient to defray all expenses of these special classes. Instruction was free.

After having provided for educational centers in all parts of the city the widest publicity was given to the plan. Posters, display cards, hand bills printed in six languages were distributed in the foreign-born communities. Employers offered inducements to, and brought pressure upon, their employees to secure their attendance at the classes. In addition to the usual night schools classes were formed in twenty-two different industrial plants and in many other places. Fourteen of the companies "paid for either half or all of the time taken by the classes." To meet the diffidence of adult aliens who did not like to attend the public schools classes were organized in thirteen foreign-language churches. The total registration in all classes was as follows:<sup>2</sup>

1. Regular evening schools (not including citizenship)	3,457
2. Citizenship classes . . . . .	974
3. Factory classes . . . . .	698
4. Hospital and settlement classes . . . . .	222
5. Church classes . . . . .	495
6. Foreign-hall classes . . . . .	75
	<hr/>
	5,921
Number of students who were American-born . . .	79
Number of students who were foreign-born . . .	5,842
	<hr/>
	5,921
Number of teachers . . . . .	105

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Castle, assistant superintendent of schools, in letter of September 9, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Work of the Cleveland Americanization Committee* (July, 1918), p. 6.

When it is remembered that there are in Cleveland about 70,000 aliens ten years of age and over who are not enrolled in the public schools, and that Cleveland is one of the leaders in Americanization work, the meagerness of the results in comparison with the great need is startling. The fact is that the states and municipalities, through no particular fault of their own, have failed to Americanize the adult foreign-born population of the United States.

### III. FEDERAL AGENCIES

Federal activity in Americanizing the foreign-born is of recent origin and limited extent. By established precedents and legislative and constitutional provisions, control over practically all phases of education has until the present time remained in the hands of state and local authorities. Federal interest in immigrant education has therefore confined itself largely to various investigations of the existing facilities for educating the foreign-born; to arousing the public mind, by the use of bulletins, news items, and other publications, to the need of such facilities; and to issuing from time to time material which might be useful in carrying on such work. Chief among the federal agencies which have been active in this work are the United States Bureau of Education, the Council of National Defense, the Committee on Public Information, and the Bureau of Naturalization.

Unfortunately, a conflict of authority, duplication of effort, and lack of co-ordination seem to exist among these federal agencies. A summary of a few of the events of the last year will support the foregoing statement and at the same time will reveal the chief federal activities.

On February 12, 1918, the Council of National Defense, which has acted as a transmitting agency for various federal agencies interested in Americanization, indorsed and issued, on behalf of the Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 86.<sup>1</sup> This bulletin consists of an elaborate outline of Americanization work to be conducted through the State Councils of Defense as correlators of all state and local Americanization activities. It contains also a list of

<sup>1</sup> *Americanization of Aliens*, Bulletin No. 86, Council of National Defense, February 12, 1918.

pamphlets and other materials on Americanization, and a list of some thirty-two agencies now engaged, more or less vigorously, in Americanization work, with a brief description of the activities of each.

On April 20, 1918, the Council of National Defense issued a supplementary bulletin on *War Information Service for Immigrants*.<sup>1</sup> This contains plans for organizing committees and conducting work in each state for the promotion of loyalty among immigrants. It also contains a rather full bibliography of material available for free distribution and useful in the work of Americanization.

Meanwhile the Committee on Public Information, with the co-operation of the National Americanization Committee, undertook a survey for the purpose of obtaining a list of local agencies coming in contact with our foreign population, primarily with a view to the circulation of war pamphlets. In some cases mayors of cities assumed that this inquiry made them agents of the federal government in carrying on Americanization work. Confusion at once resulted with the work of the State Councils of Defense, which had been designated in Bulletin No. 86 as a centralizing agency in each state.

When the Bureau of Naturalization learned that bulletins had been issued by the Council of National Defense on behalf of the Bureau of Education, in which nothing was said about its work, it persuaded the Council to issue on April 20, 1918, another bulletin supplementary to Bulletin No. 86. In this publication, Bulletin No. 91,<sup>2</sup> the work of the Bureau of Naturalization was outlined and emphasis was again placed on the necessity of centralizing, as far as possible, in the State Councils of Defense all work of Americanization in the various states.

In the meantime (April 2-3, 1918) Mr. Lane, the Secretary of the Interior, had called a conference to meet in Washington to consider the whole subject of Americanization. Governors, state officials, prominent commercial and industrial leaders, educators,

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin No. 92, Council of National Defense, April 20, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> *Co-operation with the United States Bureau of Naturalization*, Bulletin No. 91, Council of National Defense, April 18, 1918.

and publicists participated in the gathering. At the conference a resolution was offered urging the appointment of a central controlling body for all federal Americanization work, but for some reason this resolution was never brought to a vote.

In May a law was enacted by Congress authorizing the Bureau of Naturalization to issue a textbook for the instruction of persons preparing for naturalization. There are certain indications that the Bureau of Naturalization hereupon considered itself the only federal agency legally authorized to deal with the foreign-born.

To complicate matters still further, that same month saw a new development in the Bureau of Education. As early as 1914 a Division of Immigrant Education had been established in this Bureau. As no funds were available to carry on the work, the National Americanization Committee, at whose suggestion the division was established, volunteered to appoint one of its staff members, Mr. H. H. Wheaton, to take charge of the division. Now in May, 1917, a War Work Extension Division, apparently with co-ordinate powers, was appointed and placed in charge of Mr. Joseph Mayper. To increase the tangle, Miss Frances A. Keller, also a member of the National Americanization Committee, was at about the same time appointed as Special Advisor on War Work among Immigrants, a somewhat similar position, and placed in charge of the New York City office of the Bureau, an arrangement having been entered into at this time by which the National Americanization Committee turned over its entire office and office force to the Bureau of Education. Since this event there seem to have been for at least part of the time two branches of the Bureau of Education engaged in the same sort of work.

Such, in brief, are the activities of various federal agencies engaged to some degree in the work of Americanization. It would be unprofitable to review further the evidences of inefficiency, overlapping of efforts, and examples of friction among these various agencies.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that those familiar with the facts

<sup>1</sup> Evidence on this whole subject is confusing. Assertions and denials are made by different persons concerned. I have given as fair an interpretation as possible; only an authoritative investigation can discover the whole truth. Since the foregoing was written steps have been taken to centralize the Americanization work of the Bureau of Education.

will not question the necessity of some means by which federal activities in Americanization can be more effectively co-ordinated.

#### IV. PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL ACTION

In recent years there have been various indications of an increasing public sentiment in favor of placing the responsibility for the education of immigrants on the federal government rather than on the local community or the state. Admission to the country and naturalization, it is maintained, are both determined by federal enactment. The more or less constant movement of immigrants from community to community and from state to state makes it obvious that effective education is possible only through national action, and finally it is declared that, since Americanization is a matter vital to the national welfare, the responsibility for it should rest on the national government.

Concrete manifestation of this growing sentiment is the support given to two federal Americanization bills, both of which were direct results of the April conference.<sup>1</sup>

The first of these measures provides for the appropriation of \$500,000 annually for ten years, to be administered by the United States Commissioner of Education, for the education of persons of foreign birth or parentage "in the understanding and use of the English language, in a comprehension of the fundamental ideals and meaning of American life, citizenship, and institutions, and in a genuine allegiance to the principles upon which the Government of the United States is founded."

The second bill was drafted, after two years of investigation, by the Legislative Committee of the National Committee of One Hundred, the Advisory Council on Americanization of the United States Bureau of Education. It has been indorsed by eleven governors, a large number of boards of education, many school superintendents, chambers of commerce, industrial leaders, patriotic organizations, and representatives of all phases of American life. It has the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the United States Commissioner of Education, and the special committee of nine appointed by Secretary Lane to review the bill.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 625; also *School Life*, I, No. 1, pp. 1-2.

The chief provisions of the bill are:

1. The appropriation, as an emergency fund, of \$5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, without requiring the states to appropriate an equal amount, this money to be used for the immediate education of immigrants; \$3,000,000 the second year, \$4,000,000 the third year, \$5,000,000 annually thereafter, states and territories being required to appropriate equal amounts beginning with the second year.

2. The appropriation of \$500,000 the first year and \$750,000 the second year for the preparation of teachers of immigrants.

3. Apportionment of the funds among the states and territories is to be according to the number of resident persons ten years of age and over who are unable to speak English, compared with the total number of such persons in the entire United States.

4. Of this fund 50 per cent to pay salaries of teachers, etc., is to be applied in classes in places where immigrants live, work, or congregate.

5. The administration of the act is vested in the United States Bureau of Education.

6. At least one hundred<sup>1</sup> hours of English, civics, and history must be taught in a given class or school.

7. None of the money appropriated can be applied to the support of private schools.

In the brief accompanying the bill the argument in favor of its passage is summarized as follows:

1. Immigrants are admitted into the country by the Federal Government; they are admitted to citizenship by the Federal Government; therefore, the period between admission and naturalization is equally a matter of *Federal* interest. In this period their education for life and citizenship must take place.

2. Immigrants move from one state to another. One community trains them and carries the cost under the present system, while the other gets the benefit. This is unfair. Their education is, therefore, an *inter-state*, and hence a Federal matter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The brief from which the foregoing summary and argument are taken is on file with the Committee on Public Information.



## CHARACTER OF PRESENT INSTRUCTION IN AMERICANIZATION

## I. AIMS

The first point which calls for consideration in a survey of the various courses of instruction in Americanization now in operation is the aims which should govern such instruction. Just what is Americanization? What is good citizenship? Only as an agreement is secured on these fundamentals can an adequate criticism be reached on existing courses. Let us see then what various leaders and organizations have said on this matter.

## WHO IS A GOOD CITIZEN?

Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States:

A good citizen is one who constantly and consciously accommodates his conduct and his business to the rights of others and the interests of the community.

Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University:

The good citizen is an intelligent and judicious man who loves freedom, justice, and mercy, and is prepared on occasion to sacrifice his own interests to the common good.

E. H. Gary, president of the United States Steel Corporation:

A good citizen is one who observes all national, state, and municipal laws and is willing to assist in their enforcement. He is honest and fearless. He is loyal to his home and friends and country. He does what he can to assist in promoting the moral, intellectual, and physical welfare of the people.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor:

A man who does not live for himself alone; one who is concerned in the welfare of his fellows; who will, if necessary, make sacrifices to rectify wrongs, to eliminate evils, and make every effort for the common uplift, who will endeavor by every means within his power to see to it that these principles shall find expression in the laws and in the administration of the affairs of the government of his city, his state, and his country.<sup>1</sup>

## WHAT IS AMERICANIZATION?

The Cleveland Americanization Committee:

Americanization means assimilation into the American life of the community. . . . The keystone to Americanization is learning the language of

<sup>1</sup> Adams, *What Constitutes Good Citizenship*, pp. 4-6.

our country. . . . Americanization is the co-operative process by means of which "many peoples" in our city and in America become "One Nation" united in language, work, home ties, and citizenship, with one flag above all flags, and only one allegiance to that flag. Americanization is a co-operative movement, bigger than America. It is a world-wide movement that all peoples may be united in a "world brotherhood." It is part of the aim of the great war being waged, that the world may be made safe for "democracy" abroad and at home as well. Americanization is carrying democracy to *all peoples*, first, within the boundaries of America, and second, to all peoples without the boundaries of America, in order that the world may have a greater industrial, educational, economic, and political freedom.<sup>1</sup>

#### The National Americanization Committee:

The interpretation of American ideals, traditions, and standards and institutions to foreign-born peoples.

The acquirement of a common language for the entire nation.

The universal desire of all peoples in America to unite in a common citizenship under one flag.

The combating of anti-American propaganda activities and schemes and the stamping out of sedition and disloyalty wherever found.

The elimination of causes of disorder, unrest, and disloyalty which make fruitful soil for un-American propagandists and disloyal agitators.

The abolition of racial prejudices, barriers, and discriminations, of colonies and immigrant sections, which keep people in America apart.

The maintenance of an American standard of living including the use of American foods, preparation of foods, care of children.

The discontinuance of discriminations in housing, care, protection, and treatment of aliens.

The creation of an understanding of and love for America and the desire of immigrants to remain in America, have a home here, and support American institutions and laws.<sup>2</sup>

#### Samuel Rea, president, Pennsylvania Railroad System:

The task of producing good United States citizens from the millions of men and women of alien birth who are in this country, and who in normal times come here by the hundreds of thousands yearly, appears to resolve itself into two problems:

First, America must be made to seem to these people a good place, not merely to make money in, but to live in.

Second, they must be induced to give up the languages, customs, and methods of life which they have brought with them across the ocean, and

<sup>1</sup> Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> *What You Can Do for Americanization*, p. 20. National Americanization Committee, March, 1918.

adopt instead the language, habits, and customs of this country, and the general standards and ways of American living.<sup>1</sup>

Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior:

What is this Americanism? It is not internationalism; it is the most intense nationalism, because through this Nation mankind is to be served. Americanism is not pacifism, because Americanism is courage, and there can be no such thing as manhood or womanhood without courage. Americanism is not cynicism; it is enthusiasm. Americanism is not indifference; it is purpose. It is not being carried away with the idea that there is some guiding fate that will lead us in some mysterious way into the happy land. It is a consciousness through our whole being that things can be achieved by work and by will, and that is the lesson that you are to carry—that you are carrying, that you are preaching every day to the children of America.

And how can you do it? You can do it by teaching American history in the American tongue, by giving American standards, by letting American boys and girls know that the history of the United States is not a mere series of fugitive incidents, remote, separated, unrelated, but is a philosophy going through the history of 140 years; by teaching them that those men in America are noble who contribute to the elevation of American ideals and that those men are ignoble who do not add to the march of this philosophy of mankind.<sup>2</sup>

Intelligence, co-operation, self-sacrifice are the three characteristics given chief emphasis in the definitions describing the good citizen; that is, the good citizen is one who knows what the public welfare needs, and who co-operates in establishing it, even though his co-operation may mean personal discomfort and loss.

In the various explanations of the meaning of Americanism chief stress seems to be laid on the acquisition of the English language and American citizenship, and on the adoption of American customs, standards, and methods of life; or, in other words, Americanism is defined as a process by which an alien acquires our language, citizenship, customs, and ideals.

It is difficult to see why true Americanism necessitates on the part of the immigrant the adoption of our foods or our methods of preparing food, as urged by the National Americanization Committee. It is conceivable that one may continue to eat goulash or garlic and forego the pleasures of pie and yet become a true

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Rea, *Making Americans on the Railroad*, leaflet published by the National Americanization Committee.

<sup>2</sup> *School Life*, I, No. 1, p. 15.

American in mind, heart, and action. Even the surrender of certain customs may impoverish the future America. The all-important thing, as Secretary Lane has so finely put it, would seem to be the adoption of the spirit of America.

## II. TYPICAL COURSES AND METHODS

Of the various courses of instruction given in industries, let us survey three: the Sicher system, the Ford English School, and the correspondence courses of the Pennsylvania Railroad System.

*The Sicher system.*—The D. E. Sicher Company, of New York City, manufacturers of muslin goods, are pioneers in the work of Americanization in industrial plants. This firm employs large numbers of alien employees, many of whom are illiterate. In 1913 courses of instruction for these foreign-born employees were organized in co-operation with the New York Board of Education. The company furnishes a classroom in the factory and meets part of the other expenses. The Board of Education furnishes a teacher, necessary supplies, and supervision. Arrangements were made by which employees, without loss of pay, were permitted to receive

practical instruction in speaking and writing the English language, the composing of personal and business letters, the fundamentals of arithmetic, history and civil government, good citizenship, local ordinances, hygiene and sanitation, the industrial solution of the product they handle from the cotton fields to the machines they operate, and the mysteries of communication so puzzling to the foreigner—the use of the telephone and city directory, the sending of telegrams and letters, and the finding of one's way in the city streets.<sup>1</sup>

The class meets for three-fourths of an hour every day. The term continues for thirty-five weeks during the year. At the end of the first school year forty girls representing various nationalities were graduated. They had acquired the ability to read and write the English language; they understood the fundamental laws of health; their outlook on life had been enlarged; and, in addition, after only sixteen weeks of instruction, their earning

<sup>1</sup> Jessie Howell MacCarthy, *Where Garments and Americans Are Made*. New York: Writers Publishing Co., 1917.

capacity had increased from  $19\frac{1}{2}$  cents to  $22\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour. The United States Commissioner of Education, P. P. Claxton, calls the Sicher system "the most practical method yet for teaching these older immigrant boys and girls."

The spirit of Americanism which prevails in the Sicher plant is revealed in part by an extract from a letter dated September 9, 1918:

For the past four or five months we have been conducting a Red Cross workroom. This is made up of our experienced and inexperienced machine sewers and other employees who volunteer two hours a week, Monday evening from six until eight o'clock, to work on garments furnished us by the New York Chapter of the American Red Cross. The employees volunteer the time, the Red Cross supply the material and the firm furnish supper, light, heat, power, and sewing thread. A considerable number of non-machine sewers have organized a very active knitting unit. Our production is, of course, high as compared with the production of the usual Red Cross workroom, the personnel of which is the average unskilled woman.

*The Ford English school.*—One of the most extensive and best organized efforts yet made by an industry for the Americanization of its foreign-born labor is in operation at the Ford Motor Company plant in Detroit, Michigan. In connection with the introduction of the Ford profit-sharing scheme an investigation was made which revealed the existence in the Ford shops of workmen representing fifty-three different nationalities and speaking over one hundred different languages and dialects.

As a result the Ford English School was established. Its efficiency and character may be judged by the following extract from the *Survey Report of the Detroit Board of Commerce*:

One thousand seven hundred men are learning English in twenty-eight especially built classrooms provided for them under the Ford roof. Each class averages an enrolment of between twenty-five and thirty, so that there are about eighty classes. There are three shifts of workers, each having an eight-hour day. This gives an opportunity to use the twenty-five classrooms at three different periods (8:00 A.M. in the morning, at 1:00 P.M. in the afternoon, and 3:30 P.M. in the afternoon). There are two sessions for each class: one group of classes meets on Mondays and Thursdays and the other Tuesdays and Fridays. Wednesday is set aside for a Teachers' Training Course, which is absolutely essential to the success of the classes. The teachers are volunteers from the employees of the factory itself. They represent clerks,

foremen, checkers, inspectors, stenographers, machinists, and eight other classes of workers. Here you find in actual operation the American employee teaching English on his own time, because he wants to be of service to the foreigner. There seems to be something in this spirit of unselfish service that appeals to foreign and native mind alike. There are ninety teachers for the eighty classes; ten teachers are necessary for substitutes because of the unforeseen circumstances which arise from time to time, preventing the teacher's presence at his class.

The men of the plant who do not speak English are enrolled in the classes through the investigators of the Sociological Department. In order to ascertain whether any employee is rightfully entitled to share in the bonus system, a staff of forty investigators is employed. One of the duties of these investigators is to find out whether each man speaks English or not. If he does not, a card is made out, and he later is requested to see one of the interpreters of the Company. The purpose and advantage of the English classes are then explained individually to each man and he is invited to attend. If he so desires, he is at once assigned to a definite class.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately the Ford Company has nothing in print in the way of courses of instruction along the lines of education and Americanism.<sup>2</sup>

*The Pennsylvania Railroad system.*—Another interesting attempt at Americanization has been carried on for some time by the Pennsylvania Railroad System. Over 33,000 foreign-born men were employed on the Pennsylvania Lines at the beginning of the present year. About one-third of the number were Italians, many of whom could neither read nor write English. Because of the evident need of Americanization work among these men a correspondence course was organized in Italian-English. The direct charge of the work was given to a native-born Italian who is a graduate of Yale and an ardent advocate of Americanization. Mr. Rea, the president of the Pennsylvania system describes the work as follows:

The original purpose in establishing these courses was to make Italians, who are largely employed in track maintenance gangs, more efficient workmen by teaching them the English language so that they might better understand the orders of their foremen. The language courses are also utilized to instruct the men in the proper use of their tools, and in the fundamentals of safety, health, and sanitation to aid them in raising their standards of living.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Ford Motor Company, September 11, 1918.

For this reason all of the language lessons, beyond the most elementary, deal with practical subjects. As the course advances the work consists largely in rendering from Italian into English brief instructions relative to the use of tools and implements, and information regarding the proper method of laying and repairing track and the fundamental safety rules. One entire pamphlet is devoted to the use of signals and signal rules, and two others to the use of track tools.

Altogether there are eleven pamphlets in the Italian-English course, and the last one of the series is devoted to the subject of Naturalization.

On February 20, 1918, there were 4,307 students enrolled in the Italian-English course on the Lines East of Pittsburgh alone, or more than one-half of all the employees of Italian birth working on that portion of the Pennsylvania System.

Experience on the Pennsylvania Railroad has shown that the best results in endeavoring to teach foreign-born employees the use of the English language are attained by measures which will practically compel them, in the course of their everyday work, to accustom themselves to speaking and thinking in the new tongue. For this reason, information especially intended for employees of alien birth is usually printed in English instead of in their own language. Practically every gang of workmen has at least one man besides the foreman who can read English. Printed information in English is deciphered by him and explained to the others, so that the double purpose is served of imparting useful information and at the same time giving a language lesson.

In a similar way, lectures on safety and similar subjects, while necessarily given at times in Italian and other foreign languages, are always accompanied by lantern slides and other illustrations in which English words are used.<sup>1</sup>

Similar courses of instruction have been furnished for Mexican employees. Instruction by correspondence in electricity, mathematics, and stenography has also been provided. In the latter courses many of the students were of native birth, though a considerable number of persons of alien birth were also enrolled. "Out of approximately 166,000 employees on the Lines East of Pittsburgh 18,769, or 10.7 per cent of the total, were on February 28, 1918, enrolled in these courses."

It is impossible to measure accurately the success of this work. Such evidence, however, as is available is highly encouraging. For example, 32 per cent of the foreign-born employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad Lines East of Pittsburgh subscribed to

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Rea, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

the First Liberty Loan; 34 per cent of the native-born subscribed. Of the 25,721 men of alien birth who were employed June 30, 1917 "8,003 had been fully naturalized; 3,069 had taken out their first papers; and 5,064 had definitely announced their intention of applying for naturalization. In other words, nearly 63 per cent of the total had either become United States citizens or had declared their intention of so doing."<sup>1</sup> To what extent these results were due to the correspondence courses it is, let me repeat, impossible to determine.

*Industrial courses in Cleveland.*—In a previous section attention was called to the Americanization work in Cleveland. In the twenty-two industries where classes were organized these classes met for one hour a day and two days a week for English and, in some cases, an extra day for citizenship.

Instruction in English was made as practical as possible by giving the students shop terms as soon as they could understand them. The work was conducted by what is known as the direct method, by teachers especially trained for the purpose.

Instruction in citizenship is based on a pamphlet containing fifteen "Lessons in American Citizenship." It includes brief discussions of the meaning of free government, the story of the United States, the national Constitution, and the government of the United States, the state of Ohio, and the city of Cleveland. In this phase of the work chief emphasis is placed on the ways in which the government serves the public. There are also lessons describing how citizens rule, the way to become a citizen of the United States, and the duties and rights of a citizen. The last lesson deals with the causes of the present war. An appendix contains extracts from the Constitution of the United States, a list of the free public night schools in Cleveland, important facts about the laws, three songs for Americans, sample forms used in naturalization, and other matters of interest and importance.

The pamphlet is written in clear and simple English. Adult aliens should have little difficulty in understanding it. Many of the questions at the end of each lesson call merely for memory work, and are, in consequence, of slight educational worth. The

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.



value of the list of "Facts and Dates in Our History" (pp. 11-12) is questionable; the chronological items on Jefferson and Hamilton are useless (p. 13). Many will see little value to immigrants in the itemization of the powers of the nation and the powers of the state (p. 15). In fact, considerable material in this pamphlet is of an encyclopedic nature, useful perhaps for reference but lacking the vitality and interest which should enter into such a text. It is, however, a marked improvement on that type of training for immigrants so prevalent in the country a short time ago, a training which was limited to the material necessary for acquiring naturalization papers. The pamphlet is attractively illustrated.

The success of the civics work appears in part from the fact that "whereas the attendance in citizenship classes in former years diminished very materially by spring, this year the attendance increased from 150 to 200 during the winter and to 400 after May 1st." The cause of the large increase in the spring was doubtless due in large part to an arrangement by which the government examiner agreed to hold the examination for naturalization at the classroom instead of as heretofore in the Federal Building. The men thereby were saved the financial loss due to losing time from work. In the past 80 per cent of those taking the examination had failed. Of those taking the course this year, however, 90 per cent passed successfully.

A phase of the Americanization work in Cleveland which deserves especial mention is the recognition of the fact that success depends, not only in bringing to the foreign-born an acquaintance with American ideals and customs, but in giving to the native-born a sympathetic comprehension of the racial and historical background of the immigrant. To accomplish this purpose a series of articles has been planned, primarily for native Americans, to take up one by one the various nationalities prominently represented in Cleveland and give information concerning their history, customs, and characteristics.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the pamphlets, attractively illustrated and well written, has already appeared. It is entitled, *The Slovaks of Cleveland*. The author is Eleanor E. Ledbetter. The complete course of study in Cleveland will soon be published by Macmillan.

*Methods of securing enrolment in classes.*—Enrolment in classes which have been provided by industrial plants is of course, voluntary, but various inducements, and different kinds of pressure have been employed to secure attendance. In many instances, as in the Sicher plant, the workers are permitted to attend classes during working-hours without loss of pay. Many companies place posters in conspicuous places, urging their employees to become members of educational classes. On pay days it is a common practice to place slips or folders in the pay envelopes, urging attendance at the classes. For example, the following statement was distributed at the Ford plant:

TO EVERY NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING EMPLOYEE

You are expected to attend the Ford English Schools. You must learn to read, write, and speak English. This School was established for your benefit, and you should be glad of this opportunity.

You must read your Bulletin and you must be able to read the safety signs placed about the plant. There is no excuse for your remaining away from school. Come to the third floor on the Woodward Avenue side, after you ring out. COME TODAY.<sup>1</sup>

Some industries have exerted pressure on their men by giving preference in employment and promotion to those attending night school. In August, 1917, for example, the Michigan Bolt and Nut Works of Detroit issued this statement:

On September 10th, a new term of the free public evening schools will open. The officers of this company favor the attendance of our non-English-speaking employees at these schools. From and after this date, as conditions will permit, men attending night school *will be given preference when applying for work with this company. If it should become necessary to reduce our force at any future time, we will endeavor to retain a man with a good night school record in preference to a man not attending school.*<sup>2</sup>

(Signed) MICHIGAN NUT AND BOLT WORKS

As a result of the united efforts of the Detroit Board of Commerce and the Board of Education and other local agencies "the appropriation for Americanization classes in English and citizenship was doubled and the enrolment was increased in one year 153 per cent."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8; italics used in the statement.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

The state boards of education in some of the states have recently become interested in immigrant education, but in most cases their interest has manifested itself in stimulating local school authorities to take up the problem. No course of study prepared for immigrants by state boards, with the exception of the New York bulletin previously referred to,<sup>1</sup> has come to hand. Mr. Charles E. Towne, who is in charge of the Division of Immigrant Education in the Department of University Extension of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, has prepared a bulletin on *Methods of Americanization*, which is now in press.

*Federal courses of instruction for immigrants.*—Two courses in civics for immigrants have been issued recently by federal agencies, one by the Bureau of Education<sup>2</sup> and the other by the Bureau of Naturalization.<sup>3</sup> The first of these is a tentative syllabus in elementary civics "published for use by teachers and principals until such time as the Bureau's complete course, now in preparation, can be distributed." It is a revision of the syllabus published by the New York State Department of Education, mentioned above.

Five topics are treated:

1. The citizen—how he lives

Such items as food, clothing, water, and fresh air are to be discussed, the purpose being "to show the relation of a citizen to his community."

2. The citizen's community—what it does for him

Protection of the citizen from danger by fire, disease, accident, and so on, and the services rendered by the public schools, library, parks, post-offices, etc., are to be discussed.

3. The citizen's work—work and citizenship

How to secure work, how to advance in your work, and how to save money come under this topic.

<sup>1</sup> Even the New York bulletin was not the work of the state board. It is instead another example of the activities of the National Americanization Committee; it is entitled *Citizenship Syllabus*, University of State of New York Bulletin, No. 622 (September 1, 1916).

<sup>2</sup> *Syllabus of a Tentative Course in Elementary Civics for Immigrants*, Bureau of Education.

<sup>3</sup> Raymond F. Crist, *Student's Textbook. A Standard Course of Instruction for Use in the Public Schools*, etc. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918.

## 4. The citizen's country—the United States

The growth and history of the United States, the causes of the present war, and the war duties of citizens are to be taught here.

## 5. Becoming a citizen—ideals of American citizenship

The purpose and content of matters to be treated under this topic are clear from its title.

For class use by the average teacher it is doubtful whether such an outline has much practical value. It should be accompanied with subject-matter to teach or, at least, specific citations where such material can be obtained. Concrete illustrations of the method of teaching such topics is also vital to obtain the best results.

The other course on immigrant civics, that issued by the Bureau of Naturalization, we are told in a foreword was published by authority of Congress. It purports to be "a standard course of instruction applicable to the adult foreigner who is a candidate for naturalization," but it is "not intended to displace other textbooks having material suited to the Americanization of candidates for citizenship."

The first main division of this pamphlet is a series of twenty "lessons" intended primarily for the teaching of English. The topics selected are such as require the employment of words in most common use. The first steps in naturalization are explained, simple problems in practical arithmetic are given, the story of the flag is told, and bits of American history are related. On the whole this portion of the book is well done, though it is impossible to discover the unifying idea in a series of topics which include consecutively the following: story of the United States government, discovery of America, the Indians, life of Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Longfellow, liberty, the federal Constitution.

The second main division of this text deals with the national government. Of the fifty pages given to the subject, thirty-six are devoted to the executive departments. From the standpoint of immigrant education and the promotion of genuine Americanization there is slight merit in much of its material. Detailed cataloguing of phases of the mint, United States coast guard, post-office, hydrographic office, the bureaus of mines, entomology, biological survey, chemistry, fisheries, standards, lighthouses, and

so on, are supplied in cumbersome quantities. This portion of the text seems almost a compilation of the activities of the federal executive departments as they might have been prepared for legislative use by well-informed clerks in the respective departments. Other extracts might have been taken from a guidebook, as, for example, the statement that "the Senate Chamber is 113 feet 3 inches in length by 80 feet 3 inches in width, and 36 feet in height" (p. 54).

The third main division of the pamphlet deals with "fundamentals for the American home; some things the housewife should know." In this section directions are given on such matters as the selection and preparation of food, proper feeding of children, the rudiments of household sanitation, the treatment of injuries, personal hygiene, and neatness. There is much here which native Americans could doubtless read with profit. All in all, this textbook is a hodgepodge of material, good, bad, and indifferent. In the hands of the teacher who knows when to slash and alter it will be a decided help; in the hands of an inexperienced, weak teacher it could easily lead to disaster. A manual for teachers containing helpful hints, though with the inequalities of the text, has been published to accompany this pamphlet.

While not in itself a course of study, mention should be made of the first section of a publication dealing with "standards and methods in the education of immigrants" put out this year by the Bureau of Education. This section is entitled "Part II, Organization and Administration." Part I, on "Legislation," and Part III, on "Instruction," are announced as "in course of preparation," to be "available for distribution after the opening of the evening schools in the fall." Part II, on "Organization and Administration"—the section now available—"is intended for the experimental use of school officials, principals, and teachers during the coming school term . . . to be revised in the light of the known practices and criticisms of school authorities." It contains definite recommendations regarding immigrant education on such matters as financial support, supervision, appointment and qualifications of teachers, terms and sessions, methods of publicity, registration and classification of pupils, regulation of attendance,

and equipment of classrooms. In the present diversified practices in the education of our foreign population this compilation should be of real service in standardizing the organization and administration of such courses.<sup>1</sup>

### III. FINAL ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

*Findings.*—In conclusion, this survey has revealed the following conditions in immigrant education:

1. Very few of our foreign population are receiving any systematic training in English and citizenship.

2. There are a host of agencies eager to co-operate in Americanization if they but knew what and how to do; many of them, owing to ignorance, are engaged in undertakings of little value.

3. Conflicts, antagonisms, cross-purposes, duplication of effort, and inefficiency characterize the activities of many of the agencies now in the field.

4. Existing courses of instruction in citizenship are inadequate in content and method to produce the best results in Americanization; some of them, however, contain excellent features.

*Recommendations.*—In view of present conditions the following action should be taken:

1. There should be a centralizing federal agency with power to direct and co-ordinate the work of the different agencies engaged in Americanization.

2. A standard course of instruction in citizenship, embracing the fundamental political, economic, and social phases of American life, should be perfected by or through this centralizing agency. This course should be planned so as to permit such variations as are necessary to fit it to the needs of different communities. A collection of all the courses now used in immigrant instruction would be helpful to anyone attempting to organize such a course.

3. Special instruction should be provided in normal schools, colleges, and universities to fit teachers for the work of Americanization.

4. Adequate financial appropriations for a thoroughgoing campaign in Americanization should be made by Congress and by the legislatures of the states.

<sup>1</sup> A review by the writer of recent civic literature was published in *School Review*, November, 1918, pp. 705-14.

## HAVE WE A JUST STANDARD OF INDUSTRIAL INTELLIGENCE?

FRANK HENRY SELDEN

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There has recently been brought to my notice a copy of *Readings in Industrial Society* by Marshall. On the wrapper of this book is stated: "This book furnishes a foundation for a thorough understanding and intelligent handling of industrial questions." It appears that very much of the philosophy of the numerous writers whose works have been drawn upon for this material is the outgrowth of an estimate of industrial intelligence which this writer believes to be quite erroneous. If the supposition on which those authorities have worked is not correct, the whole discussion is of little value, because, as is evident, the first essential of progress toward a solution of industrial problems, including all public education as well as industrial education, is to establish a correct valuation of the intellectual requirements of industry.

This requirement is not only essential as a basis for correct educational theory, but is of even greater value in placing a proper relation between industrial workers and all other persons in society. Fundamentally this latter is the chief, because to determine the intellectual factor is to determine the position of the individual in society, and this necessarily determines his probable needs in all respects, including those which raise the question of hours of labor, how much for work and how much for study or pleasure, and therefore what training or education is needed not only to fit for work but also for all other purposes. Briefly, until we have a very definite and correct measure of the intellectual requirements of industry we have no foundation on which we may build a social or industrial philosophy.

Why we should drift into the belief that the introduction of machinery has lowered the average requirements of intelligence in industry seems unexplainable. Adam Smith, even before machine

tools had begun to develop and when such machines as were used in manufacturing were of the most simple types, wrote: "Each individual becomes more expert in his own branch, more work is done upon the whole, and the quantity of science is considerably increased by it." If this were true at the very dawn of machine development how much more true it must be today after a century and a half of work of master-minds in the development of mechanical science. The acme of this development is well exemplified in the modern screw machine, gear planer, and turret lathe, and yet we see many indications that eminent social philosophers class the master-minds operating these machines as of a low order of intelligence.

This incorrect estimate of the intelligence required in the operation of modern tools and machinery is possibly the one basic cause of all modern industrial unrest: first, in that it fails to recognize a development of intelligence that feels a greater number of social needs—has raised the worker to a higher level of social intelligence than those in control are willing to grant; and, second, in that because of this larger intelligence in the work than is granted, labor does not receive its just share of the rewards of the joint enterprise of worker and machine. We no doubt would be surprised at the results of a calculation as to what would now be the just share of the operator in the machine and its adjuncts if we credit to the operator only 2 or 3 per cent more of the income of the joint enterprise than he has received since the advent of the machine. We may grant this as an accumulation of an interest in the machine or as a share in the capital.

Viewing the problem in this light, to show that the intelligence necessary to machine operation is such as to make the operator's share 2 or 3 per cent greater than has been granted by the capitalist, is to render obsolete substantially all our present social and industrial philosophy and to establish a cause for little less than an industrial revolution, if the laborer is to be granted his back pay that would from such an estimate rightfully belong to him.

As an element in the social philosophy of the present it determines whether our theories are tending to ameliorate conditions by obtaining justice or to increase the difficulty by finding excuses for



even further exploitation of the workingman. It gives an entirely different interpretation to the question as to whether the laboring class is in its present straitened circumstances because of extravagance and wastefulness for which they themselves are responsible, or because of exploitation by those controlling the situation. It will then appear that the real cause is that an erroneous standard of living has been set up by the capitalistic class because of having a surplus of funds that does not belong to them, and thus not only hindering the proper accumulation of wealth in the hands of the common people or working classes by robbing them of their rightful compensation, but actually greatly increasing the strain because of establishing a standard of expense and living that no one has by right the funds to maintain.

Briefly, if industrial harmony is to be brought about by justice to all parties, then the first fundamental to be determined is the relative values of intelligence put into industrial tasks by each workman and class of workmen, and then establish standards of income and of living in harmony with the conditions of each and the standards of intelligence and resulting needs of the various members of society.

Who could have coined such a senseless phrase as "All men are equal before the machine" is beyond our comprehension. Further, we are told that the law of machinery is a law of statical order, and we read various other statements pointing to the conclusion that those writers believe that as the machine becomes more nearly automatic the need for intelligence on the part of the operator is lessened. It seems to this writer that a visit to almost any plant would convince one of ordinary powers of observation that such statements and conclusions are entirely unwarranted. The very appearance of the workmen ought to be sufficient to cause a serious doubt about such a low grade of mentality as the statements of those writers appear to presume.

Perhaps we may get a correct point of view easiest by use of illustrations. A little girl was being greatly troubled by the older members of the family who constantly questioned her as to what she would do when grown up. One Sunday afternoon she went to her mother in a serious frame of mind and said, "Mamma, now I know

what I am going to do when I get big and have to work. I am going to be a minister, for all you have to do is just to stand in the pulpit and talk." A teacher of psychology once said that he thought there ought to be some way to overcome the terrible mental atrophy that must result from running those screw machines in a plant that he had visited. A certain plant was equipped for making bicycles. Special care was taken to have the best screw machines obtainable. They were guaranteed both as to quantity and quality of production. After they were in operation for a time the manufacturer was notified that they would neither produce the amount of work specified nor would they work with sufficient accuracy. The manufacturer sent a man to see about the trouble. He found the operator overworking trying to keep the machines going and failing entirely. The new man soon had both quantity and quality up to the guaranty and was able to sit in a chair about half the time. If our psychologist had visited this plant first when the man who failed was in charge, and again while the man who succeeded was on the job, which one would he have concluded was the most in need of something to keep his mind from atrophying?

It is related of Horace Greely that he went to a lecture appointment a day early and listened to the minister at the Sunday services. The minister's son noticed an old man who seemed to have no interest in the sermon and soon appeared to be asleep. The young man was greatly surprised when his father took the stranger home to dinner and more surprised when he listened to Mr. Greely as he discussed the sermon.

In a large plant where there was a semi-automatic machine the pieces had to be put in one at a time and the machine did the work. Usually, only cheap help was employed at this machine, as the foreman prided himself on getting work out at a minimum of expense. The regular hand quit and it was necessary to put another man in his place. The new operator looked the machine over, fixed it up, and decided to run it on a faster speed. To do this he must watch it very closely, for he had learned that gold eagles are not the only pieces of metal that are not of the same density throughout. This necessitated his keeping his ear close to the cutter. Being a tall person, this could be accomplished

without undue fatigue only by sitting down. He got a nail keg and sat close to his machine, but as his ear was directed toward the cutter his eyes were apparently looking about the room. Only a day or so elapsed before the foreman called him down for his lazy tendencies in sitting at his work. This, of course, resulted in his putting the machine back on slow speed and assuming a more attentive attitude. When foremen of long experience will make such blunders what may we expect of those who have never operated a machine of any kind?

The same students of industry who will class the screw-machine operator as one doing work requiring only a low grade of intelligence, would not apply the same methods of determination to the lawyer who sits with eyes closed and feet upon the railing. Neither would they apply the same method to the engineer of the big power plant, who is usually seen in an easy chair "doing nothing," or perhaps smoking, or reading a paper. Why? Because in these other lines there are some elements that afford points of contact, while in the highly scientific working of solid materials the social scientist is so far removed as to be only a child watching a minister talk.

It is easy for the professor of social science to speak of the low grade of intelligence required to run a drill after the jig is in place. The best proof of the simplicity is for the professor to try it and show how easy it is. The writer remembers an incident that happened in a room where he was working. The foreman who had charge of the room for many years left the plant. It was a large room and a great variety of work was carried on in the different divisions. For this reason a foreman was taken from another part of the factory, a foreman who was considered exceptionally competent and of great mechanical ability and training. This particular job was drawing a rather high rate of pay and the new foreman concluded to cut the rate. Some of the hands objected, and a discussion followed in which the foreman made the remark that the operation was so simple that anyone could do it and that the only factor was that of practice to get up the required speed. The usual speed was about two pieces a minute. One of the men suggested that if it was so simple the foreman should try it and prove his statement. The foreman was foolish enough to make the attempt,

but after about two hours of attempts and spoiling of material he gave up, with a great deal more respect for his workmen. Yet the writer can say from actual knowledge that the success of this operation depends upon a use of intelligence and knowledge rather than skill, and that the apparently simple operation actually requires a whole book of knowledge which has to be used within the limits of thirty seconds.

From the writer's years of experience about drill presses, and also in teaching in a variety of schools, including normal schools and a university in which he has come in contact with teachers of all grades, he will venture that he can select persons who have held positions as successful teachers who have not a sufficiently high grade of mentality to run successfully the average drill press using a jig of average difficulty, and that he can find some people who have the legal qualification to teach, and actually do get positions year after year, who could not hold a position at any drill press that is required to produce a standard commercial product, and for the simple reason that they have too low a grade of intelligence for such work.

Another way of approach to this problem of determining the intelligence of machine operatives, that may be more easily understood, is to consider the factor of safety necessitated by the nature of such work. It is not thought improper to send a child to the store with a half-dollar to make a small purchase. The possible loss is at most but a small amount, and we may therefore tax the intelligence of the child to the limit with a possibility of overtaxing it. If the transaction is larger we not only consider it essential that it be intrusted to one able to perform it under usual conditions, but we consider it a matter of prudence to employ a person who would be able to carry out our wishes even under some exceptional difficulty—we would plan to be well within safe limits. Should we present a check for a few cents at a bank window it will be cashed by one who is thoroughly competent to cash checks of any amount, because the bank officials feel that there should be a factor of safety permitting of no possible error.

In the use of hand tools the workman may be so incompetent as to do poor work with an occasional piece spoiled. The amount

done is small and the possible loss not large. His factor of safety may be little or nothing with his level of intelligence barely sufficient to accomplish the work. Add to his productive power but a simple machine, and at once the risks are larger and the factor of safety is necessarily increased. With the fully automatic machine the possibilities of spoiling work become so great that the factor of safety must be many times increased; and also the possibility of damage to a machine necessitates a knowledge of the machine many times greater than is likely to be required in any regular work. That this factor of safety is considered in all manufacturing enterprises is well understood by employers. That it is the real measure of the machine operative's intelligence rather than the limited knowledge necessary to pull a lever or place a piece of material in a machine is beyond question.

There appear to have been a great many attempts to define a machine. So far no one seems to be satisfied. May we suggest yet another definition. No doubt we all will consent to the statement that there was a time when there were no tools, and that after the invention of tools a more or less extended period of time elapsed before the invention of a machine. Our problem is, therefore, to determine what differentiates the machine from the tool. This cannot consist in the application of muscle or human energy, for these are essential to the tool, neither can it be the use of intelligence, for this also is essential to the tool. Carrying our analysis yet farther we find that in some cases the intelligence is a constant factor of the movement, directing it to a greater or less degree at all times, as in the use of the hand plane, and that in other cases the intelligence predetermines what is to be done, as in the machine planer or surfacer. In hand planing the attention is constant for the purpose of continuous redirection. In machine planing the attention is for the purpose of seeing that the predetermined movement is properly completed. With the hand plane, to stop the attention is to stop the work. With the machine plane, the work might be completed even if the operator were to remove entirely from the machine.

This illustration is so obvious that more seem unnecessary, although they might be multiplied indefinitely. We, therefore,

have as our definition, *A machine is a mechanism which performs a predetermined act.* With this definition we can readily place many machines and many tools in their respective classes, yet as is usual with attempts at classifications there will be some on the border line. The hand plow is clearly a tool and the gang plow with sulky is as clearly a machine. The scythe is a tool as is also the cradle and hand rake. Mowers, binders, and drills are machines.

With this definition the thesis becomes incontrovertible that the machine requires a higher type of intelligence than the tool, and the more nearly automatic the machine the greater the intellectual requirement in operating it. We can see no place for any exceptions to this rule, because to predetermine what is to be done requires the knowledge necessary to perform the act with simple tools, and in addition to this the operator must know all that is added by the machine, both as to the proper operation and also as to possible difficulties or errors. In addition to this he must be able to correlate all these factors in such a masterly manner as to insure substantial accuracy in results. These factors reach in our fully automatic machines a degree of intellectual requirement that is utterly beyond the understanding of those who have had no experience in such work.

In general we may assume that as the skill of the hand workman decreases by transfer to the machine, the requirement for scientific knowledge and a higher type of intelligence increases. As the machine relieves the workman of muscular exertion, the demand for intellectual exertion increases. As the machine becomes more perfectly automatic in its action, the controlling intelligence must become more intense and more highly developed, to the end that all factors may be given proper consideration and decisions reached with unerring exactness and promptness.

May we not, from these illustrations, draw the inference that the more intelligence exhibited in these industrial tasks the more simple they appear to those who do not understand the nature of their requirements? Further, in the higher grades of industrial activities, this intelligence reaches a development so far removed from that of other lines of mental effort as to have few if any points of contact with the usual academic lines, and to be consequently unrecognizable by our social scientists.

May we not still further infer that a final analysis of this problem of industrial intelligence may show that it extends downward to the most simple industrial occupations, differing in degree rather than in kind, and that our present discussions of social science, as well as our schemes of education, are dealing only with that comparatively insignificant factor of industrial activities which can be understood because of having some similar elements and points of contact with the usual academic lines, and that because of this misunderstanding little progress is made?

May it not be necessary for us to recognize that the whole field of industry requires a type of mind differing essentially from that of other lines, and as yet almost entirely unrecognized; and that the needs, ambitions, and just rewards due this type require methods of study and measurement in harmony with this type of intelligence?

The screw-machine operative cannot get by on a 75 per cent standard, neither can he prove his efficiency by quoting, or misquoting, authorities. His whole mental attitude must be in harmony with his work, and simply because it differs from that of the more usually considered lines does not necessarily represent any less acquisition or effort or training than others. To this writer it seems no more just to condemn the industrial worker to a lower plane of intelligence because he does not measure up with the standards set for other lines than to condemn other lines to a subordinate place because they cannot measure up if tested by the standards of the industrial worker.

Briefly, man's inhumanity to man is very largely the result of the inability of man to recognize the intelligence and worthwhileness of his fellow-man's labors.

## SOCIALIZATION

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By "socialization" is meant here the development of the *we* feeling in associates and their growth in capacity and will to act together. The process is affected by a great variety of conditions and circumstances and is not the same for those who never come into personal contact as for members of a primary group.

Sons of the same land gain a capacity of mutual sympathy from the identity of their early impressions from the physical environment. Not that they will love one another—unless they meet homesick in a far country—but when they have to choose between strangers and their countrymen they will prefer the latter. The recurrent unheeded impressions constitute, as it were, the stable background of individual experience. When people discover that they have the same background they are pleased and drawn together.

In "The Native-born" Kipling brings out clearly what it is that tends to make one people of those reared in the same climate and scene. The Australian calls upon his friends to drink

To the hush of the breathless morning  
On the thin, tin, crackling roofs,  
To the haze of the burned back-ranges  
And the dust of the shoeless hoofs—

The Canadian's toast is

To the far-flung fenceless prairie,  
Where the quick cloud-shadows trail,  
To our neighbor's barn in the offing  
And the line of the new-cut rail;  
To the plough in her league-long furrow  
With the gray Lake gulls behind—



South Africa has characteristic odors as well as sights and sounds.  
Her son drinks

To the home of the floods and the thunder,  
To her pale dry healing blue—  
To the lift of the great Cape combers,  
And the smell of the baked Karroo,  
To the growl of the sluicing stamp-head—  
To the reef and the water-gold.

Still other elements hold the heart of the English bred in India.  
They drain the cup

To our dear dark foster-mothers,  
To the heathen songs they sung—  
To the heathen speech we babbled  
Ere we came to the white man's tongue.  
To the cool of our deep verandas—  
To the blaze of our jewelled main—

It is thus that each land becomes "home" and, however sharp the strife among its sons, they are likely to draw together when an issue arises with an alien people. Here indeed is the primitive strand of nationality.

#### EMOTIONAL COMMUNITY

From the reminiscences exchanged on an "old settlers' day" it is evident that what linked the hearts of the pioneers was the vivid experiences they passed through together—intense social pleasure at merrymakings and celebrations as well as suffering and anxiety caused by floods, droughts, blizzards, prairie fires, and Indian outbreaks. If foreign-born are interspersed among native settlers such experiences bring them all into sympathetic relations, and then the interchange of ideas gradually assimilates them. It is significant that the non-British immigrants into the American colonies in the eighteenth century were assimilated much sooner when they settled on the Indian-fighting frontier than when they dwelt in groups in the safe seaboard strip.

One may wonder whether one emotion has the same value as another for generating fellow-feeling. It is very likely that the

expansive emotions enlarge the heart more than do the depressive emotions. Golden moments, when one escapes from confining walls and comes in sight of large horizons, when one has a delicious and unwonted sense of free and onward life, dilate the *we* feeling. Religious conversion is such an experience, and it ought to show itself in a greater force and range of sympathy and love.

During the early days of the first Russian revolution people were exalted out of themselves. Absolute strangers met each other and suddenly talked like old friends. In a milkshop people would help themselves and leave the right pay. The worst-looking specimen of a man would step off the path into the wet snow to make room for a woman or child. "A boundless bright good-will flowed like waves from all the streets up into every room in the town. It was one of those vast miracles that come to a nation only at moments." "It was a dazzling revelation of the deep powers for brotherhood and friendliness that lie buried in mankind." It passed soon, not because such social feeling is transient, but because differences of aim and ideas made themselves felt.

Common hardships, perils, and maltreatment, as well as common deliverance, success, and triumph, socialize those who react to them in the same way; but unlike reaction to strain sunders men, as we see in the antipathy of martyrs to apostates, of fighters to skulkers, of rebels to cringers. Not those *in the same situation* but those who *feel and act alike in the same situation* are drawn together.

A master-experience is likely to segregate those who have had it. The converted come into fellowship, for the unregenerate cannot understand them. Russian revolutionaries with antithetical principles are brothers while they are hounded and persecuted but not afterward. To war veterans the civilian is forever an outsider. Simple seafaring men are never quite themselves with "landlubbers." Motherhood may inspire a sisterly feeling among women. A kind of freemasonry invites lovers of outdoors or wilderness hunters. Those who have been "up against it" or "down to the bottom dollar" are of a fraternity to which the darlings of fortune can never belong.

## THE COMMON MEAL

• From savage life to our own, eating and drinking together has been the favorite reviver of good feeling and the seal of amity. Nor have intoxicants and narcotics been without a social rôle. They have been, in the words of Giddings, "the crude excitants of social feelings in crude natures." Feasting together makes for a genial and expansive frame of mind. The ancient village community set such store by it that every available opportunity, such as the commemoration of the ancestors, the religious solemnities, the beginning and the end of field work, the births, the marriages, and the funerals, were seized upon to bring the community to a common meal. In the mediaeval guild

the common meal, like the festival at the old tribal folk-mote—the *mahl* or *malum*—or the Buryate *aba*, the parish feast, and the harvest supper, was simply an affirmation of brotherhood. It symbolized the times when everything was kept in common by the clan. This day, at least, all belonged to all; all sate at the same table and partook of the same meal. Even at a much later time the inmate of the almshouse of a London guild sat this day by the side of the rich alderman.<sup>1</sup>

Even now, when we wish to weave a bond of fellowship or to persuade men to join in a generous undertaking we gather them about the banquet board. Indeed, to "break bread together" has a symbolic, even a mystic, significance, and we will not sit at meat with those against whom we intend to draw a color line or a social line.

## RÔLE OF THE FESTIVAL

In olden time the larger societies provided for periodical assemblage in order not to disintegrate into bickering local groups or social classes. The socializing value of such assemblage lies in this, that in one another's presence people are deeply moved in the same way at the same time and are conscious of their community of emotion. In the words of Tarde a festival is

that sovereign process by which the social logic of the sentiments resolves all partial discords, private enmities, envies, contempts, jealousies, moral oppositions of all sorts, into an immense union formed by the periodic convergence

<sup>1</sup> Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, p. 175.

of all the secondary sentiments into a greater and stronger feeling, into a collective hatred or love for some great object, which gives the tone to all hearts, and transfigures their dissonances into a higher harmony. Hence, the more a society in becoming complicated multiplies these dissonances, the more it has need of magnificent and frequent festivals. This major feeling, this tonic note of the public heart, is sometimes a national hatred which is magnified and intensified by expressing itself in mimic combats, by the slaughter of captives, by all those bloody and ferocious criminal festivals in which primitive civilizations delight. Sometimes it is a great national love for a god or for a man, a national worship or admiration, religious, patriotic, or political in tinge.

In the multifarious Hellenic festivals, Olympian games, Isthmian games, Panathenian processions, the triumphal return of the victorious athlete, etc., was expressed intense admiration for strength, agility and beauty, and for the heroes in which these qualities were embodied, also respect and love of the god or the goddess of the city—piety and patriotism blent in a unique combination. Rome had its triumphal marches of generals to the Capitol, its apotheoses of emperors which, like its gladiatorial games, glorified its love of glory, its appetite for dominion and conquest. The Middle Ages had its canonization of saints, its coronations, its jousts, its exposure of reliquaries in procession, all of them expressions of chivalric, feudal, or monarchic mysticism.

We have our patriotic, political, or humanitarian festivals, such as military reviews, the funeral of Victor Hugo, the bringing back of the ashes of Napoleon, the unveiling of statues in honor of great writers, great artists, greater or lesser statesmen. There are no festivals . . . which have not the virtue of binding for the moment all souls into one bundle, united by a dominant feeling.

Public worship is but a variety of periodical assemblage, and originally its social or national motive was obvious. "The most important functions of ancient worship," says W. Robertson Smith, "were reserved for public occasions, when the whole community was stirred by a common emotion." "Universal hilarity prevailed; men ate, drank, and were merry, together, rejoicing before their god. Feasting, dancing, song, and music were present." We read of "orgiastic gladness," "intoxication of the senses," "physical excitement of religion," and "hilarious revelry" as characterizing the later Semitic religious gatherings, in contrast with the natural exhilaration of the primitive feasts. A people without letters, arts, or trade, living in scattered rural settlements has little to keep alive mutual interest. Wanting are the ties created by education, travel, news, common literature, and central authority.

But at the periodical religious feast a common emotion lifts the people to a consciousness of their oneness.

#### GROUP LIFE AS A SOCIALIZER

The members of a large, well-ordered family are trained out of their raw native egoism by constant practice in adjustment to others. Hence, among those apt in winning and leading men—politicians, labor organizers, evangelists, and promotors—are found an unusual number who grew up with several brothers and sisters and so had no chance to form the solo habit.

Membership in an enduring and exclusive organization cannot but take one "out of himself." The common name, war cry, or flag, symbolizing the identity of the group, becomes in time an independent center of emotion, a charged Leyden jar. With its distinctive banner, colors, slogans, songs, festival, and commemoration day, the group takes on personality and attracts a love which is by no means a love for its present members. Not only state and church gather such stimuli to feeling but, as well, colleges, guilds, political parties, and religious and fraternal orders.

To be hated and set upon by a common enemy generates the *we* feeling. This is the case with the boys' gang, which can survive the persecution of other gangs only if the members are loyal to one another. In the gang, therefore, is born that spirit of loyalty which lies at the foundation of most social relations.

This gang loyalty, however, is by no means a loyalty to individuals only; it is a loyalty also to ideals. The boy refuses to "squeal" under pressure, partly to shield his fellows, but still more because squealing is contrary to the boys' moral code. He joins the tribal wars, partly because, like the good barbarian he is, he loves his neighbor and hates his enemy, but quite as much because certain fightings are demanded by the gang's standard of honor.<sup>1</sup>

Disloyalty is the one unforgivable offense in boyish eyes, the one crime which inevitably leads to expulsion from the gang . . . among twenty-one boys who had been expelled from their gangs eleven were put out for disloyalty, three for fighting in bad causes, and but one each for all other reasons. There is no other institution on earth that can take its place beside the boys' gang for the cultivation of unswerving loyalty to the group.

Close beside loyalty and fidelity come the related virtues of obedience, self-sacrifice, and co-operation. The boy who will not obey the captain cannot

<sup>1</sup> Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang*, p. 144.

play with the group. Baseball and football are impossible without co-operation, and they demand constant self-sacrifice of the individual to the team. The gang fight, brutal and useless as it commonly is, also calls for the highest devotion. It is fought not for personal ends but for the honor of the gang.<sup>1</sup>

The boys' club, under the supervision of a wise and good adult, may have a magical effect in socializing even the little Ishmaelites of the street—the newsboys and bootblacks. With growing interest in the club comes an ambition for its success, that is, the corporate spirit. The joint ownership and management of the club and its common property is a most effective check upon the thievish propensities of its members.

When a boy has so far conquered the covetousness his hard lot of deprivation has bred into him so that he can, night after night, use tools and games which all boys desire to possess, and at the closing hour put them in their places and leave them behind him, he has taken his first lesson, probably, in that social conduct which makes of the individual a good citizen of his community.<sup>2</sup>

Nearly ninety years ago a very considerable and successful experiment in self-government was tried in the Boston House of Refuge, the second reformatory for children established in this country. A quarter of a century ago the George Junior Republic began to demonstrate that even in children the endeavor to find and apply rational rules of conduct creates a willingness to obey such rules. Then came the inmates of the Ione reformatory in California, with proof that they could make and enforce reasonable laws. More arresting, however, was the launching by Warden Osborne of the Mutual Welfare League in Auburn Prison, New York. Of late self-government has been extended even to the inmates of military and naval prisons, so that the delinquent soldier actually has more to do with shaping the rules he lives under than does his exemplary comrade!

The point for us is not that lawbreakers have sufficient intelligence and fair play to make and administer good laws relating to their common life, but that in so doing they are socialized. As a challenging communal enterprise self-government identifies each inmate with *all* his fellow-inmates. The traditional fealty of the

<sup>1</sup> Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang*, pp. 151, 152.

<sup>2</sup> M. W. Law, "Our Ishmael," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.*, VIII, 844.

law-breaker first to himself and then to his "pal" yields place to the new fealty to the whole body of prisoners. A man who has experienced this spiritual enlargement and self-discipline is likely to turn out a better *socius* on his return to society.

School men have caught the significance of these autonomous societies, and in hundreds of schools they have introduced pupil self-government. In the "school state" or "school city" popularity is won, not as in the autocratic schools, by slyly or defiantly breaking rules, but by loyally living up to them, for they embody the wishes and sense of right of the pupils. Then too the apprentice-citizen is nipped by the inexorable logic of obeying yourself the laws which you expect the others to obey. A boy elected to the presidency of the George Junior Republic by unanimous vote of his fellow-citizens felt impelled to call them together the next day, confess a theft committed some months before, surrender himself to the police, and go to jail! A lad who learns the difficult art of team work and conforms willingly to restrictions growing out of the very nature of associate life is already half socialized and well on his way to becoming a good citizen in a democracy.

Feeling is fitful, but it can be steadied by association with something permanent. Conjugal love is no guaranty that a union will not end in the divorce court, unless it is linked with respect founded on a judgment of esteem. There is no beautiful filial love which does not owe something to a conviction of indebtedness. Love of country is stabilized by the persuasion that one's country is the envy of all the world.

Now, fluctuation in the *we* feeling which constitutes the group may be overcome by the interest attaching to common group possessions. A national territory is such a prop of patriotism that the Zionists insist upon Jewish sovereignty over Palestine as a means of upholding national feeling among the Jews the world over. The guilds of the Middle Ages insured themselves long life when they reared their beautiful guild halls. A religious society strikes root when it builds its own church and parish house. A college fraternity is quite justified in desiring a chapter house of its own, a literary society in fitting up a hall for itself. Noble municipal buildings—schools, libraries, museums, art galleries, and parks—fan the dying

embers of civic feeling in the people of a city. The splendid town halls of Ghent and Bruges were inspirers as well as achievements of city patriotism.

The "old homestead," the ancient roof tree, the entailed estate, play a great rôle in keeping alive family feeling. On the other hand, the nomadic tenant family characteristic of modern cities is likely to be loosely knit and to have no sense of oneness with ancestors. Always the well-to-do, who can build themselves massive homes which last for centuries, have preserved family solidarity better than the poor, whose flimsy habitations bring them little from their forebears. Perhaps the rich would not lay such a curious emphasis on lineage did they not realize that the working class will never be able to compete with them in pointing to ancestors. Save in mating, it is not lineage that matters but the quality of the individual himself.

#### SPORT AS A SOCIALIZER

A common master-enthusiasm socializes. In congested urban quarters the passion for play which springs up after the opening of a recreation center levels moldering barriers between nationalities and confessions, Americanizes the foreign-born, and creates a neighborhood consciousness. With access to wholesome pleasures the laborer no longer drinks and beats his wife in sheer reaction from his grinding existence. The community becomes humanized. Children who hurt themselves at play cease to inquire anxiously, "Will it cost much and will my mother whip me?" The young people drop their rough manners, and foreign-born mothers no longer shrink from allowing their sick to go to the hospital.

At American colleges in the Orient athletic sports have been found to be arch-propagandists of the doctrine of human equality. Youths of diverse races, religions, ranks, and castes find their level on the football field, where a prince may be tackled by a peasant, and on the baseball diamond, where the son of a pasha may be caught out at first base by the son of a licorice grower. At first the haughty, slow-moving scions of the ruling race—Turks, Druses of Lebanon or Manchus—stand by watching the "madness" of the Americans and wondering why the strangers do not spare



themselves exertion by hiring servants to play for them. But presently the pulse of youth quickens, the game "gets" them, and they forget their rank in novel excitement and pleasures.

In Porto Rico, the Philippines, China, wherever Americans have gone, they have made sport a means of winning the people and of creating good-will among the natives themselves.

In a live public school in a Babel district one can see how the spread of new interests breaks down old fences which hold folks apart. A goal kick by the son of a Polish shoveler, a prize tabouret from the hands of the son of a Sicilian fruit man, a medal for dramatic recitation won by the daughter of a pedlar from the Ghetto, undermine old, noxious prejudices which otherwise would pass down to the next generation.

Antagonistic team games have the further merit that they teach the players to be good losers. In the earlier football matches between the teams of the mission colleges in China a team would retire from the field with great dignity when the game was going against it and it was in danger of "losing face." The lesson they gradually learned of taking a thrashing with a smile is greatly needed in some other parts of the world. The ready resort to revolution in Latin America seems to be due to the inability of the losers of a political contest to reconcile themselves to defeat. Their excess of personal pride is an obstacle to socialization. In Peruvian universities one is struck by the dearth of associations among the students—no fraternities, no athletic teams, no social, literary, debating, press, dramatic, musical, or scientific societies such as flourish in our universities. One finds no class feeling, no university spirit, no love of Alma Mater, no heart-warming reunions of alumni, in a word, none of those corporate forms which loosen the hard soil of natural egoism and prepare it to admit later the spreading roots of public spirit and good citizenship.

The cause of this is not indifference. The students want societies but fail in their endeavors to co-operate because individually they will not compromise. Again and again valuable organizations serving a real common purpose are wrecked by the touchiness and self-will of the members. Clubs break up because those outvoted on some question leave in a huff. This exaggerated sense of

personal dignity is a heritage from the old, aristocratic Hispano-American social order, which intensified self-feeling to such a degree that it became a bar to organization and team work.

Thus far the socializing factors considered involve some kind of *resemblance*. Sympathy springs up between those who feel themselves to be *alike* in something essential, who have some momentous experience, emotion, or possession *in common*. Professor Giddings therefore argues that what knits human beings together is the *consciousness of kind*. This phrase is indeed apt and illuminating, provided that it be borne in mind that in most cases what calls forth fellow-feeling is not the perception of general resemblance but awareness of likeness or agreement in *specific matters*. One is not drawn to the stranger hunter at the camp fire by the thought, "He is a good deal like me," but by the thought, "He is a *real sportsman!*"

#### COMMUNITY OF INTEREST

Perception of resemblance, however, is not the only thing that socializes. We are drawn toward the unlike if consistently they are found to be helpful to us, and become alienated from even our kinsfolk if continually they get in our way. In other words, community of interest tends in time to socialize whereas clash of interest leads in time to coolness and ill will. *Interest* does not work so immediately and dramatically as *likeness and difference*, but it produces great effects if there be given time for it to work.

Even in early society, when kinship was the foundation of social obligations, kinsmen did not remain *socii* unless they had a common interest. W. Robertson Smith says:

A subgroup or horde which habitually lives apart from its brethren was very likely to form covenants with aliens, and this often led to a conflict of obligations in case of war and loosened the old tribal bond. In the long run, then, the strict bond of kinship could not maintain itself except within the limits of a local group habitually moving together.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, if two groups had a vital common interest they "made believe" they were brothers. "A covenant in which two groups promised to stand by each other to the death was origi-

<sup>1</sup> *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 24.

nally accompanied by a sacramental ceremony, the meaning of which was that the parties had commingled their blood."<sup>1</sup>

Hearty co-operation in matters of moment is indeed a great socializer. Fellow-feeling quickly develops among fighters in the same cause. "Comrade" is a word to conjure with. Agitated by strong common emotions—fear, anxiety, grief, and elation—those who have long striven shoulder to shoulder against the same foe become dear to one another. Athletic and debating contests between colleges generate "college spirit"; matches between town ball teams and hose companies foster town patriotism. The accepted remedy for petty bickering among country neighbors is to get them to *do something together*. How worth while it is does not much matter.

As a growing city becomes unwieldy in size its people split into occupation groups and social classes; but the *we* feeling revives if fresh common interests are discovered as, for example, public sanitation, the extermination of the malarial mosquito, or protection against impure food. The same happens if the encroachments of a public-utility company sow in the hearts of all the nettle of common grievance and set them the common task of curbing an "octopus." The persuasion that typhoid, drunkenness, prostitution, and degrading poverty are not inevitable, but can be banished by the right community action, renews the feeling of "our" city.

An element without voice in community decisions will be poorly socialized. The naturalization of the foreign-born in America may not improve our politics, but it sets in motion certain forces which tend to weave the immigrant into the community. The politicians seek out the newly fledged citizen and try to win him. They vie in endeavoring to interest him in our political contests, plying him with ideas and arguments to which he would have remained a stranger. Thus the franchise helps to bring him into the citizen circle, so that we may well feel uneasy when elements permanently settled here, for example, the Portuguese and the Sicilians, shows indifference to citizenship.

An uncontrolled voting group is a menace to the state unless it is in a measure socialized. What can be hoped from voters who

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

cannot read, who do not send their children to school, who belong to no organizations, and who live to themselves and never learn of common concerns by mingling with their neighbors? The voter should come into the circle of fellow-citizens and expose himself to their influence.

The cultivation of the sentiment of nationality in despised or downtrodden peoples—the Celtic Irish, the Poles, the Czechs, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the Armenians, etc.—has been a means of socializing them and saving them from discouragement and degradation; but after peoples have achieved “self-determination” the further sharpening of their consciousness of nationality has the opposite effect, for it obstructs the natural growth of good-will and brotherhood among the peoples.

#### COLLISION OF INTEREST

The converse of the truth that finding others useful or helpful to us kindles sympathy is the truth that finding others in our way engenders hostility. Harmony of interest socializes; clash of interest alienates. This is why brotherhoods have always been solicitous lest their unity be shattered by feuds. In the ancient village community every quarrel between individual members was treated as a community affair, even the bitter words uttered during a quarrel being considered an offense against the community. Every dispute was brought before arbiters or, in the gravest cases, before the folkmote. The mediaeval guild took measures that no quarrel between guild brothers should fester into a feud or breed a lawsuit before any other court than that of the guild itself. The Christian sects, particularly those which take primitive Christianity as their ideal, aim to settle by brotherly counsel or by friendly arbitration every dispute between the brethren, and even cast out the member who incontinently hales another into the law court. In rural America today it is accounted a shame to the neighborhood if two worthy neighbors are allowed to become embroiled in a lawsuit.

Another precaution is to set up customs or rules which make clear what each is entitled to in every case in which the interests of fellow-members may be opposed. Forewarned, the brothers accommodate their expectations to what the established rule awards them and

thus glide by ticklish situations which would certainly breed trouble were there no accepted formula of right. Still another recourse of the brotherhood is to stress and idealize the agreements of interest of its members and to keep in the background or slur over their divergences of interest.

#### NATIONALIZATION

Nationalization, which knits together great numbers who will never meet face to face, is but a variety of *socialization*. Because it thrills and moves a whole people in the same way at the same moment, war is a master-solvent of private, local, and class egoisms. The war with Great Britain in 1812 had a great nationalizing effect upon Americans, while the contemporary struggle of the Russians against Napoleon quickened and deepened Russian national consciousness. A seemly military undertaking on foreign soil is a sovereign remedy for antagonisms within the state. The French expedition against Algiers under Charles X had this purpose as well as the intervention of Napoleon III on behalf of Italy. In April, 1861, Secretary Seward urged President Lincoln to close the breach between North and South by picking a quarrel with France and Spain.

In revolution with foreign war petty parochial and provincial interests are submerged like landmarks in a deluge. The crises crowded into the years between 1789 and 1815 made the French the most unified of peoples and nationalized for all time the German Alsatians and Lorrainers.

Crowd intoxication takes people out of themselves, and their sharing of an intense emotion begets sympathy. A series of crowd unisons socializes a people and prepares them for action in concert. The national spirit did not appear full-statured among the French at the fall of the Bastille. It grew up gradually out of moving common experiences in mobs, risings at the sound of the tocsin, *levées en masse*, political gatherings, and civic festivals. The American national spirit too seems to have had its birth in the numerous tumultuous gatherings which near the beginning of our Revolution mobbed the officials and persecuted the friends of George III.

The *symbol* has played a leading rôle in conjuring up national spirit. After the beginning of the new era in 1867 the leaders of Japan nationalized the Japanese people by concentrating upon the person of the Mikado the sentiment of loyalty to the lord which the feudal system had so forcefully developed in them. The slogan "For Tsar and fatherland" made the ignorant Russian serf-soldier as pliant to church and state as if he had understood and shared their aims. As a rallying-point, like the queen bee for the swarm, royalty is retained by democratic peoples who have no intention whatever of being governed by a monarch.

Participation in national politics lengthens the radius of the citizen's consciousness. The provisions in the Federal Constitution for the indirect election of senators and of the president indicate that its framers did not expect the ordinary voter to concern himself with the Washington government. But as their imaginations were stimulated by schooling, newspapers, travel, and internal migration, the Americans developed opinions on national problems, gained control of the national parties, made of the presidential elector a push-button, and finally took over the selection of senators. The horizon ring of the citizen has widened in a way never anticipated by the "fathers."

The percolation of national sentiment to lower and broader strata of the American people is revealed in our styles of political nicknames. Washington was the Father of his Country; Madison, Father of the Constitution; Webster, Defender of the Constitution; Harrison, the Cincinnatus of the West. Side by side with these high-sounding titles but beginning a little later and growing more marked as the Western note crept into politics, ran a series of nicknames of popular origin expressing greater intimacy of feeling. Jackson was Old Hickory; Taylor, Old Rough and Ready; Clay, Gallant Harry of the West; Douglas, the Little Giant; Lincoln, Honest Old Abe and later Father Abraham.

Thoroughly to nationalize a multitudinous people calls for institutions to disseminate certain ideas and ideals. The tsars relied on the blue-domed Orthodox church in every peasant village to Russify their heterogeneous subjects, while we Americans rely for unity on the "little red schoolhouse." The world over, the

established school is taking the rôle once intrusted to the established church. In point of fact, however, many things conspire to create modern nationality. We Americans have seen religious revivals, the penny newspaper, the "ten cent" magazine, cheap editions of the classics, lyceum lecture courses, Chautauquas, "open forums," social settlements, and university extension diffuse comprehension and sympathy through social strata which hitherto had shared little in the life of the great society.

#### DISRUPTIVE IDEAS

There are ideas which disrupt as well as ideas which socialize. The pseudo-Darwinian struggle-for-life philosophy causes each to eye his fellow-man as a possible competitor. The theory of the irrepressible conflict of classes in modern society is a dividing sword. In a few minute's conversation with the women soldiers of the Battalion of Death guarding the Winter Palace on a night in November, 1917, the Bolsheviks were able to detach the working-class girls and break up a harmony that had stood the battle test. For the first time these girls beheld their comrades-in-arms as *bourgeoisie*, that is, aliens. Likewise the idea that all employers are exploiters and that there can be no truce until private employment utterly disappears may kill in a simple-minded employee the natural good-will he feels toward an employer who has always treated him well.

Such an idea will make little headway, however, among those rooted in opposite ideas. The disappointments foreign-born socialists meet with in making decently treated native American wage-earners "class conscious" are not due altogether to the influence of "free land," or the chance of climbing into the employer class. These wage-earners have been so well socialized as "Americans" that it is not easy to persuade them to think of themselves as exploited proletarians. Contrary to the socialist assumption they *do* have much in common with their bourgeois fellow-citizens—patriotic memories, aversion to kings and nobles, belief that "a man's a man for a' that," respect for hard work, pride in the spread of American ideas over the world, a certain chivalry toward women, sentiment for children, affection for the public school, enthusiasm

for baseball, and scores of other things. Moreover, manners in America are genial and democratic. The wage-earners have not been discriminated against politically. They are not despised as laborers are in societies with feudal traditions. Organization saves them from having to "knuckle down" in everything that comes up between them and their employer. Thanks to free public education the children of the workingmen may be found at any social level. Hence only those native wage-earners take freely to syndicalism who in remote mining camps, or lumber camps, or as homeless, womanless, voteless, floating laborers, come into contact with the ugliest side of private capitalism.

#### THE EXPANDED SELF

Socialization may be figured as an expansion of the individual self which takes in other persons and their interests. Now there are various axes along which the self may expand. There is the *spheric* self, which incorporates persons chiefly according to their propinquity. Those who are dearest are the *neighbors*. One cares most for those one sees oftenest and least for those below the horizon. Until lately this was the prevailing type; but reading, travel, city life, the rise of the professions, and social stratification are unfavorable to it. It is the basis of neighborhood consciousness, community co-operation, and local self-government.

Then there is the *linear* self, which keeps to the family line, ranging back among one's ancestors—particularly the illustrious—and forward among one's anticipated descendants. It prompts a man to sacrifice much in order not to dishonor his forefathers or handicap his posterity. It nourishes a character which wins respect but not love. This concern with the dead and the unborn detracts from sympathy with one's fellows—save blood kin—so that family feeling is often a rival and foe of social feeling. Democracy distrusts and fears loyalty to family, because it has been stressed by its traditional enemies, kings and nobles. The late Nicholas Romanoff was not ill-intentioned, but he brought untold suffering upon the Russian people because of his feeling for the House. When the Tsar was fondling his son the Tsaritsa would exclaim, "Surely Nicholas, you will not hand on to our boy less authority than your father bequeathed to you!"



The *flat* self results from the confinement of social feeling to those within one's stratum. This self excludes those below one in the social scale because as beings of coarser clay they inspire only contempt. Although those above are admired and envied, the *we* feeling does not extend to them because they are "different" and, moreover, look down on one. This horizontal socialization weakens the barriers of dislike and jealousy between neighborhoods, parishes, and provinces, but, on the whole, it creates more ill will than it removes. Hostile local communities can avoid trouble by having little to do with one another, but hostile social classes cannot avoid contacts and relations.

The *vein* self expands along a vein of folk who are like us or have the same major interest. In big democratic cities fellowship tends to follow occupational lines, steam fitter consorting with steam fitters, newspaper man with newspaper men, the artist in Bohemia with other Bohemians. They are competitors actual or potential, to be sure, but this fact is overshadowed by their community of interest, grievances, and hopes. Those not in love with their calling or without a calling may follow a slender vein of interest, so that they are brotherly only with a special group—baseball fans, spiritualists, Y.M.C.A. men, Browning enthusiasts, or Marxian socialists.

Naturally the expanding self will be discriminating and selective when it has many from whom to choose. The developed personality, however, ought to have a number of strong tastes and interests which bring it into sympathy with several veins of people. Hence the *star* self which radiates into various planes. The many-sided Roosevelt was linked up with Harvard men, boxers, big-game hunters, bird observers, history writers, explorers, saga lovers, and civic reformers, in each case by one of his interests.

There is room in society for all types of the expanded self, but certain types are more desirable from the standpoint of social good-will and team work. On the one hand, the functional differentiation and complexity of modern society are favorable to the development of the *star* self. On the other hand, the great number of matters calling for team work by the organized local community put a premium on the citizen with a *spheric* self. The development or combination of these two holds the most promise for the future.

## OBSTACLES TO SOCIALIZATION

*The perception of difference* in aspect, ways, beliefs, and sentiments checks the outflow of sympathy. What will repel depends on one's place in the scale of development. With the rude, personal appearance and dietary habits count for much. One stigmatizes the objects of his antipathy as "niggers," "greasers," "round heads," "fuzzy-wuzzies," "red necks," "high brows," "red-haired foreign devils," "silk stockings," "hard collars," or taunts them as "rat-eaters" or "frog-eaters." Somewhat higher is the type who thinks of the alien as "mick," "*parley-vo*," "goddam," "wop," "sheeny," "heathen," "papist," "heretic," or "infidel." Higher yet is the man who is struck by cultural differences only, and who recoils from those who are "savage," "barbarous," "benighted," or "depraved." The most alienating differences are those in diet, manners, and religious exercises. Socializers, therefore, by education, agitation, organization, change of customs, etc., strive to bring about a resemblance along these lines, or else to belittle unlikeness.

*Arbitrary discrimination* raises a barrier. Discrimination on some relevant basis excites little protest. No one objects that weaklings are not put on the football team, ignoramuses admitted to college, or bunglers allowed to practice medicine. But those are embittered who are shut out from merited good on account of color, race, origin, or religion. The detached immigrant into the United States is readily assimilated, because America has drawn no line against the foreign-born. Any unreasonable discrimination against him, as, for example, restricting the proportion of foreign-born who may be employed on public work, would check the process. It would produce the state of things formerly seen in Eastern Europe, where the socialization of dissimilar population elements was at a standstill. Hence, restrictions on land ownership directed against resident aliens are bad. No one should be admitted to this country whom we are not willing to treat in time as "one of the family."

Of course, not all discriminations are written into law. If there is a tendency to elect to office or promote to the head of a bank, a business, or an organization the inferior native-born just because he is of "good old American stock," the capable foreign-born and

his friends will feel themselves to be, after all, "outsiders," and will be confirmed in their hyphenism.

A *resented imputation of inferiority* is a stumbling-block to socialization. A "chosen people" will not have many friends among other peoples. A messianic hope isolates the nation that cherishes it. A race or class is not likely to share the *we* feeling with another race or class which entertains no doubts as to its own superiority. If, however, the alleged lower race or class accepts the inferiority imputed to it and advances no pretensions to equality, the two may come into the relations of older and younger brothers in a family. Trust on the one hand and compassion and a sense of responsibility on the other may result in such reciprocal affection as sometimes appeared under feudalism, or between masters and slaves in our ante-bellum South.

One reason why athletic games between white men and the races with which they come in contact so contribute to good feeling is that they imply equality. The governing race comes down from its "high horse" and takes its chance of being beaten in sport. The Malays of inner Borneo do not resent their being governed by the English, after these English have met them as equals on the football field. Once having scored off the white men they do not much mind conceding their superiority in the matter of government.

Finally *traditionalism* hinders the socialization of diverse elements when otherwise conditions are favorable. It may be that Irish Catholics and Orangemen, Transcaucasian Armenians and Tartars, Lithuanian coal miners and Polish coal miners, are alike oppressed and ought to feel and act together; but if they are swayed by the past they will stay apart on account of prejudices, hatreds, and memories of ancient wrongs coming down to them from their forefathers. On the other hand, of course, traditions of friendship and mutual aid may perpetuate good feeling when living currents of interest are bearing people in opposite directions.

## THE COMING INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

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In a paper entitled "Representation and Leadership in Democracy," in the November (1917) issue of this *Journal*, the present writer incidentally touched upon the momentous question of industrial democracy versus industrial autocracy or industrial oligarchy. The only point made in that connection was this, that certain questions that are often treated as purely political—such, for example, as the question of making representative government truly and fully representative, or of giving the masses of toilers the weight and influence in government to which their numbers and importance entitle them—are really at bottom social and economic questions, since a degraded, morally corrupt, and ignorant class cannot be expected to value integrity, intelligence, and fidelity in elected representatives of the people, or to know how to utilize democratic election machinery to their actual and ultimate benefit. In other words, the point was that economic and social injustice sooner or later reduces political democracy to a hollow mockery and empty form, and that in order to eradicate such notorious evils as corrupt control of legislation, class legislation, insidious bribery, spoils politics, and waste of public assets, we must gradually remove certain kinds of economic injustice.

That paper brought the writer a spirited letter of admonition and comment from an alert, keen, and thoughtful employer of labor who is not an apologist for the present social economic order, but who yet fears that vague talk about industrial democracy may cause more harm than good. The letter is doubtless typical and symptomatic; many employers who would energetically protest against any reflection on their liberalism and progressivism undoubtedly share the sentiments so candidly expressed therein. So do many influential editors. We have permission to reproduce

the letter in its entirety, while the opportunity of considering and meeting the points it raises is most welcome.

The letter is as follows:

With interest I have read your article on "Representation and Leadership in Democracies" and think that you have stated a number of pertinent truths well.

I am a manufacturer and take exception to your statements regarding the democratization of industry, not that this is not desirable, but I believe you and your friends, who for years have been talking about these matters, are on a very dangerous subject that will complicate matters very seriously in the future.

As I wrote Mr. Lyman Abbott years ago, if you want to democratize labor, why do you not start right in your own family, making the cook, treasurer, and the butler, secretary, and submit all questions of matters pertaining to the household to this council. If you first make a success of this, no doubt the industries will follow.

Success in business is at all times dependent on "eternal vigilance." You have to buy and sell at the right time and produce your material of the right grade and at the right price. It takes practically a genius in these lines to be a successful leader and without that a business goes to smash.

While from the theoretical point, it undoubtedly would be lovely to have a set of artisans that are clever, industrious, honest, and capable of giving counsel, and submit the whole matter to them—of course under able leadership from above—yet under present conditions, the results would not be any better than those achieved from the low-grade wards, unless you could pick out an especially efficient, sober, and industrious class of workmen, much above the average. This, of course, is impossible to do as a general rule, as you must employ the average run of laborers offered.

Talking about business over-charging and so on, is, of course, not altogether nonsense, but the business cannot exist on a margin of 5 per cent profit. Now, just before the war, we built a new plant that was intended to work up rock imported from Germany. This plant was hardly in good working order before the importations were stopped—fifteen or twenty thousand dollars thrown into the gutter. Next we had to buy mines down in Georgia and start producing material there. We were very fortunate in getting a good deposit, but now the ore is pinching and from all indications, we will have to move all of our machinery, etc., to Tennessee and there build railroads, etc., to handle this proposition. As far as I can see, we will have to make an investment of about seventy-five thousand dollars, and we will never know the quantity or quality of this ore, until we are through working it. These are just minor things that just come up, and come up every day.

Supposing we had a system of democratized industry with minimum wages, minimum hours, and maximum leisure, and we at the same time had to

compete, not alone in the home market with other manufacturers, but with the foreign market—for of course, we have to have free trade, fraternity, and equality the world around—and the Germans with their abundance of natural raw material in our line and expert chemists and low wages, are very formidable competitors, and what about the Japs coming in and the Chinese with a daily wage of ten cents? I think the difficulties before us will be enough as it is without getting us into a fix that democratized industry would unquestionably lead us to.

This is a beautiful thought, but if this dream shall be realized, we must stop the emigration of all but the highest grade of people and few of them. We must improve our home stock, doing away with the large increase that under present conditions is produced by our low-grade people.

Now, all of these advices, I admit are pretty hard to follow, but believe me, they must be considered before you can introduce "democratized industry." While it may be a very good catch word on the platforms for Progressive leaders, Socialists, and anarchists—I do not use these words to designate low-grade people, but the theorists and individuals who really hope to improve the conditions of humanity—all of these things are goals that we may try to reach in some distant future, but they are not within the practical reach of society today.

Kindly excuse my writing on this subject to you, but the fact is that these matters are of very great importance and it is of very great importance, too, that our leaders treat them seriously; and it is in the hopes of gaining a new convert for the sane treatment of social improvement with special reference to democratized industries, that I am writing you.

Respectfully yours,

S. H. KREBS

P.S.—It may interest you to know that I, myself, thirty-five years ago was a Scandinavian emigrant, landing on these shores without means and without any pull whatever, managing to rise, I suppose, to what you might call the top of the heap. I am president and principal stockholder of the Krebs Pigment & Chemical Co.

Before attempting to answer this stimulating communication, it is perhaps not impertinent to point out that some employers of labor, captains of industry, capitalists, or men of big affairs—whatever we may call them—have latterly spoken or written in a very different tone. Mr. Charles M. Schwab, the head of the greatest steel plant in the world, created an international sensation by telling a school alumni audience that a new social order is coming; that "this social order may mean great hardship to those who control property, but perhaps in the end it will work for the good of us all." "The man who labors with his hands, who does not possess property," continued Mr. Schwab, "is the one who is going

to dominate the affairs of this world." And he concluded with the more reassuring reflection that the transformation of the social and economic order "will be so gradual that we will hardly realize that it has occurred."

Now, Mr. Schwab is neither a sentimentalist nor an academic, doctrinaire radical. He does not wish to give away his wealth, he frankly says, nor to surrender his economic power. He merely perceives that certain changes are inevitable, and, indeed, already taking place, and he feels that it is his duty, or the part of sagacity and common sense, at any rate, not angrily and passionately to oppose, but to meet, instruct, and discuss matters with those who are more radical, or less fortunate, or less rational than himself.

But is Mr. Schwab a good prophet? Is he able to see things as they are? Well, the familiar tendencies and developments of our day would seem to answer these questions beyond peradventure. Mr. Schwab speaks of Socialism, of Russian Bolshevism—which is merely intransigent and international socialism temporarily in the saddle—of Syndicalism, of the growing influence of labor unions and other radical forces. He has heard of the Non-Partisan League. He knows what the Labor party has achieved in England, in Australia, in New Zealand, in the United States even, where it is not as yet acting independently in national or state politics, but only applying pressure to the great historic parties and forcing them to make concessions in various directions and just beginning to make itself felt in municipal politics.

Can any sober-minded, studious observer assert that all these signs and portents signify little, and that the practical, hard-headed man of affairs, the "realist" in business or government, may calmly ignore them or treat them as of no consequence? Can any thoughtful person who is at all conversant with political and industrial history, or with the doctrine and facts of evolution, assert that the existing social order is immutable and attack-proof?

Hardly. Of course, the shallow, the ignorant, the intellectually indolent and the narrowly selfish, who think only of the present, may be left out of consideration. Profitable argument is possible only with the earnest, the open-minded, the intelligent, conservatives, and beneficiaries of the present régime.

Among these, no doubt, there are many who think that the present order is sound and just in the main, and that only certain so-called progressive-conservative reforms are either desirable or possible. Does Mr. Krebs belong to this category? Is he of the opinion that *no* radical reforms, such as are implied in or suggested by the vague phrase "industrial democracy," are necessary or practicable? Is he one of those who think that better elementary and vocational training, industrial insurance, a shorter work-day, and like measures will solve the social problem and do away with the dangers that beset us? Does he think that benevolence and condescension on the part of employers will satisfy labor? Does he think that strikes, friction, bitterness, class feeling, and the terrific economic waste that attends these phenomena, can be abolished by a few palliatives? How does he propose, if he condemns truly but constructively radical reforms, to combat the destructive, extreme notions that are making headway everywhere? Would he rely on force, on bayonets, martial law, and the machinery of coercion and repression generally? Does he hold that might can permanently suppress right?

We must assume that he believes nothing of the sort, and that the real question with him is, *What is right?*

Our answer is, righteousness and justice in industry and economic relation generally now mean and enjoin, and will gradually bring about, "industrial democracy." Our answer is, there is no use in preaching, crying, or thundering industrial peace where there is no peace.

And why is there no peace? Because labor feels that it is still largely at the mercy of capital; that it must agitate, threaten, strike, and even riot to obtain the most moderate concessions; that it does not obtain its just share of the total product and never will obtain it under industrial autocracy; that the interests of the employers and the employed, instead of being regarded as identical, are in fact diametrically opposed; that it is no more reasonable to expect economic justice to be handed down from above than it was to expect political justice to be so handed down by an upper class. The masses are now politically enfranchised and have a voice in deciding national and international affairs. They are



demanding economic enfranchisement, a voice in the management and control of industry and trade. If, they are asking, production is impossible without labor, why should capital, the other indispensable human factor, alone control industry?

The present system must make way—gradually, as Mr. Schwab says, but make way—for a co-operative system, a system under which labor is a partner in industry, shares the profits of industry, has a voice in determining industrial policies, helps decide all questions that bear on wages, hours, working-conditions. Labor is often unconscious of its own goal, but co-operative, democratic control of industry *is undoubtedly that goal*. To have peace, the whole industrial atmosphere must be changed. On every business directorate labor should have representation. The rule of reason and equity should replace the rule of brute force in the settlement of industrial questions. Industry must be “peopleized” both with respect to returns, dividends and interest, and with respect to management.

Is this too Utopian an ideal? Is Mr. Krebs right in warning us of the mischief that lurks in encouraging or spreading such ideas? The ideal is not Utopian. On the contrary, it is intensely practical. *No other permanent solution of the social problem is discernible*. The mischief makers are those who frown upon wholesome discussion, and who virtually tell labor that it must always remain economically subject, dependent, enslaved.

But surely industrial democracy is a most difficult system to establish and operate. Yes, in truth, terribly difficult. It will require decades, perhaps centuries, to effect the complete transformation. Only the ignorant and the fanatical Bolsheviki imagine that a decree or two by a group of socialist dictators will suffice to solve the social problem. The extremists are responsible for much friction and bad temper, but let us not forget that there are extremists among the conservatives as well as among the radicals.

The sane, the reasonable elements in society should never fail to recognize the obstacles and difficulties that stand in the way of industrial democracy. Mr. Krebs is entirely right in all that he says about the part played by constructive ability, organizing capacity, courage, foresight, insight, patience, in modern industry.

The function of the true captain of industry is of great and growing importance. Such a captain needs freedom of action and is entitled to ample reward. Any co-operative system that should fail to provide for freedom and adequate reward to the real managers, the directing heads, the discoverers of new opportunities, the originators of policies adapted to changing conditions would speedily collapse. Instead of creating abundance, such a system would create scarcity and uncertainty. Workers who have not learned to trust leaders, to submit to discipline, to make democracy safe by conferring necessary power and responsibility on the competent and fit, would make a mess of any democratized industry. But how are the workers to learn self-restraint and discipline under autocratic industry? They will learn chiefly by doing, by practicing, by trial and error. Humanity can be sent to no other school than that of experience. The wise men are here to give warning, to set examples, but, after all, we get our education by living, suffering, enjoying, profiting by experience.

It is our duty and our privilege to promote industrial democracy in all proper, expedient ways. Trade unions should turn their thought to the question of co-operative production and co-operative distribution. They are demanding justice, but they are not doing all that they can to advance and establish industrial justice. They think too much of immediate questions and not enough about the future of industry and labor. Why should not American trade unions, or industrial unions, assume entrepreneur functions? Why should they not compete with private contractors? Why should they not start, on a modest scale, co-operative factories? One such factory, if successful, would be worth a thousand strikes from the point of view of ultimate economic justice and order. In primitive Russia there are thousands of *Artiels*, co-operative organizations of peasants and laborers. If American labor wants democratic industry, it should proceed to give society object lessons in democratic or co-operative industry. We may be sure that before long it will do this instead of contenting itself with negative methods. In the Old World co-operation has grown steadily and has been successful in many ways.

Employers of intelligence and right feeling can and should play an active part in democratizing industry. Profit-sharing is a step in the right direction. The sale of stock on the installment plan to employees, with the logical corollary, the election of representatives of the employees as directors, is another and even more important step. The creation of permanent arbitration boards to settle and prevent disputes is another step.

In short, if we realize that industrial democracy is inevitable and right, we shall find a hundred different ways of facilitating its advent and making the process peaceful and evolutionary.

Occasionally some financial or corporate organ publishes with every evidence of satisfaction figures that tend to prove the steady and even rapid growth of small "owners" of our industrial properties. We are told that not small groups of magnates, but tens of thousands of small investors own the Pennsylvania Railroad, or the New York Central, or even a great industrial property. The moral usually drawn is that legislators and executive officials should beware, in their assaults on "plutocracy," of injuring industrial democracy. There is some sense and force in such admonitions. But if industry is actually becoming "peopleized" and democratized by means of investment in corporate stocks and bonds, and if this tendency is beneficial and deserving of every encouragement, does it not clearly follow that the *control and management* of industry should be democratized also, as far as possible? Are the millions of small investors to be used and led, or driven, by a few speculators or autocrats? Are the small investors to vote blindly for "proxies" and ask no questions so long as they get their dividend checks? And what if the dividends are "passed"? What can the small, scattered, unorganized investors and bondholders do to protect their interests, to prevent frenzied finance, gambling, waste, and spoliation? Restrictive legislation alone will not give them adequate protection. Publicity, democratic control, directorates of a new type, will be found increasingly necessary to this end. The very persons who decry foolish and demagogical legislation that hampers enterprise often make such legislation inevitable by opposing publicity and democratic control of industry! If small

investors cannot protect themselves, the state will have to protect them, and state protection may or may not be intelligent. The "let alone" policy has become impossible. If we are to have neither autocracy nor anarchy in industry; if we are to escape reactionary bourbonism and hate-inspired, wild Bolshevism alike, we must find a golden mean, and we can find it in industrial democracy.

To repeat, the difficulties and obstacles in the way are innumerable and enormous.<sup>1</sup> But what great change in history was easy? The obstacles will have to be surmounted, the knots unraveled, the difficulties removed, one by one. There is no choice but to peg away, to labor and try, to summon all our tolerance and sympathy to the task.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Krebs' reference to democratization of the kitchen and servants' quarters is not very happy. Domestic service presents serious problems, but they are different from those under discussion. The taint of servitude, of personal or social inferiority, is what renders domestic service so deservedly unpopular. The first step toward the solution of the "servant problem" is to elevate the servant to the rank of an independent wage-worker. The wage-worker is not a "servant," even if the law still calls him that; he is the equal of his employer. He is backed by powerful unions; he has learned to insist on collective bargaining; he enters into agreements with employers and even compels the latter to submit to arbitration. None of these things can be predicated of the domestic servant. It is mere common sense, then, to try industrial democracy where the conditions are most, not least, favorable, where the parties meet on a plane of equality and already have "done business" with each other in a dignified, manly fashion. The kitchen will be the last, not the first, to be democratized, and that fact is in no sense an argument against the practicability of co-operation as a substitute for industrial autocracy.

## SOCIALIZING SCHOOL PROCEDURE

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### THE SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF PUPILS

The emphasis upon the motivation of instruction has centered our attention upon the ways of handling the so-called social activities of the school. Where pupils are free to organize and carry on their own activities everything is done under the "urge" of strong motives. Pupils frequently originate and carry out purposes very difficult to achieve. Usually pupils are more efficient in their social activities than in their regular class work. This is due not only to the presence of stronger motives impelling them to action but also to the method of the procedure in their social activities.

Opportunities for individual participation are abundantly provided in their social activities. Each individual participates either as a leader, or as an active supporter, or as an opponent of a leader. His activities are measured by the effect he can produce upon the members of his group. His parley is with his equals rather than with the teacher, who is raised to an unequal vantage ground by virtue of her age, training, and official position. The pupil has the dignity and responsibilities of a citizen rather than the submissiveness and awe, or perchance the indifference or the rebelliousness of a subject. His achievements are significant to him and are to be maintained by careful thinking and increased efforts. He takes his failures seriously and retrieves them as soon as possible. Standards of thinking and conduct are gradually evolved.

If such a democratic method of procedure works well in organized play, dramatics, debating, literary societies, musical clubs, class organizations, school papers, etc., why would it not work equally well in the regular work of the school? To what extent

may the free play ways of working on the part of pupils' social organizations be used efficiently in instruction?

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE REGULAR ACTIVITIES OF  
THE SCHOOL

1. *Class work.*—It is a recognized principle of teaching that the pupil's natural and relatively unhampered attack upon the lesson is an essential condition of successful learning. By natural attack is not meant the absence of definite purpose in the attack nor of guiding suggestions by the teacher, but it does imply the removal of authoritative directions and prescriptions into the background. For example, a teacher of a sixth-grade geography class made an assignment as follows: "I want you to read very carefully pages 14 to 22 in your book, which deal with the productions of Texas. You will notice that considerable cotton is grown in Texas. Why? You will also notice that practically no cotton is manufactured into cloth in Texas. Why? Where is the cotton, which is grown in Texas, manufactured? Why?" Such an assignment prevents the natural and unhampered attack by the pupils. It requires the pupils to look up the answers to a few questions proposed by the teacher, and to find reasons for their answers if possible. Of course such an assignment would be better than telling the pupils that they are to study pages 14 to 22 and learn all about the productions of Texas. The former assignment is definite, but it dictates the tasks in detail, robs the pupils of their motives for work, and limits their opportunities for thinking, while the latter assignment is not even definite.

An assignment calculated to secure the natural attack by the pupils might run as follows: "We have been studying the productions of New England and we have seen how many things were manufactured there which were grown or found in the earth somewhere else. Let us see what we can discover about the productions of Texas. Where shall we find information about the productions of Texas?" The pupils will suggest several sources, including their geography textbook. After a little preliminary reading some pupil may say, "I find that cotton is grown in large quantities in Texas, but I haven't found out what is done with it."

Another pupil presently volunteers the information that cotton is not manufactured into cloth in Texas. Another suggests that it is shipped to the eastern states to be manufactured, while someone verifies this statement by finding a similar statement in the geography textbook, encyclopedia, or other sources of information. Finally some pupil says, "I don't see why Texas should not manufacture her own cotton." This question sets the problem of the lesson, and all pupils of the class go to work on it to find a complete answer. In such an assignment the pupils participate to the full extent of their abilities. After an assignment similar to that described above, a pupil worked out in the study period the following answer to the question, "Why are there no cotton mills in Texas?"

The reason there are no cotton mills in Texas is because there are very few rivers. The rivers they do have do not carry a steady volume of water. Sometimes there is not enough water to run the mills, and at other times there are floods.

They could use coal for power, but there are a very few coal mines in Texas. The coal would be harder to ship than the cotton.

Texas is a very good place to raise cattle, and people ought to raise cattle instead of putting in cotton mills.

It takes very many people to work in cotton mills, and being a farming state Texas isn't very densely populated.

The machinery would have to be sent a long way to be put into the mills, because there are very few, if any, iron mines in Texas.

There are a few cotton mills in the South, but the East still ranks ahead.

The ready-to-wear garments are made in the North and the East rather than in the South. For this reason, it is easier to have mills in the East than in the South. There are more people in the East than in the South to buy the garments.

I think it's best to have our cotton mills in the eastern states and have Texas do what she can best do; that is, raise cattle.

Careful observation of the pupil's natural attack upon his school work puts the teacher in a position to detect difficulties as soon as they are encountered, and also in the position of mediator to help him work successfully. For example, one pupil while working on the problem in a supervised study period told his teacher that he didn't see why Texas shouldn't manufacture cotton into cloth, because it would cost more to ship the raw cotton

away than it would to manufacture the product. The teacher answered, "How would the power to run the mills be produced?" Thereupon the pupil looked for rivers and coal as sources of power, but both of these sources were found to be wanting or impracticable.

Ordinarily a great deal of the recitation time is taken up in asking questions calculated to test pupils on what they have studied more or less without purpose. A formal assignment of the next lesson is made by the teacher, either at the beginning or the end of the recitation. Sometimes the pupils are drilled upon some portion of the lesson in hand, but the whole procedure is characterized by the direct and single leadership of the teacher attempting to hold each pupil responsible for having learned the facts of the subject-matter previously assigned and studied. Were the teacher to be suddenly called away from the recitation at any time, the work would cease. Under such conditions a class does not work as an organized group, but rather as a number of individuals each one of whom is personally and solely responsible to the teacher. On the other hand, when the pupils are engaged largely in directing their own activities, the absence of any pupil from the class, although he may be the leader for the time does not stop the work of the group. During several days' absence of their teacher an instance of self-directed group activity in English composition was shown by an eighth-grade class by planning, writing, editing, and publishing an issue of the junior high school paper. This number was as good in subject-matter and arrangement, and a little better in punctuation, capitalization, spelling, etc., than any previous issue. This result would have been impossible if the members of the class had not been accustomed to work together in a group. Again, the ordinary class recitation and study procedure tend to increase the activities of the teacher out of all proportion to those of the pupils. The following reported recitation illustrates a frequent procedure. This recitation is also a fine illustration of the absence of a single purpose on the part of the pupils.

The following topics were written on the board. A record of the class procedure for the entire period is too long to publish



in this article. The method of the recitation, however, is clearly shown in the development of the second topic, which follows.

Discovering of America by the Norsemen  
Capture of Constantinople by the Turks  
First voyage of Columbus  
John Cabot discoveries in America  
End of Magellan's voyage around the world  
Founding of St. Augustine  
Defeat of the Spanish Armada  
Settlement of Jamestown  
Quebec settled by the French  
New Netherlands settled by the Dutch  
Slavery introduced in Virginia  
Settlement of Plymouth  
Settlement of Boston

*Teacher:* Let us take the second question now, "Capture of Constantinople by the Turks." Floyd, you tell us about that.

*Floyd:* All I know about it is that the Turks . . . . [*Pauses*].

*Teacher:* Let me help you a little bit. Where did these people learn about these spices?

*Pupil:* They learned from the traders over there. They came over from Constantinople. Came over in caravans, but the Turks captured Constantinople, and so all these Portuguese, Spanish, English, and French tried to find some other way of getting around there.

*Teacher:* Good. There is a point he didn't tell me. How did these people, the English, French, Portuguese, and so on, learn to want these spices?

*Pupil:* They could keep meat with spices.

*Teacher:* Yes, they could preserve meats, and what else? To make flavor. But how did they learn about these spices?

*Pupil:* Some traders came from over here in the Indies and over there. Then these people went down there.

*Teacher:* You have forgotten something that was so interesting. [*Pupils try to think*]. I want to know when these people first came into contact with these spices.

*Pupil:* Didn't they have a war down there?

*Another pupil:* The Crusades. [*Triumphantly*].

*First pupil:* I know, but I thought they had a war down there.

*Teacher:* Where did the Crusaders go?

*Pupil:* Down right in there around Constantinople.

*Teacher:* Down in here? [*Pointing to Constantinople*].

*Pupil:* Lower than that.

*Teacher:* But tell me what they wanted down there.

*Pupil:* Holy Land, where Christ had been.

*Teacher:* That's it. They wanted to capture Jerusalem. How many crusades were there?

*Pupils:* Three.

*Teacher:* Do you remember any great men who went? [*Children try to think and refer to several people but cannot remember the names.*]

*Teacher:* Richard, the Lion Hearted. You say there was a priest? [*Gives name.*] And it was when they were down here in the Holy Land that they first learned to use these spices. Now who was it that was holding the Holy Land?

*Pupils:* Turks.

*Teacher:* Just think, all of you, how long had they had this land?

*Pupils* [*Counting*]: Five hundred and thirty-five years—four hundred and sixty-five years.

*Teacher:* Well, which is it? Four or three? I guess I must do it myself. [*Figures on board.*] Four hundred and sixty-five years then the Turks held Constantinople. Now the question is, Who is going to have the Holy Land after this war?

*Pupil:* No, they are going to make a separate land out of it, with their own government.

*Teacher:* All right, they are going to call it "International Territory." Why call it that?

*Pupils:* All of them own it, because all Christians believe in it.

*Teacher:* Another reason? It is the outlet for what country?

*Pupils:* Russia.

*Teacher:* Is Russia a great coming country? You know we have some people in this country who say that the greatest country in the world to be is Russia, and have you read any other suggestions about America in Russia at the close of this war?

*Pupil:* Yes, because it is good land over there to raise wheat.

*Teacher:* What is the great need in Russia today?

*Pupil:* Something to bring them up. Men, government.

*Another pupil:* Good government. Then men who know how to work.

*Third pupil:* Men to back it up. Men to make good instruments.

*Teacher:* Yes, it will be a good place for us to ship farm implements. Did you know that we make the best farm implements of any country in the world? Therefore we will have a wonderful opening in Russia. All right. Let's go on with the first voyage of Columbus, Carl.

2. *The work of the school as a whole.*—In the upper grades of a certain elementary school thrift clubs or groups were organized to study the needs of purchasing Thrift Stamps, the value of Thrift Stamps as an investment, ways of earning and saving money with which to purchase Thrift Stamps, etc. The mathematics of arith-

metic was used to compute interest on the investments in Thrift Stamps and Liberty Bonds, to determine the incomes from various kinds of work which the pupils undertook, to keep their individual daybooks of earnings and expenditures, and finally to make up their classified accounts, to the end that pupils might make better plans for earning and saving. Oral composition was used as a means of exchanging the individual experiences of pupils regarding the various phases of the thrift project. Written composition was used in writing articles for the school paper on the subject of thrift. Elementary science was an important instrument in stimulating and directing the development of home gardens, the incomes from which were used to buy stamps. Home-garden study was also used in connection with food-conservation projects and producing, and saving food.

The general project of producing articles for the Red Cross was organized into a number of minor projects. In the first place the school organized its campaign for memberships; the membership fees were collected by a committee appointed by the pupils, and an application was written by this committee to the proper official to make the school a regular auxiliary of the Junior Red Cross. When the application was granted, this committee received materials for a Red Cross banner, the certificate of membership for the school, and the membership buttons. Another committee was appointed by the school to arrange for the appropriate ceremony when the school was to be made an auxiliary of the Junior Red Cross and give publicity to the occasion. Another committee was appointed to keep the school informed regarding the suggestions and directions sent by the Red Cross officials for making articles. This committee was made up of boys taking manual training and girls taking home economics and both boys and girls taking drawing. The members of this committee took their plans for work into the drawing classes. The girls also developed their plans in the home-economics classes and the boys in the manual-training classes where the actual work of producing the Red Cross articles was performed. Before the auxiliary could be formally installed, designs for the banner had been made in the drawing classes. The committee decided which was the best

design, and the banner was made in the home-economics classes. The boys made the wooden rod and staff for carrying the banner in the manual-training classes. The boys also made the large wooden needles needed by the girls for their knitting work.

Still another committee was appointed to purchase materials to be used in making articles, to keep the entire financial account of the auxiliary, and to make regular reports of expenditures and articles produced, to the school and to the adult educational committee of the Junior Red Cross. This committee also carried its work into the arithmetic and English classes. The bulletins of the Junior Red Cross and the Red Cross magazines were studied in the English classes to keep up interest and to furnish information regarding the services which the pupils were undertaking to render. Thus it happened that a number of the subjects of the school were requisitioned for service in the Junior Red Cross by the school as a whole.

3. *School discipline and planning.*—In the upper grades of the school previously referred to the principal and teachers decided to give the pupils the opportunity to regulate their own conduct as far as they should prove their ability to do so. Accordingly a so-called "school-planning period" was placed on the school's program of activities. This was a period in which the pupils of each grade or of all the upper grades together should discuss and act upon matters of general welfare to the school. The pupils were told that this period could be devoted to anything which they thought ought to be done.

As was expected, the pupils had little to say or do at first. During the first two or three weeks of the school-planning period the pupils plied their teachers with questions and discussed with each other the meaning of this sudden innovation. Gradually they began to find something to do. While the VIII-A class in hygiene was discussing matters of personal cleanliness, one boy ventured to remark that many of the things about which they talked in class and agreed ought to be done were not really done by many members of the class, including himself, and by members of other classes. From this remark it was suggested by another pupil that something ought to be done in the school-planning period

to remedy matters of this sort. After a considerable discussion this grade appointed a clean-up committee. This committee met and formulated a few rules regarding the ordinary violations of personal cleanliness and appearance, and these rules were accepted by the class. By an autocratic assumption of power the class made its rules applicable to all the pupils of the school. Accordingly the code of rules was signed by the committee and posted on the school bulletin board, together with a suggestive note that all violators of these rules would be waited upon by the committee. Desirable results were immediately forthcoming. The personal appearance of many boys and girls showed marked improvement the day following the posting of the rules. Occasionally the committee found it expedient to speak to a boy about the condition of his hair, hands, ears, or shoes but no test cases developed.

The existence of a clean-up committee organization suggested to another grade the appointment of a housekeeping committee, and to another the organization of a grounds committee, and to still another that of a committee on general conduct. The committee on general conduct was soon confronted with a test case. A certain boy had told an untruth, which the pupils called a "whopper," in an attempt to secure some personal advantage. He was admonished by the committee regarding what such conduct would lead to, but with apparently no effect. The question as to what could be done in a case of this kind or in any case where the pupil refused to take the advice of a committee arose. This question was discussed in the school-planning period of several grades and finally of all grades meeting together. It was decided that there should be officers who could, after due deliberation, impose sentence. The body to be clothed with this authority was constituted by each room electing four of its number, two boys and two girls, who were to sit, hold trial, and sentence. This committee was called the "School Senate." The first case on the "docket" was that of the boy who had told the "whopper." The committee on general school conduct entered its complaint and the Senate held a solemn and dignified trial. The accused, having no defense to make, was sentenced. His offense had occurred on the playground, and therefore he was deprived of his

play at recess time for one week. Much to the surprise of the other pupils, however, the prisoner broke sentence. Again the Senate convened and meted out a second punishment more severe than the first, and again the culprit refused to obey. Before taking further action the Senate called in a teacher to inquire whether it really had authority to enforce their rules. When advised that it did, it informed the persistent lawbreaker that if he refused to serve his sentence any longer he would be required to sever his connection with the school. This conquered the boy, but not his mother, who felt that her son was being misused and decided to transfer him to another school. The boy, however, had not fought and lost his battle for nothing, and he came to the teachers begging them to ask his mother not to transfer him. Finally through the combined influence of the teachers and the boy's father the mother was persuaded to allow him to remain. As a result of this experience the boy's conduct was markedly improved. There were other cases, but none that required the influence of the teachers.

The membership of the School Senate and the various committees changed every month, giving a large number of pupils a chance to hold office. At one time, when the pupils were electing a new committee, much to the surprise of their teachers they elected one of the worst violators of the previous committee's work, and when the new committee was organized for business he was made its chairman. The pupils thought that responsibility would sober him down, and they were right, for he turned out to be one of the best officers and law-abiding citizens of the school.

More and more each pupil came to regard himself as responsible not only for his own conduct but also for that of others; and yet they did not take advantage of each other. There was little quibbling over small things. "Snitchers," "tattle-talers," and "peachers" were frowned upon. However, to help enforce the standards of the school community was the duty of every citizen in private as well as in public life, and any information given to the proper authorities leading to the apprehension and the reformation of the violators of these standards was considered

a social duty and not in any sense "snitching" or "peaching." A certain girl gave information to the right authorities concerning the conduct of three other girls. The information was correct, and the conduct of the three girls needed attention, which it duly received. However, the informant spread this information broadcast throughout the school. When the time arrived for the session of the Senate, there were four hearings instead of three. The girl who had talked too much was properly reprimanded.

A very small part of the school-planning period time was taken up with the regulation of misconduct. A great deal of the work was concerned with such matters as school garden, lawn, playground plans, athletics, dramatics, class projects in manual training and home economics needed for the school, or any affair which required the collective action of a grade or of a school as a whole to accomplish.

All meetings of pupils were conducted in an orderly and dignified manner. A chairman presided, and only one pupil could speak at a time. The importance of the purposes of these meetings and the formality of the procedure afforded excellent conditions for oral composition. While the teachers had many misgivings as to the outcome of the school-planning activities, all agree that up to date results have surpassed their expectations. The forms of organization used in this school might not work in another school, but what is far more important than particular forms of procedure is the method of their development based upon the group consciousness of the real need of each step. Gradually, as the pupils evolve, through their experience, standards of conduct, there comes a time when they state and define these standards which serve as precepts for future action.

# INFLUENCES OF THE INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION UPON THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY OF AMERICA

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The last century and a half has been a time of constant transition in industry from the small unit to the large, from the domestic system of production to the factory system, from an organization of society in which family industrial unity is maintained to one in which other ties than those of kinship are of primary significance. The agricultural industry is the only one of any importance that has withstood, in a large measure, the transforming forces of the industrial and social revolution of the nineteenth century. In this single industry the small unit is still typical, the domestic system which was general until the coming of the machine in the latter part of the eighteenth century still prevails.

It is quite commonly held that so-called small farming continues because of the greater efficiency of the small-farm unit. Professor T. N. Carver, to mention one of many who might be quoted to the same effect, says that agriculture will probably continue to be an industry of small units. "Large farms are diminishing in number, an indication that they are less productive than those of medium size."<sup>1</sup>

Turning aside for the moment from the question of relative efficiency, I state it as my conviction that there are reasons other than those of efficiency which are sufficient to account for the continuance of the small-farm unit. The foundation of the American farming population was laid in the period of the educational and economic unity of the family, and in its subsequent development it has proceeded very largely out of touch with the rapidly changing social conditions of the cities. In the occupation of agriculture, as now conducted, may be found family unity more completely main-

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Rural Economics*, p. 19.



tained than elsewhere in our industrial life. The maintenance of unspecialized unity of family life in a single occupation is due, it would seem, rather to the existence of this occupation in comparative isolation from the general social changes of the times than to causes due to the nature of the occupation itself. Evidence in support of this contention is contained in the fact that, generally speaking, the further removed a rural community may be from its urban center the more completely does the family group maintain the functions which have been handed down through many generations of rural life. As one traverses an extensive farming district, the farther one goes from town the shorter are the terms in the public schools, and the more fully is the individual child dependent upon the family of which he is a member for his education, his preparation for life. This teaching, as is necessarily true with family instruction in every case, is almost entirely vocational in character, a preparation of the individual through instruction and training for carrying on the family occupation. This is no more true of farming today than it was but a short time ago of every other occupation.

Because of the fact that the farm in its isolation continues to support the old-time family unity it is not surprising that it should quite generally be held that the occupation of agriculture is dependent for its existence upon this primitive type of family life.

As a matter of fact the typical American farmer who lives upon the land that he owns, his 40 or 80 or 160 acres, and who tills the farm with little help save that of his growing sons, is the product of conditions which are generally recognized as "behind the times." The men upon the farms today have not, in the mass, turned to agriculture because of a deliberate choosing of that occupation in preference to other occupations. They are farmers because they are the sons of farmers, reared under a narrow range of suggestions. As mere children they worked by the side of the father in the field. As boys in their teens many of them attended school only in the winter months when there was little to be done upon the farm. Their life was almost entirely a neighborhood life of farmers. The suggestions as to life-work were almost exclusively of an agricultural nature. As manhood found them with little formal education, and little experience save that gained upon the farm, they

were prepared for nothing but the farm. The way was made easy for them to begin operations for themselves on farms of their own. The way was made easy by the facts of cheap land, parental encouragement and assistance, and the love of a neighbor's daughter who and whose parents as well were willing to make their contribution toward the establishment of the new farm home. As the families of America's farming class during the nineteenth century were comparatively large, the homestead quite generally was divided into two or more farms, not because of any considerations of relative efficiency of small and large agricultural units, rather because the children prepared for farm life were to be provided for.

Surely reasons other than those of occupational efficiency are sufficient to account for the continuance of the small-farm unit, and for the decreasing size of the unit during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Not only is this true but the occupational efficiency of the typical American farm organization is exceedingly low when compared with the standards of efficiency maintained in other occupations. A few years ago Ex-Governor Hoard of the dairy state of Wisconsin said that one of every three cows in that state was being kept at an actual loss, and that a second one of the three barely paid for its keep. This relative inefficiency of present-day farming methods is readily explained by the fact that occupational efficiency was not an element in the consideration of the foundation of the American farming class. America's great areas of fertile land were quickly transferred from the government into the hands of those who were in no sense the product of an adequate selective process, such as is clearly necessary for the right foundation of any industrial class. The abundant land of the national domain was made available for settlement upon extremely easy terms. The energetic young men of the East, though inclined naturally to many and various occupations and callings, moved in a throng to the lands of the West.

Obviously the typical settler from the East had not after a rational balancing of the advantages of various occupations, chosen that of agriculture; he had rather chosen the home which came as a gift. The fact that the occupation of farming was in most cases tied up with the getting of a home had slight influence with the

settlers. Undoubtedly the movement would have been as rapid had the performance of nearly any other sort of labor been linked with the occupancy of the lands. The "home" was the essential thing. All through the period of western settlement those who were entering upon the new lands were referred to as "home-seekers."

In eulogy of the homestead law which offers to every applicant who is the head of a family or above the age of twenty-one, one hundred and sixty acres of public land free of charge, the Public Land Commission said, "It protects the government, *it fills the states with homes*, it builds up communities, and lessens the chances of social and civil disorder by giving ownership of the soil in small tracts to the occupants thereof." It was felt to be a blessing in that it offered to those who had failed in the competitive struggle of life an opportunity to begin again in an occupation that was virtually free from the requirements imposed by competitive industry. One Mr. Copp, a land lawyer in Washington at the time of the enactment of the Homestead Law, said, as quoted by Sato, "All in the Atlantic States who are discouraged with the slow, tedious methods of reaching independence, will find rich rewards—on the public lands—while the unfortunate in business, and they who are burdened with debt can in the West and South, start anew in the race of life, for the homestead law expressly declares that 'no lands acquired under the provision of the chapter (Homestead) shall in any event become liable to the satisfaction of any debt contracted prior to the issuing of the patent therefor.'"<sup>1</sup>

Because of the fact that those who had failed in other occupations or who lacked the confidence to attempt success in them were sure of a living upon the land, it very naturally came to be a common saying that anyone could be a farmer. As "anyone could be a farmer" the inefficient as judged by the standards of all other occupations naturally were among those who drifted to the soil. Carver says, "One finds in out-of-the-way places in our country a degree of ignorance, inefficiency, and moral degeneracy which it would probably be impossible to find in any country of Western Europe. They are outside the influence of competition."<sup>2</sup> Men

<sup>1</sup> *The Land Question in the United States*, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Principles of Rural Economics*, p. 27.

who had never demonstrated by any standard of industrial society their competence to assume the management of an undertaking, have gloried in the thought that they were their "own bosses." They had become "bosses" through the benevolence of a wealthy nation, rather than through any attainment of their own.

While the movement westward was for the getting of homes, the homes obtained were valued less for themselves than for what they represented. The home became symbolic of a start in life, and was in the most of cases thought of in terms of its selling price. Toqueville writing in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century observed as follows: "Almost all farmers of the United States combine some trade with agriculture; most of them make agriculture itself a trade. It seldom happens that an American farmer settles for good upon the land which he occupies; especially in the districts of the Far West he brings land into tillage in order to sell it again, and not to farm it; he builds a farm-house on the speculation, that, as the state of the country will soon be changed by the increase of population, a good price may be obtained for it."<sup>1</sup>

The present farming population of America has been formed under abnormal and necessarily temporary conditions, the chief of which being the availability of a large though limited amount of free land. In so far as we may speak of this great part of our people as a class, it is an unnatural class formed upon an artificial basis, therefore liable to more or less rapid disintegration when the peculiar formative influences cease. In the Middle West conditions are already becoming normal through a marked rise in the price of farm land. With land selling at prices that are now current through these states, and which in view of the limitation of supply will undoubtedly be maintained, the speculative attractiveness of agriculture is necessarily becoming less. It is becoming a matter of grave public concern what the owner of one-hundred-dollar-an-acre land does with his land. The landless people of this generation who, had they been living a generation ago, would have joined the throng of those moving out to occupy the nation's farms, and in fact all classes of society, are crying out against the occupational inefficiency of those whom we style our farmer class, thus making

<sup>1</sup> *Democracy in America*, Vol. 2, chap. xix.

life less pleasant for those upon the farms. In the days when there were farms for all, no one concerned himself greatly over the matter of how other men were conducting their farms. Today with the agricultural land occupied, those who are fortunate enough to possess farms of their own are looked upon by society in general as a privileged class, the members of which are in duty bound to show by efficiency in management and operation their right to the privilege of land ownership. Men of the cities are asking, "How shall we uplift the farmer class?" As a matter of fact, it is not the so-called farmer class that is to blame for existing deplorable conditions. The American farmers are the most splendid type of men to be found in the country districts of any nation. They are the brothers and cousins of other American men who are living in our cities and who in many cases are not one whit more keen and energetic than they. These city cousins and brothers are conducting and operating those industries in which for efficiency America leads the world. So I say it is not because of a lack of natural ability that the American farming population presents such a deplorable figure as contrasted with America's other industries. It is rather because of defective organization of the entire American system of farm management and control. The first call of the government was for those who would open the land. This call was nobly responded to, and the work of the pioneer is now over. If America really desires efficiency in agricultural matters she must issue another call.

The farmer and the farmer's son read in their daily paper the criticisms of those who are bitterly assailing the farmer for inefficiency. They read such paragraphs as this which appeared a short time ago in one of the New York dailies: "He clings to his almanac, his patent cure-alls, his cowhide boots, his shiftless ways, his ignorance. The means of education and material improvements are always close at hand. Modern applied science has provided for him all the means required to make an acre of land produce three or four times its average yield in the past, at less than half the labor, but he has not learned and he seems to lack the faculty of learning." The farmer boy as he reads such statements finds on the same page suggestions of success in other occupations to which

he may readily turn. And farmer boys and girls by the thousand are today turning to other occupations.

This is an age of specialization. In those industries in which America has achieved supremacy, her laborers have been highly specialized.<sup>1</sup> The farmer's city relatives are specialists. The farmer cannot specialize as to the processes of his labor and remain a typical farmer. At this point I quote from a former paper of mine:<sup>1</sup>

To manage and do the major part of the labor, satisfactorily, on a farm of 80 acres, demands on the part of the farmer several lines of proficiency which are seldom found combined in any one individual. He must have the strength and physical endurance of the unskilled laborer, combined with the ingenuity and mechanical ability of the skilled workman. He must be somewhat of a student, an authority on matters connected with the science of agriculture. As a student, he must have also something of the spirit of the investigator and experimenter, for his own farm presents problems for which he can find no solution in the books. He must be a business man competent to manage a large and complicated undertaking, or much of his labor will be wasted.<sup>1</sup>

Men do not frequently combine these four qualifications—either the men upon the land or the men in town—and that is one reason, and perhaps the fundamental reason, why the system is so unsatisfactory. It takes for granted a combination in human nature which does not exist. Therefore the system must suffer complete change in order to come into harmony with human nature as it is.

In the regions most completely under the influence of city-centered instruments of modern culture the farm family as an educational and industrial unit is breaking down. The children of farmers when afforded the opportunity of modern education, formal and informal, are not slow to avail themselves of its opportunities. After having received education and training to a great extent outside of the home, it naturally follows that the occupation chosen will in many cases be other than the home or family occupation. Especially is this true in the case of an occupation the general social rating of which is as uncertain as is that of the occupation of agriculture. Because of the fact that the most successful operation of the typical small farm is dependent upon a considerable amount of labor by the growing children of the proprietor, who are spending

<sup>1</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, CX, 522.

more and more time in the school and less and less time upon the land, and upon the continuance of the management of the farm by one of the sons of the aging father, who in increasing numbers are choosing other lines of activity, the typical small farm is being forced to give way to a larger unit which is not dependent for its operation upon family economic solidarity.

This present time of rural transition from the old to the new is characterized by many conditions which in the mass are disturbing to society in general, such as the growing scarcity of farm labor, and the increase of a farm-tenant class with standards of living decidedly lower than that of the owners who are leaving the land. It is to be expected that in such a time of violent readjustment, social theorists should arise to the task of formulating mechanical devices for the external application of relief to rural ills. As the chief unsettling force seems to be a movement of the young people from the country to town, it is the inevitable impulse of the mass of social workers to attempt to check the cityward movement. In the words of one of the writers of today, "If we cannot get the city people back to the soil we must make country life attractive enough to get those now there to stay." The main emphasis in the past few years has been laid upon the desirability of attempting to do away with rural discontent by the carrying to country dwellers of the things presumably because of the lack of which they are discontented. The plan is most logical. It runs thus: The farmer is discontented because of his isolation, involving a lack of urban conveniences. We shall carry to him urban conveniences. Discontent will vanish. Rural migration will largely cease.

That the farmer is entitled to all the modern conveniences which he can secure there can be no question, but that the enjoyment of these advantages will hold young people upon the land is being continually and with increasing force shown to be untrue. More sound psychologically is the position of those who would hold the young people upon the farms not by increasing the range of the suggestions coming to them in their formative period but rather by decreasing the variety of such suggestions and making them of an intensive character. Such is the basis for the motive for distinctively agricultural instruction in the rural schools. An extreme

though perfectly logical position is held by those who advocate the erection outside of town of rural school buildings for centralized agricultural districts to make it possible to educate the children of farmers out of contact with children of city dwellers. In these centralized schools attended only by the children of farmers the instruction would be of a nature calculated to inspire the individual child with a desire to remain upon the land. The way would be made easy for him to prepare for the occupation of agriculture, and very naturally, if he were carefully enough guarded from suggestions that would have a tendency to fill him with ideals of success to be obtained in other callings, he would choose the one that had been constantly held before him, thus following in the footsteps of his father, upon a higher plane technically but a farmer still. The movement to town would be checked. A natural limitation of suggestions would have given place to one purely artificial. Society as a law-making organization would by the enactment of a few new statutes have checked for a time the disturbing march of the forces of transition.

As opposed to this mechanical method of procedure which advances by drawing circles about different sections of society and dealing with whatever may be found within each circle as if it really had a separate existence there is also the genetic method of approach which leads one to avoid with hearty distrust anything savoring of circle drawing. One holding the genetic view of society will think of those now upon the nation's farms as being a body of people not fundamentally unlike those who inhabit the towns. Superficial differences there truly are. The environing forces of nature have drawn lines enforcing for a time a more or less complete separation of interests. These differing interests have made their impress upon the lives of the people. The destruction, however, of these natural barriers by improved facilities for communication are erasing such differences as exist in the ideals and lives of those who formerly lived apart. Such appellations as "rube" and "hayseed" suggest a social inferiority which is a reality to the extent that individual freedom for development has been limited by subjection of the individual to the force of family traditions. Farmers, in the mass, are rightly considered a backward people because of the constant



echoing of the past in the ears of the individual by the old type of family whose function it was to dominate the individual in every phase of his life's activity. In the close association in the town of individuals of many families and of many occupations, the family as an institution has gradually given over a portion of its function to other developmental agencies. The division of responsibility for the making of the individual though attended by diverse dangers has resulted upon the whole in progress. As the farmer families are caught up into more complete social unity with individuals of other occupations this progress will also be theirs.

There are two distinct avenues of advancement as far as the farm and the farmer are concerned. In the first place the farmer as a man must be afforded full opportunity to come into the best in life. In the second place the occupation itself is to be improved by being brought into harmony with those other occupations that are upon the highest plane of efficiency. It is entirely unjust to assume that as the children of the soil enter the inheritance of the nation and the race in things social, with problems of individual adjustment to solve, they must proceed to the solution burdened by the responsibility for occupational progress. Though it may be true, as is often stated, that agricultural conditions in America are upon a lower plane than are those of any other leading nation, it does not at all follow that farmers of today, either individually or in the mass, should be held accountable for such an unsatisfactory condition. It is the height of injustice to encircle the farmers of today with a line of artificial isolation and call out to them to proceed with the development of their destiny. The farmer does not have to solve farm problems. Instead he may leave them as farmers are doing by the hundreds of thousands every year. Society as a whole is responsible for conditions as they are. Society through its constant reorganization will include in some way the business of the new agricultural production. We need not fear that fields will long go untilled in a land of such agricultural possibilities. Society desiring the products of the land will pay the price for their production. An adequate price in terms of real life-values will be paid. We need not concern ourselves with the business of designating the men and women who are to take up the actual work of

the new agriculture. The forces of competition will decide this thing for agriculture as they are now deciding it for the other activities of our industrial life. There can be no permanent wall of separation between the country with its occupations and the city with its affairs, for we are one people and we are learning with increasing thoroughness how we may best live together in the give and take of life.

Abnormal economic and social conditions persisting during the nineteenth century have formed and maintained America's so-called farming class. As the economic conditions become normal through the rise in price of farm land, also the social conditions through the destruction by modern means of communication of the farm neighborhood group based upon physical propinquity rather than mental congeniality the farming class breaks down under the selective forces of normal competitive conditions. These normal competitive conditions will force into existence an agricultural system far different from the one that is now breaking down. As efficiency in modern industry is due in large measure to specialization of the workers, the individual farm units in the new agricultural industry must be large enough to afford opportunity for a much higher degree of specialization than is afforded by the typical small-farm organization of today. At the present time the results of the forces of transition may be noted in an accelerated movement of the children of farmers to the occupations of the cities; also in the gradually increasing size of the farms in the Middle West.<sup>1</sup>

Any action of society inspired by the desire "to keep the boy on the farm" is, it would seem, ill advised. Society advances toward the ideal democracy of which we dream through a broadening of the range of suggestions which flood the individual. It is the duty of society to afford encouragement to every child to choose an occupation other than that of the father. Any assumption that the child is to follow the parental occupation is unjust. Any artificial limitation of the range of suggestions from which the child

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the popular impression, farms during the past two decades have been growing larger rather than smaller. From 1900 to 1910 the average size of farms in five states of the Middle West increased as follows: In Illinois from 124 acres to 129 acres, in Iowa from 151 to 156, in Kansas from 240 to 244, in Michigan from 86 to 91.5, and in Missouri from 119 to 124.

must choose the material out of which he is to form his life is undemocratic. All attempts to rebuild the rural civilization about a specialized rural clergy, or a specialized rural teaching force, by which is meant a clergy and a teaching force for farmers and the children of farmers are just as undemocratic as attempts would be to organize churches and schools for grocers and the children of grocers, through the instrumentality of which it would be hoped to limit the range of suggestions of the people of this occupation to the grocery business. Those who wish to be of true service to the rural population, upon acquiring a vision inclusive enough to see all humanity as one, will think of the men and women, and the boys and girls, upon the nation's farms primarily as men and women, and boys and girls, rather than as farmers and prospective farmers.

# THE ORIGIN OF DEMOCRACY

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## I. WHAT IS MEANT BY DEMOCRACY?

Democracy is a term that is rather loosely used by many people and covers a variety of meanings. Used in a political sense, it denotes democracy in the government in the sense that every member of the state has the right to control directly the details of the government. This form of democracy is represented in the old New England town meeting. Even then, of course, it was not absolutely democratic, because woman had no voice in the government.

Again the term is sometimes used to denote democracy in the state. By this term is meant universal manhood or adult suffrage. Here the control of the government may be democratic or representative. We have this form of government in only a few of the states in the United States at the present time. Before the Civil War the black man had no part in the government of the state, and until very recently woman had no part in political affairs.

Again democracy indicates the equality of opportunity as between individuals and different classes, not only political, but educational, social, and economic, opportunity. Nowhere as yet has this form of democracy been completely realized. This phase of the matter is sometimes called social democracy in a broad way. One aspect of it is known as industrial democracy, as phrased by the Webbs. Other aspects of social democracy are the democratizing of the church, of the schools, and of social intercourse.

From these suggestions it may readily be perceived that what most people mean when they speak of democracy is political democracy, and usually they mean political democracy only as applied to the government or the state. A real democracy will possess the characteristic of participation by the people in all of these relationships. A real democracy is therefore yet to be realized, although great steps have been taken toward the realization of democracy in all phases of our social life in the last half-century.

## II. THE ORIGINS OF DEMOCRACY IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

It is very interesting to observe that democracy has its roots in the far-distant past. It is not the birth of the last hundred years of the world's history. A long series of world-wars, incident to the building of states, obscured the democracy of primitive societies. Only recently, since the study of primitive peoples has been more diligently pursued, have we come to a recognition of the democratic form of early human societies.

If we remember that primitive societies are small groups of people bound together by blood ties rather than by political ideals, or residence in a common territory, we shall have little difficulty in reconstructing the life of that early period and seeing at the fountainhead democracy at work and evolving among the early types of societies. All of them were tribal groups. Either in fact or in fiction the members of these groups were related to each other. The largest social groups in these times were composed of a few hundred, or at most a few thousand, individuals.

Let us now turn to a few representatives of primitive people organized on the basis of blood relationship and get a glimpse of democracy in its beginnings. Let us cite first the description of Tacitus of the primitive German tribes. Describing their method of doing the tribe's business, Tacitus says:

On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance, the whole community; yet with this circumstance, that what is referred to the decision of the people is first maturely discussed by the chiefs. . . . Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard, and gain attention rather from their ability to persuade than their authority to command. If a proposal displease, the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur; if it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms.<sup>1</sup>

Here we see the affairs of the tribe conducted by the assembly of the people. He adds:

In the election of kings they have regard to birth; in that of generals, to valor. Their kings have not an absolute or unlimited power; and their generals command less through the force of authority than of example.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Germany and Agricola* (Oxford trans.), pp. 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

This ancient democracy is even more clearly outlined by Morgan. Describing the Iroquois *gens*, he says:

The principle of democracy, which was born of the *gentes*, manifested itself in the retention by the gentiles of the right to elect their sachem and chiefs, in the safeguards thrown around the office to prevent usurpation, and in the check upon the election held by the remaining *gentes*.<sup>1</sup>

Describing the council of the *gens*, Morgan says:

The council was the great feature of ancient society, Asiatic, European, and American, from the institution of the *gens* in savagery to civilization. It was the instrument of government as well as the supreme authority over the *gens*, the tribe, and the confederacy. . . . The simplest and lowest form of the council was that of the *gens*. It was a democratic assembly because every adult male and female member had a voice upon all questions brought before it. It elected and deposed its sachem and chiefs, it elected Keepers of the Faith, it condoned or avenged the murder of a *gentilis*, and it adopted persons into the *gens*. It was the germ of the higher council of the tribe, and of that still higher of the confederacy, each of which was composed exclusively of chiefs as representatives of the *gentes*.<sup>2</sup>

The same system of democratic control is to be seen in the tribes of ancient Greece. Morgan says:

The instrument of government was a council of chiefs, with the co-operation of an agora or assembly of the people, and of a basileus or military commander. The people were free, and their institutions democratical.<sup>3</sup>

Even after the great change of political organization under Cleisthenes, democracy was characteristic of the Athenian political system, and Morgan writes:

When the Athenians established the new political system, founded upon territory and upon property, the government was a pure democracy. It was no new theory, or special invention of the Athenian mind, but an old and familiar system, with an antiquity as great as that of the *gentes* themselves. Democratic ideas had existed in the knowledge and practice of their forefathers from time immemorial, and now found expression in a more elaborate, and, in many respects, in an improved government. The false element, that of aristocracy, which had penetrated the system and created much of the strife in the transitional period, connected itself with the office of basileus, and remained after this office was abolished; but the new system accomplished its overthrow. More successfully than the remaining Grecian tribes, the Athenians were able to carry forward their ideas of government to their logical results.

<sup>1</sup> Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

It is one reason why they became, for their numbers, the most distinguished, the most intellectual and the most accomplished race of men the entire human family has yet produced. In purely intellectual achievements they are still the astonishment of mankind. It was because the ideas which had been germinating through the previous ethnical period, and which had become interwoven with every fibre of their brains, had found a happy fruition in a democratically constituted state. Under its life-giving impulses their highest mental development occurred.

How the political democracy of the tribal state was maintained in the new political arrangements based upon territory rather than upon blood kinship is indicated by Morgan's description of how Cleisthenes brought the change about. He says:

Out of the naucrary, a conception of a township as the unit of a political system was finally elaborated; but it required a man of the highest genius, as well as great personal influence, to seize the idea in its fullness, and give it an organic embodiment. That man finally appeared in Cleisthenes (509 B.C.), who must be regarded as the first of Athenian legislators—the founder of the second great plan of human government, that under which modern civilized nations are organized.

Cleisthenes went to the bottom of the question and placed the Athenian political system upon the foundation on which it remained to the close of the independent existence of the commonwealth. He divided Attica into a hundred demes, or townships, each circumscribed by metes and bounds, and distinguished by a name. Every citizen was required to register himself, and to cause an enrollment of his property in the deme in which he resided. This enrollment was the evidence as well as the foundation of his civil privileges. The deme displaced the naucrary. Its inhabitants were an organized body politic with powers of local self-government, like the modern American township. This is the vital and the remarkable feature of the system. It reveals at once its democratic character. The government was placed in the hands of the people in the first of the series of territorial organizations.<sup>1</sup>

Everyone familiar with Old Testament history will recall that the ancient Hebrew social control was based upon an assembly of people and a council of elders. One scarcely needs to be reminded that Saul was not only anointed by the priest Samuel, but was elected also by the people. "Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah, and said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations."<sup>2</sup> After Saul

<sup>1</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> I Sam. 8:4-5.

had proved his valor in the attack upon the Ammonites who were besieging Jabesh-gilead, the people chose him as king.

And the people said unto Samuel, Who is he that said, Shall Saul reign over us? bring the men, that we may put them to death. . . . Then said Samuel to the people, Come, and let us go to Gilgal, and renew the kingdom there. And all the people went to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king before Jehovah in Gilgal.<sup>1</sup>

David himself did not take office as the successor of Saul until the approbation of the tribesmen had been secured. When David was first crowned at Hebron, the men of Judah had to sanction it. "And the men of Judah came, and there [at Hebron] they anointed David king."<sup>2</sup> Later all the tribes sent delegates to ask David to become their king.

Then came all the tribes of Israel to David unto Hebron, and spake, saying, Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh. In times past, when Saul was king over us, it was thou that leddest out and broughtest in Israel: and Jehovah said to thee, Thou shalt be shepherd of my people Israel, and thou shalt be prince over Israel. So all the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron: and king David made a covenant with them in Hebron before Jehovah: and they anointed David king over Israel.<sup>3</sup>

While Solomon obtained the throne by a coup d'état, his successor Rehoboam was refused the allegiance of the northern tribes.

And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel were come to Shechem to make him king. . . . And when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto their tents.<sup>4</sup>

They called to the kingship of their nation Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. "And it came to pass, when all Israel heard that Jeroboam was returned, that they sent and called him unto the congregation and made him king over all Israel."<sup>5</sup>

In every primitive society that modern study reveals to us we see the same democratic institutions. It is only as groups become larger and wars come to abound that democracy becomes limited

<sup>1</sup> I Sam. 11:12, 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> II Sam. 2:4.

<sup>3</sup> II Sam. 5:1-3.

<sup>4</sup> I Kings 12:1, 16.

<sup>5</sup> I Kings 12:20.



and is finally crushed out by that undemocratic doctrine of the "divine right of kings."

Very early in the development of tribal society, limitations began to be put upon democracy. The first of these limitations was that of the prestige of age. We have already seen in Greek society and in Hebrew society a council of elders. The same council existed among the Indian tribes. At the beginning it was not undemocratic. It was merely democracy under the leadership of age, which was supposed to give wisdom. In a stationary society, however, like that of the Hebrew or Chinese, age tends to encroach upon democracy.

Another limitation upon democracy arose out of war. Among the German tribes described by Tacitus military chiefs were elected by the people on the basis of their valor. With the further development of war, however, and the growth of military power the military chieftain tends to become the hereditary king, governing by "divine right." When that happens, the ancient democracy ceases to be even a memory.

Still another limitation upon ancient democracy was the prestige of the medicine man and his successors, priests, sorcerers, and prophets. These men, dealing in the occult, came to exercise a power that in many cases entirely overtopped the votes of the people. In some cases, however, a compromise was effected by which the interests of the people and the interests of the medicine man were harmonized.

Still later in the development of ancient society, wealth in cattle, or lands, or slaves gave pre-eminence to one individual and put a limitation upon the democracy of tribal society.

Democracy was finally crushed out in the development of society only when war and superstition and wealth combined to give a prestige to one person that made him absolutely the dominant figure in society. This occurred in the Western world under that peculiar concourse of circumstances which we call the Middle Ages. Unsettled conditions gave the opportunity for constant warfare. The invasion of the barbarians brought on the period of dense ignorance which we know as the Dark Ages. A growing church going out to convert the barbarians and adapting her

message and her requirements to their mental and moral capacities supplied the supernatural element. The building of states out of the numerous principalities and dukedoms, under the leadership of a successful warrior, concentrated power and wealth in certain hands and brought the church under the dominion of the military class. The church took control of the ignorant layman through his fear of the more learned and supposedly more powerful cleric. The military state finally captured the cleric. The concentration of power in an autocracy was complete. Democracy had all but perished. The voice of the people had ceased to be the voice of God.

### III. THE ORIGIN OF DEMOCRACY IN CIVILIZATION

How then did democracy, born in tribal society and throttled in the nation-making stage of human development, ever rise again? Paradoxical as it may seem, its roots are to be found in the struggle between classes with opposing interests. Whether it be in France or in Britain, the barons became the first champions of liberty and the harbingers of modern democracy. That, however, is only the beginning. Step by step from Runnymede to the present the conflicts of interests of different classes have worked for the development of the enfranchisement of the people. Now one class has extended the franchise to a class from whom they hope to get help in their conflict with their political enemy. In England it was on one side a party working for the franchise for the agricultural workers because it was to their advantage to do so, and on the other hand the other party checkmated this move by extending the franchise to the inhabitants of towns. In America the Republicans obtained the upper hand by giving the franchise to the negroes; and the Democrats, by extending it to foreigners. Within the next few years we shall see one party or the other give women the franchise for the same noble reason.

What I have just said refers of course to political democracy. The same thing is partly true also of industrial democracy. Out of the conflict of parties the downtrodden and the oppressed do get some help. Another condition of the rise of the spirit that lies back of democracy is an abundance of free land. Without a doubt

the democracy of America of a hundred years ago was partly the result of the independence and untrammelled conditions surrounding the settlers in a new country. With the disappearance of free land and the growth of social and economic classes, doubtless that root of modern democracy will cease to function.

Similarity of blood also makes for democracy. The first sign of the disappearance of early American democracy followed the coming of vast numbers of alien peoples to our shores. Class distinctions grew up. The "Dago," the "Sheeny," the "Bohunk," the "Polack," and the "Hun" were terms of opprobrium by which the American showed his consciousness of unlikeness to these strange peoples. While the politicians extended the benefits of political democracy to these new arrivals through the naturalization laws, society inevitably became less democratic. The American with Anglo-Saxon ideals felt his superiority. The foreigner no less keenly felt the assumed superiority of the native. Prejudices were engendered; feelings that often led to conflict were generated, and the simplicity of our early American democratic life disappeared.

It was early seen that one of the great agencies of democracy is universal education. Give people equal training and the prestige of the learned is gone. Consequently the public school system of this country has done much to generate a spirit of democracy in our hybrid population. It has overcome the lack of homogeneity of blood to a considerable extent, and could new floods of immigrants be shut out, in the course of a short time our public schools and playgrounds and business associations would mold to a common type the great variety of races and people within our borders.

Democracy can rise in society only when there is a similarity of ideals—political, economic, and social. The educational system just mentioned does much to generate such ideals. Newspapers and the public forum have also contributed much. Their contributions, however, have been most important when they have set up ideals that could be assimilated by all.

While democracy is realized sometimes in the clash of castes and classes, especially if they be somewhat equally balanced in power, a condition that more readily promotes the rise of democracy in all its phases is the absence of classes and castes. All the

agencies already mentioned tend in the direction of leveling the differences between groups. Thus the conflict of economic classes—especially in a rapidly changing economic order, or in the changing conditions incident to immigration and settlement in a new country—the spread of universal education, and the likeness of blood and race all tend to wipe out the natural and acquired differences between classes whose interests are hostile. We have already seen in primitive society that either real or assumed relationship in the tribal groups made for democracy. These, however, were simple societies and small in number of individuals. In our highly complex civilized society conditions are quite different. In the division of labor industrially, the interests of working classes clash with those of employing classes. The interests of officeholders collide with the interests of taxpayers. The interests of one sect sometimes are in opposition to those of the other. The interests of the young sometimes suffer because they do not coincide with those of the aged. The learned sometimes assume to themselves a superiority which was made possible only by the education they received. And on the other hand, the unlearned sometimes assume a superiority of rugged honesty and a disdain for culture which set them at variance with the learned and the cultured.

What, then, are the conditions under which democracy can exist in the face of these clashes of interests, of purpose, and of cultural reactions?

These oppositions can be reconciled only in that conception of social solidarity which we find expressed in the slogan that William Stead gave to the world as a definition of the Kingdom of God: "The union of all who love in the service of all who suffer." In other words, so long as men do not see the social obligations which their wealth imposes upon them, the clash of interests will be perpetual. So long as men are unable to believe that—to use the terms of a man who had great force in human society long ago—"God hath made of one blood every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and until men see that cultural differences are accidents that impose obligations as well as rights upon those of differing cultures, democracy will have a precarious history. Only as the conception of the responsibility that wealth, education, and

ability impose upon one becomes a real possession of each one of us can this clash of interests be reconciled in the interests of real democracy. Then the struggle for the enfranchisement of disfranchised classes will soon be settled. The denial of the rights of childhood will cease. The bitterness that marks the dealings of employers and laborers on each side will disappear. The prejudices—and the superstitions that give them force—between different sects and parties will lose some of their power. Democracy will then become a thing born, not out of the struggle of opposing interests and clashing prejudices, but out of the body of common opinion and mutual feelings that will enable us to conceive of a common task, common privileges, and common responsibilities.

You will ask me, "Is not this a dream that can never be realized?" I reply that it seems to me that the forces are at work in the world that will ultimately make real this conception. From the standpoint of homogeneity of race, certainly not only America but the world is gradually becoming a great melting-pot in a sense in which it has never been before. Admixture of races there has always been, but until recently it was chiefly under the influence of war and as an incident of conquest. That, we know all too painfully, is still the practice in the present war. The racial prejudices which have separated men are gradually yielding as they come to know each other better. Travel and means of communication are reducing the provincialism of mankind. Education is breaking down the middle wall of partition between rich and poor, learned and ignorant, cultured and boorish. Even the present war has created a sense of kinship between the various classes in our country such as we have never seen before. Under the impulse of the common ideal petty differences are swept aside.

If we could shut out the great horde of immigrants from oppressed nations in Europe this process of building a unified American nation would be very much hastened. If we could make our school system such that all boys and girls should have that degree of training necessary to make them effective workers and that degree of culture that would enable them to hold up their heads with others, much of the cultural differences would be done away with. Finally, if war can be abolished—war, that matrix

of hate and prejudice between enemies—the differences between nations can be lessened and a better understanding and greater co-operation will result.

Perhaps you say to me, "This would produce a dead level of life which itself would be deadly to progress, and why should we have democracy if it does not mean progress?" I reply that if we can once get the fortunate members of society to realize that their fortune, of whatever character it be, is the measure of their responsibility for service to their less fortunate fellow-beings, we shall be able then to use the differences that exist between men in natural ability, and even in education, for the welfare of all. This proposal of democracy does not contemplate the destruction of the superiority in equipment or of the natural-born leader. It means, on the contrary, that real superiority and the leader come into their own in the way of service.

These forces and perhaps others that I have not mentioned are struggling to bring to birth a better democracy than any we have ever had—better even than that which characterized the society of primitive man. Theirs was largely the result of chance forces which they neither understood nor were able to control. The democracy that we enjoy in part, and that we seek to realize more and more, is a democracy that is built, not only upon the clash of natural forces, but upon the dreams of men who are able to direct forces for the realization of those dreams; upon ideals consciously and forcefully directed by human minds. Such was the dream that our Colonial forefathers realized, political in part, when they founded our great nation. Step by step this dream has been extended to ever wider reaches of our common American life. Let us hope that out of the present dreadful war there may come a greater consciousness of the value of democracy and a greater impetus toward the realization of democracy in all the wide range of our American social life.

## NEWS AND NOTES

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### JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

On February 22, the forty-third commemoration day address was delivered by Dr. George Edgar Vincent, president of the Rockefeller Foundation.

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### UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

Dr. Norman Ware, who recently returned from active service at the front, has received an appointment in the department of sociology.

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### UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Mr. G. A. Lundquist has been appointed assistant professor of rural sociology. He will devote part time to teaching and part time to community research and community organization.

Miss Almena Dawley, now with the Interdepartmental Bureau for Social Hygiene in Washington, and formerly on the staff of Bedford Hills Reformatory with Katharine B. Davis, has been appointed as teaching Fellow in sociology. She will give, in co-operation with the Psycho-Educational Clinic, a course on mental case work, and also a course on methods of social investigation. In response to a strong demand from different quarters of the state plans are being made to organize within the department of sociology a Bureau of Community Surveys.

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### UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

One Fellow and two Scholars will be making a rural church survey of three Missouri counties next year under the direction of Professor Carl C. Taylor. This survey is made possible by the granting of the fellowship and the two scholarships by the College of Agriculture for research and investigation in the field of rural sociology.

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### UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Professor Hutton Webster has just published a *Medieval and Modern History*, continuing his series of historical textbooks along historical lines.

## UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

In accordance with the policy of making the courses in sociology as practical as possible the following lectures were given before the class in "Cities" during the winter quarter: "City Planning" and "The Work of a Chamber of Commerce," by Mr. Aldo Leopold, secretary of Chamber of Commerce; "The Work of a City Manager" and "Municipal Finance," by Mr. A. R. Hebenstreet, city manager; "The Commission Form of Government," by Mr. C. F. Wade, chairman of City Commissioners; "City Charters," by Mr. W. P. Metcalf, author of the *Albuquerque Charter*; "City Charities," by Rabbi Bergmann, secretary of Bureau of Charities. Together with the class in "Introduction to Sociology" trips were made to the Bureau of Charities, county jail, district court and the state penitentiary, school for the deaf, and state legislature at Sante Fe. The one hundred and thirty mile trip over the mountains to Sante Fe was made by auto, thus adding picturesque scenery to a sociological trip.

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## NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Professor Ralph E. Heilman, who has been teaching economics and sociology, has recently been appointed dean of the School of Commerce.

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## OBERLIN COLLEGE

Professor W. M. Burke, of the department of sociology, is at present overseas as an instructor in the "University of Khaki" in the Young Men's Christian Association. His place in Oberlin is being filled by Professor H. C. Beyle.

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## SMITH COLLEGE

Dr. F. Stuart Chapin, professor of economics and sociology on the Mary Huggins Gamble Foundation, is director of the new training school for social work established at Smith College. The school is a graduate professional school offering work that falls into three divisions: a summer session of eight weeks of theoretical instruction, combined with clinical observation at Northampton, Massachusetts; a training period of nine months' practical instruction, carried on in co-operation with hospitals and settlements; and a concluding summer session of eight weeks of advanced study at Northampton.

In an endeavor to prepare workers for social reconstruction, the school will give a somewhat new emphasis to its teaching. The approach to



social problems will be psychological. A scientific as well as a technical basis of training for social work will be provided by instruction in psychology, psychiatry, medicine, biology, and sociology. The discussion method of teaching will be stressed in an effort to train for fearless and resourceful thinking about social problems. According to their interests, the students will be grouped in college dormitories during the summer session. The summer session begins July 7 and extends to August 30.

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UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Professor J. L. Gillin, who for a year and a half has been on leave of absence in charge of the Civilian Relief of the Central Division of the American Red Cross, will resume his work in the University in September.

Dr. Selig Perlman has been appointed instructor in sociology.

## REVIEWS

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*Patriotism and Religion.* By SHAILER MATHEWS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. 161. \$1.25.

This compact little volume does not disappoint those who are familiar with Dr. Mathews' crisp, sententious style and his swift stabs at the objects of his criticism. Written under the stress of war, there is an undercurrent of moral passion which must have made the original lectures, at the University of North Carolina, very effective.

After showing the intimate relation of the sentiments of patriotism and religion, he develops their mutual influence and interactions, historically rather than philosophically. "Religion," he says, "has always been a super-patriotism. Theology has been a super-politics." In his discussion of the moral values of patriotism he contrasts vividly the German and Entente types, closing with a fine challenge of the German slander that the Americans are a dollar-mad people.

In his chapter on "Religion and War" he coolly dissects the various types of pacifism, and after a skilful use of the story of the Good Samaritan who arrived early in the midst of the *Schrecklichkeit* he concludes: "Pacifism under such circumstances is anti-social, a misguided idealism, if not transcendentalized selfishness." He boldly says: "For an American to refuse to share in the present war . . . is not Christian." There is a keen handling of the question of what is involved in the Christian love for enemies, in considering "the service of religion to patriotism," and a strong argument for a League of Nations.

G. WALTER FISKE

OBERLIN GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

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*Economic Problems of Peace after War.* Second Series. The W. Stanley Jevons Lectures at University College, London, in 1918. By W. R. SCOTT. Cambridge: University Press, 1918. Pp. xii+136. \$2.00.

This is a suggestive and discriminating series of lectures. The first two, "Mare Liberum—Aer Clausus?" and "A League of Nations and Commercial Policy," are of particular interest just now in connection with the vigorous debate on the subject of a League of Nations. The

other four lectures, "The Financial Burden of Today and Tomorrow," "Conscription or Proscription of Capital," "The Period of Financial Transition," and "Ten Years After," deal with problems of finance. The studies are scholarly and convincing. Historical parallels and antecedents are cited frequently. Little new material is presented, in the way of either theory or fact.

The author looks for no decisive immediate results from a League of Nations. "It would be on its trial for many years," and, meantime, "each Power must continue to provide for its own defence." The final conclusion is that "the most that can be said for the scheme at present is that it is a favourable uncertainty, against which is to be set an unfavourable certainty."

In the matter of war finance the position is taken that neither the characteristically English system of taxation nor the characteristically German system of financing the war wholly by bonding is satisfactory, but a combination: taxing nearly to the limit of endurance, and borrowing for the balance, revenues from taxes to be sufficient to develop a sinking fund for the retirement of the bonds.

ROBERT FRY CLARK

PACIFIC UNIVERSITY

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*Matrilineal Kinship, and the Question of Its Priority* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. IV, No. I, January-March, 1917). By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

Mr. Hartland, who ranks among the contemporary founders of social anthropology, returns in this monograph to a subject already treated by Bachofen, McLennan, Sir John Lubbock, and Lewis H. Morgan. All these investigators made matrilineal kinship universally prior to patrilineal kinship in the development of social organization. Mr. Hartland agrees with them and argues that the evidence recently adduced for the priority of patrilineal descent among certain tribes of Australia and North America does not invalidate their conclusions. Where patrilineal reckoning now exists, Mr. Hartland either finds clear traces of a previous system of matrilineal reckoning or proves to his own satisfaction that the patrilineal folk for various reasons are not in a truly primitive condition. He considers that the burden of proof rests on those "who deny that female descent has in any particular case preceded the reckoning of kinship exclusively through males" (p. 87).

American anthropologists profess to be much shocked by this attempt of one of their British brethren to revive a theory supposed to have

received its death blow. The curious may be interested in the discussion between Mr. Hartland and Professor A. L. Kroeber (*American Anthropologist*, October-December, 1917 and April-June, 1918).

HUTTON WEBSTER

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

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*American Charities.* By AMOS G. WARNER, Ph.D. Revised by MARY ROBERTS COOLIDGE, Ph.D.; with a biographical preface by GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, Ph.D. New York: Thomas W. Crowell Co. Pp. xxii+511.

The appearance of a new edition of Warner's *American Charities* is sure to be greeted by a chorus of approval. Since the first edition appeared twenty-five years ago, this book has remained the standard summary statement of problems and methods in this field. In no field of human knowledge, however, does detailed information so speedily become obsolete as in the field of the practical treatment of the dependent and defective classes. New discoveries in collateral branches of science, in psychology, biology, etc., make necessary repeated examinations even of so-called fundamentals; so that one feels that two revisions since 1894 are none too many. It was, however, a merit of this book from the first edition that it embodied such a sure grasp of the great principles underlying the case of these abnormal groups that much of it is as valuable today as a quarter-century ago.

Professor Coolidge has wisely utilized the book as a going concern. She has made modifications only where changes have occurred in social technique and in our information on certain important fields, notably those of heredity and of the nature of feeble-mindedness, blindness, and insanity. Furthermore, the attitude of a large part of the social workers of the United States has changed. While striving vigorously for improvement in technique, they have all become painfully aware of the fundamental maladjustment in our social system and are backing with energy the social, rather than the individual, attack on these age-old evils. This attitude the book reflects. It is not so philosophical in its outlook as Professor Parmelee's *Poverty and Social Progress*, but it is very much more useful, especially for students.

The particular modifications to be noted are those introduced in connection with the discussion of the causes of poverty and pauperism. While no exhaustive résumé is offered here of the work of the eugenicists and the scientific students of genetics, the important facts are well

summarized. Two entirely new chapters are introduced, one on "Heredity and Degeneration," and another entitled "The Attack on Poverty." Both appear in Part I, "Historical and Theoretical."

The book contains, as before, chapters on the destitute sick, the insane, the feeble-minded. The reviewer has sometimes felt that to include these groups here was to focus attention on a secondary factor of their situation. They are dependent and hence the objects of "charity" only as a result of the primary fact of their mental and physical handicaps. The constant contact which the "charity worker" establishes with these classes is, however, a sufficient practical reason for their inclusion as objects of discussion. There is appended, as before, an excellent bibliography, which is arranged topically. An index adds to the usability of the volume.

C. E. GEHLKE

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

# RECENT LITERATURE

## NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**History, Psychology, and Culture: A Set of Categories for an Introduction to Social Science.**—There are three standpoints from which a set of social data can be envisaged: (1) the standpoint of *level*: objective and psychological data; (2) *time*: successive and contemporaneous data; (3) *linkage*: the deterministic and the accidental. These six concepts grouped into pairs from the standpoints of level, time and linkage result in eight categories which represent angles of vision for culture and the historic process. The categories are: (1) *Objective-historical*—the description or reconstruction of a successive series of past events; (2) *Objective-contemporaneous*—a series of objective co-existential facts and events (any non-psychological record of pure enumeration, classification, representation, belongs to this category); (3) *Psychological-historical*—the attempt to reconstruct the history of art, literature, religion, philosophy, science, and social movements deal largely with facts belonging to this category; (4) *Psychological-contemporaneous*—the concept of the so-called "cultural setting" belongs to this category; (5) *Deterministic-historical*—the domain of socio-psychological principles embraces a vast array of facts of the deterministic-historical category; (6) *Deterministic-contemporaneous*—the phenomena of group action, the positive correlation between common functions exercised by a group or social unit, the feeling of solidarity, etc., fall into this category; (7) *Accidental-historical*—the relations of the individual to the cultural content and to the historical series of events; (8) *Accidental-contemporaneous*—this category somewhat overlaps the preceding one and no sharp line can be drawn between them.—A. A. Goldenweiser, *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, October, 1918. C. N.

**El Darwinismo y las Naciones.**—Scientific societies need to pay attention, especially in their international relationships, to a correct interpretation of the Darwinian doctrine. The truth or falsehood of certain principles of the evolution of the life of society is undoubtedly demonstrated with much clearness in the present world-crisis. With the overthrow of Weismann's conception of the transmission of acquired characteristics we have made decided progress in our ideas of evolution and the hereditary problems of society. The preservation and perpetuation of the species is accomplished by natural, sexual, and social selection.

According to German philosophy every nation should attempt to increase its domain in order to obtain its highest place in the world. Its argument, however logical, that the nations, like individuals, are subject to natural selection in their struggle for existence, does not necessarily need to be true. The mutual dependence of national groups and of individuals within groups, by co-operation and division of labor, is a factor that dominates natural selection. There arises from this a type of character that is necessary in the establishment of international relationships. The military demonstration of Germany with respect to dominance and absorption of other nations, and the justification of Prussian "*Kultur*," as something above law, is contrary to the whole current of social evolution. Little perception and comprehension of a moral relation existing between nations is found in such an obsession. The lesson lies in the conformity to natural laws with a moral and sympathetic comprehension of all humanity.—Maynard M. Métcali, *Inter-América*, September, 1918. G. E. H.

**The Great War and the Instinct of the Herd.**—Some of the outstanding features of the behavior of nations in the war are to be explained by reference to the instinct of gregariousness. The fact that a nation is a herd is none the less real because it

is only dimly revealed in normal times. The recent war, then, was a conflict of herds, and it was to be expected that the usual and primary characteristics of the herd would be manifested. "First, then, the herd unites in the presence of danger." Conspicuous examples of promptly uniting against danger are found in the North at the firing on Fort Sumter and in Russia at the invasion by the French in 1812. Thus the herd instinct is sufficient to explain the unity in the countries recently at war. "A second characteristic is its susceptibility to suggestion." This explains German atrocities when we reflect that war infinitely heightens susceptibility to suggestion and that German fury was fired at the very outset of the war by the reports purposely spread among the Germans by their newspapers that foreign spies had poisoned their rivers, infected their water supply with cholera microbes and instigated the assassination of some of the more or less distinguished German citizens. "A third characteristic of the herd is its docility in the hands of leaders. . . . In the light, of the susceptibility of a nation to suggestion, and its disposition almost blindly to follow its leaders, it is foolish to say, as some do, that nobody was responsible for the great war. We were all responsible more or less, perhaps unconsciously. But the responsibility lay primarily with those who willed it, and immediately with those who, because of their position, power, and prestige, were able to make their will effective."

It is true that this herd instinct is a strong factor in the preservation of a nation, and it is to be noted also that the tendency is toward the formation of larger and larger social groups. "But, be that as it may, and admitting the value of this instinct as a factor in group survival, it forms no satisfactory basis for a distant unity of nations, or for the unity of a nation of today. But while instinct is itself a product of evolution, it does not produce evolution. Blind instinctive social action of whatever kind is evidence of a low stage of development. Each nation therefore should strive, no matter what the exciting circumstances may be, to order its activities exactly as an intelligent individual controls the impulsive activities of his own life."—I. W. Howerth, *International Journal of Ethics*, January, 1919. H. F. S.

**War and Family Solidarity.**—Evidence gathered by correspondence with workers in the Home Service Section of the Red Cross is summed up and presented under six heads: (1) The unstable husband and father, who Canadian workers think is being made worse by the war while Americans perceive signs that he is being made better. (2) The danger of family disintegration is greater where the mother, rather than the father, is weak. "Where both have shown marked weaknesses there is always a chance that the wife will be able to do better away from the husband than with him." There are instances, however, in which the unstable wife in the absence of the husband has gone to pieces morally. Sometimes, a skilful rallying of better influences and associations has aided in the recovery of a sense of moral values and restoration of interest in her family. (3) In the case of those who were married not long before the husband's departure, the danger of his absence, before time-tested habits and traditions have been fully established in the new home, demands special attention. The coming of the first baby is likely to increase the young wife's tendency to nervousness and morbidity which call out all the courage she can summon. (4) For the unmarried soldier or sailor the war can easily mean postponed marriage and, in some cases, an acquired restlessness and loss of contentment with the quiet home life. However, the relation to mother is strengthened and proves in many cases to be the basis of increased pride and devotion—a real holding-point. (5) It is only when the stable and responsible head of the family is removed that the importance of the father is realized. The family, theretofore so dependent upon him, is at a loss to know which way to turn and the lack must be supplied as far as possible. "There is opportunity here not merely for service, but for stimulation of the power of self help." (6) The suggestions of what we can do now are best summed up in caring for the family, keeping them employed and keeping them in familiar touch with the absent member. The work of draft boards, of the War Risk Insurance Bureau and of the Red Cross is bringing to light weak spots in our marital and social relations which renew the call for removal of the inconsistencies from our marriage and divorce laws, for their intelligent administrations, and for denying the mentally unfit the privilege of propagating their kind.—Mary E. Richmond, Address before the Division on the Family of the National Conference of Social Work, May 21, 1918. Russell Sage Foundation. H. F. S.

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